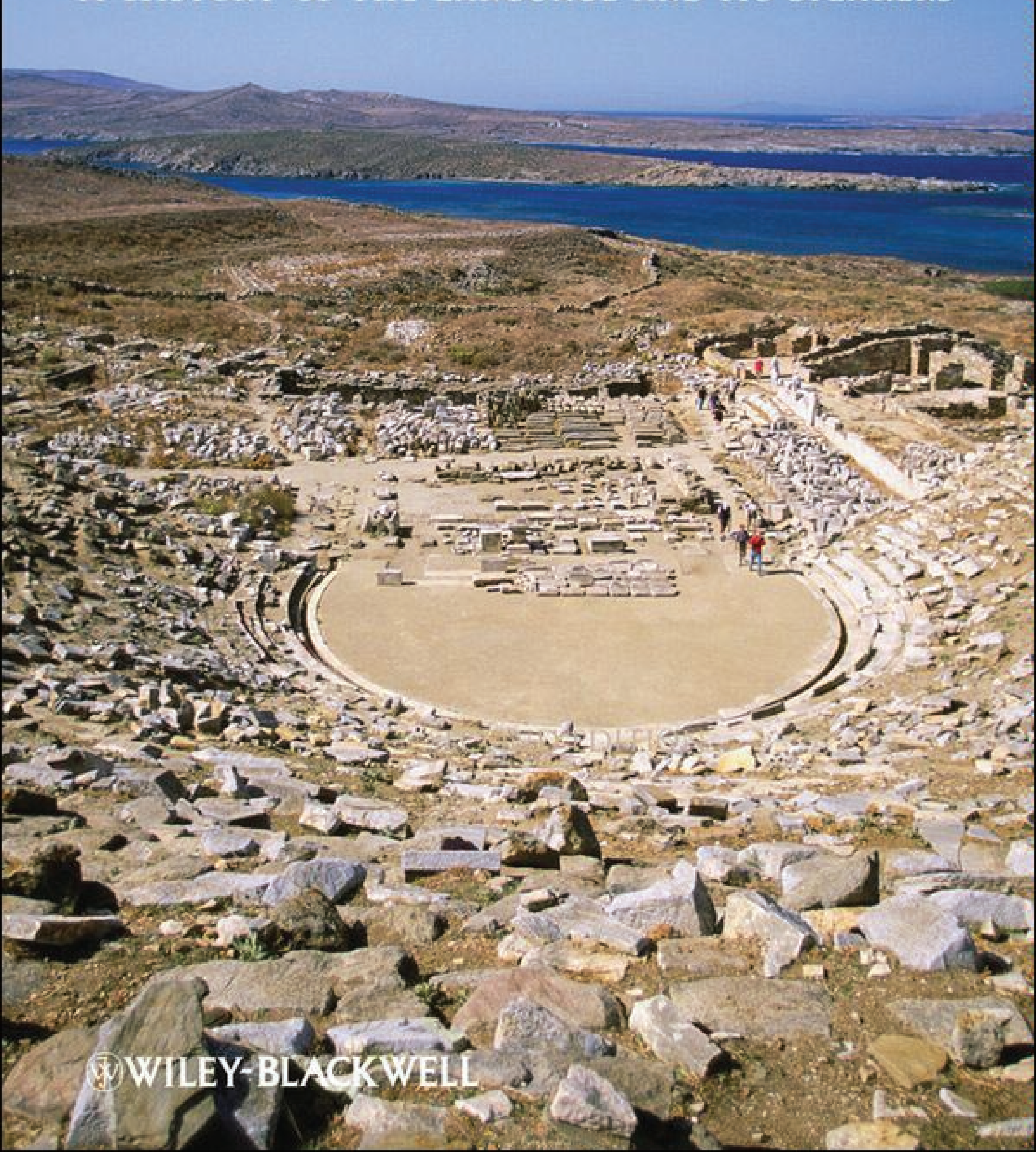
Second Edition

Geoffrey Horrocks

Greek

A History of the Language and its Speakers



Wiley-Blackwell

Greek

For Amy and Sophie

Second Edition

Geoffrey Horrocks

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A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

This second edition first published 2010

Edition history: 1e (Longman Publishing Group, 1997)

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office
John Wiley & Sons Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, United Kingdom

Editorial Offices
350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA
9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK
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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Horrocks, Geoffrey C.
Greek : a history of the language and its speakers / Geoffrey Horrocks. – 2nd ed.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-1-4051-3415-6 (hardcover : alk. paper) 1. Greek language–History. 2. Greek language, Medieval and late. 3. Greek language, Modern. 4. Greece–Civilization. I. Title.
PA227.H76 2010
480.9–dc22
2009025375

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Set in 10/13pt Sabon by Toppan Best-set Premedia Limited
Printed in Singapore

I 2010

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Preface to the First Edition

The writing of this book has taken five years, and had I realized at the outset the scale of the task I was undertaking, I am not sure I would have had the courage to begin. The history of Greek starts with the Mycenaean documents dating from the second half of the second millennium BC, and many scholars have found sufficient interest and material in every period between then and the present day to build their careers on the study of issues which here have often had to be treated in a single subsection.

Obviously no one writer can be an expert on everything, and I am deeply conscious of my reliance on the publications of those who have devoted themselves to the detailed study of specific topics and periods. It is a pleasure, therefore, to record my particular debt to the works of Roddy Beaton, C. Brixhe, Robert Browning, C.D. Buck, John Chadwick, P. Chantraine, Anna Davies, F.T. Gignac, A.N. Jannaris, E.M. and M.J. Jeffreys, Peter Mackridge, A. Meillet, A. Mirambel, L.R. Palmer, H. Tonnet and M. Triandafyllídis. Without the outstanding contributions of these scholars, it would have been impossible to acquire the conceptual grip necessary to deal with nearly 3,500 years of language history. I would also like to thank David Holton, Torsten Meißner and Bobby Robins, each of whom read through earlier drafts of various sections of the material in this book, and saved me from all-too-many errors of fact, judgement and omission.

Because the work covers such a long period, it deals with issues that have traditionally concerned classicists, Byzantinists and neo-Hellenists, as well as historical linguists. I have tried to make it accessible to all these groups by avoiding excessive use of technical jargon (though no serious discussion can dispense with it altogether), and by transcribing, glossing and translating every Greek text. Since the orthography of Greek has remained conservative, the transcriptions (inevitably often based on more or less controversial reconstructions of pronunciation) in fact serve a useful purpose, but I remain conscious that different aspects of the presentation will be irritating to different subsets of potential readers; I ask for forbearance in the interests of those with different academic backgrounds.

The book, however, is not a teach-yourself manual, and I have had to assume some minimal familiarity with Greek in order to say anything at all. Bobby Robins recently

pointed out to me that, even today, discussion of Greek is almost automatically assumed to concern the ancient language in the absence of indications to the contrary. Following the Robins dictum, I have therefore taken Ancient Greek to be the 'unmarked' option, though I hope that this will not prove to be an insuperable obstacle to those who bring different perspectives to the material presented here.

I should say at the outset that the work has been a labour of love, founded on a profound admiration for the achievements of Greeks and speakers of Greek throughout their long and turbulent history, and on a long-term fascination with their language in all its forms. It will perhaps surprise those who know me exclusively as a classicist, as a theoretical syntactician, as a historical linguist, or as someone with a growing interest in Medieval and Modern Greek, to discover that I am in fact all of these things simultaneously. Indeed, had I not been, this book could not have been written. Despite the traditional emphasis on antiquity, the history of Greek does not end with the classical period, or even with the Hellenistic Koine, and my purpose has been to stress the continuity of linguistic development, on through the Roman imperial, Byzantine and Ottoman periods, down to the present day.

Most histories of (Ancient) Greek focus on Mycenaean and the official and literary dialects of the classical period, with the Koine treated almost as an afterthought. In the context of the history of Greek as a whole, however, the Ancient Attic dialect, and the Koine that evolved out of its wider use in the Greek-speaking world, are of paramount importance. The emphasis here, therefore, is necessarily placed on the rise of Attic, the development and spread of the Koine, and the role and development of this 'common Greek' in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Though there are now some excellent treatments of the development of Modern Greek from this source within the context of the 'language question' (i.e. the problems arising from the historical split between conservative written forms of Greek and the spoken forms that evolved more naturally), it is still the case that the Byzantine period in particular remains for many a closed book. I hope very much that the present work will do something to help prise it open.

That said, I believe very strongly that attempts to confine the history of Greek to the study of the 'vernacular', motivated in large part by a desire to be seen to be on the 'right side' in the highly politicized language debate of the 19th and 20th centuries, result in distortion and guarantee that only half the story is told. Now that that debate has been effectively settled, it is possible to acknowledge that standard Modern Greek has in fact incorporated many elements from the learned written tradition, and that it continues to do so. It seemed to me, therefore, that the history of written Greek, and of the cultural circumstances that led the Greek-speaking intelligentsia, from Roman times until surprisingly recently, to employ archaizing written styles, had to be included, and I make no apologies for doing so. The two traditions interacted at all times, and a projection into the past of the artificially polarized positions adopted by theorists of both persuasions in the first 150 years of Greek independence does not do justice to the complexity of the issues involved.

Anyone attempting to write the history of a language has to choose from among three options: dealing with its 'external' history, presenting its 'internal' history, or attempting to do both. For me, the choice was easy, even if the implementation of that decision proved, in the event, to be rather more difficult. Some years ago, a friend

(who, it should be said, was a theoretical linguist with no background in Greek) made her first visit to Athens, and on her return confessed herself disappointed to find that it did not resemble Rome with its wealth of architectural and artistic treasures. Since ancient Greece and modern Greece now occupy much the same geographical space, her natural assumption was that the one had simply emerged out of the other, and that the Greeks had somehow carelessly mislaid their medieval and Renaissance heritage. I suspect that there is little general awareness of the fact that Greek was the dominant language of the whole Roman empire in the east, or that Constantinople (now Istanbul) was the epicentre of Greek/Byzantine culture for well over a thousand years, during most of which Athens was little more than a village in an imperial backwater. Nor, despite general awareness of contemporary Greco-Turkish hostility, are non-specialists usually conscious of the devastating impact on the Greek-speaking world of the crusades and the Turkish conquests of the middle ages, or of the fact that for nearly 400 years there was no Greek state at all. Despite the obvious risks, this is therefore a history of the Greek language and its speakers, and the treatment of internal linguistic developments is carefully interwoven into a study of the changing cultural, political and military circumstances of those who used it. Indeed, it seemed to me that much of what happened linguistically makes sense only when placed in its wider historical context.

It remains to thank John Chadwick, who, many years ago, first aroused my interest in the history of Greek, and whose inventive work remains a source of inspiration. I should also like to record my thanks to Professor N.M. Panayiotákis and the staff of the Greek Institute in Venice for their generous hospitality and the opportunity to do some valuable research in the middle of a frantic term. Above all, however, I must take this opportunity to thank my wife Gill, and my daughters Amy and Sophie, for their endless support and mainly cheerful, though sometimes necessarily stoic, tolerance of my irritable and distracted state during much of the time I spent putting this book together.

So, all too well aware of my limitations in many of the fields in which I have had to venture, I offer this book to those who will read it in the hope that they will come to share at least some of my fascination with this remarkable language.

Cambridge
February 1997

Preface to the Second Edition

More than 12 years have passed since the first edition of this book appeared, and much has happened in that time. First and foremost, the original version is no longer in print, following the decision of Pearson, after its takeover of Longman, to terminate the series to which it belonged (Longman Linguistics Library). Demand, however, remains high, at least to judge from my email – not to mention the prices that second-hand copies currently command! A second edition is therefore timely, and I am very grateful to Wiley-Blackwell for all the interest they have shown in this project and for their steady encouragement through the years in which it has been in preparation. Its appearance has been much delayed by other commitments, most notably the writing (with James Clackson) of the *Blackwell History of the Latin Language*, which was published late in 2007, and the fact that I served as chairman of the Faculty of Classics in Cambridge for two years (2007 and 2008), a demanding job which, though always interesting, left little time for serious research and writing.

This new edition has taken full account of the many reviews that appeared soon after the original was published, and I am enormously grateful to all those who contributed in this way to its reshaping. A wonderful Greek translation was also published in 2006 by Estia in Athens, and I had long discussions with the translators, Melita Stavrou and Maria Tzevelekou, from whom I learned a great deal. Many errors were corrected in the process, and this new English edition is a major beneficiary of changes that were made then. Some reviewers and one of the translators commented that the wealth of detail in the original, though inherently interesting, tended to obscure the major theme of the work, namely the effects of early standardization and the consequential state of diglossia on the long-term evolution of the language. I had hoped therefore to refocus things quite radically in this version in order to help readers keep this bigger picture in view. While that objective has not been lost sight of, the fact that the first edition is now out of print has meant that I can no longer take its availability for granted. I have therefore decided to retain discussion of the specifics of linguistic history, while simultaneously attempting to subordinate this material more effectively to the demands of the overall narrative. With what success remains to be seen.

Two particular issues are perhaps worthy of special mention here. Classicists were generally disappointed that I did not pay more attention to the many varieties of Ancient Greek. Since the work was never intended to be primarily a history of Ancient Greek, the first edition naturally focused on the standardized form of the language from which Medieval and Modern Greek evolved. Here, however, I have included a little more discussion, and some examples, of the 'other' Ancient Greek dialects, both literary and epigraphic. While this may well tend to work against the principal thrust of the enterprise, I hope it will provide classicists with enough to stave off their hunger for a meatier survey. Secondly, my knowledge of Medieval Greek in the mid-to-late 1990s was, frankly, that of an amateur, and more than one reviewer was quick to spot the naivety and superficiality of some aspects of the presentation. While I cannot claim in the interim to have devoted my life to mastering this vast domain, I have had the privilege over the last four years of working on the Cambridge-based 'Medieval Greek Grammar Project', funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council. The truly expert knowledge of my colleagues, Marjolijne Janssen, Tina Lendari, Io Manolessou and Notis Toufexis, coupled with my own exposure to a great deal more material than I previously had any inkling of, has, I hope, led to significant improvement in this important section of the work.

During the revision process I have been especially grateful to Julián Méndez Dosuna, Peter Mackridge, Marjolijne Janssen and Marc Lauxtermann for their detailed comments on all, or at least significant parts, of the original. These have been invaluable to me in reworking the relevant chapters. I should also like to record my special debt to two outstanding scholars mentioned in the preface to the first edition, but sadly no longer with us, both of whom were at different times instrumental in my professional development as a Hellenist and as a linguist, namely John Chadwick and Bobby Robins. Without their instruction, good advice and boundless support and enthusiasm, none of this would ever have been possible. I miss them both.

Last but by no means least, I should like to thank everyone involved in the production of this book at Wiley-Blackwell for their encouragement, patience and professionalism throughout. A special word of thanks is due to Fiona Sewell for copyediting a complex manuscript so expertly and for ensuring that the final product looks as good as the material allows it to be.

Cambridge
February 2010

THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET (revised to 2005)

CONSONANTS (PULMONIC)

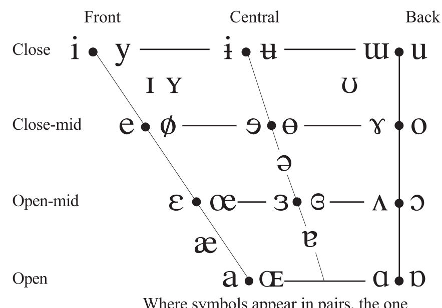
	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Plosive	p b			t d		ʈ ɖ	c ɟ	k ɡ	q ɢ		ʔ
Nasal	m	ɱ		n		ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	ɴ		
Trill	ʙ			r					ʀ		
Tap or Flap		ⱱ		ɾ		ɽ					
Fricative	ɸ β	f v	θ ð	s z	ʃ ʒ	ʂ ʐ	ç ʝ	x ɣ	χ ʁ	ħ ʕ	h ɦ
Lateral fricative				ɬ ɮ							
Approximant		ʋ		ɹ		ɻ	j	ɰ			
Lateral approximant				l		ɭ	ʎ	ʟ			

Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a voiced consonant. Shaded areas denote articulations judged impossible.

CONSONANTS (NON-PULMONIC)

Clicks		Voiced implosives		Ejectives	
ʘ	Bilabial	ɓ	Bilabial	ʼ	Examples:
ǀ	Dental	ɗ	Dental/alveolar	pʼ	Bilabial
ǃ	(Post)alveolar	ʄ	Palatal	tʼ	Dental/alveolar
ǂ	Palatoalveolar	ɠ	Velar	kʼ	Velar
ǁ	Alveolar lateral	ʛ	Uvular	sʼ	Alveolar fricative

VOWELS



Where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right represents a rounded vowel.

OTHER SYMBOLS

ʍ Voiceless labial-velar fricative

w Voiced labial-velar approximant

ɥ Voiced labial-palatal approximant

ʜ Voiceless epiglottal fricative

ʢ Voiced epiglottal fricative

ʡ Epiglottal plosive

ɕ ʑ Alveolo-palatal fricatives

ɺ Voiced alveolar lateral flap

ɧ Simultaneous ʃ and x

Affricates and double articulations can be represented by two symbols joined by a tie bar if necessary. k͡p t͜s

SUPRASEGMENTALS

ˈ Primary stress

ˌ Secondary stress ˌfoʊnəˈtɪʃən

ː Long eː

ˑ Half-long eˑ

˘ Extra-short ĕ

| Minor (foot) group

‖ Major (intonation) group

. Syllable break ɹi.ækt

‿ Linking (absence of a break)

DIACRITICS Diacritics may be placed above a symbol with a descender, e.g. ŋ̊

̥	Voiceless	n̥ d̥	̤	Breathy voiced	b̤ a̤	̪	Dental	t̪ d̪
̬	Voiced	s̬ t̬	̰	Creaky voiced	b̰ a̰	̺	Apical	t̺ d̺
ʰ	Aspirated	tʰ dʰ	̼	Linguolabial	t̼ d̼	̻	Laminal	t̻ d̻
̹	More rounded	ɔ̹	ʷ	Labialized	tʷ dʷ	̃	Nasalized	ẽ
̜	Less rounded	ɔ̜	ʲ	Palatalized	tʲ dʲ	ⁿ	Nasal release	dⁿ
̟	Advanced	u̟	ˠ	Velarized	tˠ dˠ	ˡ	Lateral release	dˡ
̠	Retracted	e̠	ˤ	Pharyngealized	tˤ dˤ	̚	No audible release	d̚
̈	Centralized	ë	̴	Velarized or pharyngealized	ɫ			
̽	Mid-centralized	e̽	̝	Raised	e̝ (ɹ̝ = voiced alveolar fricative)			
̩	Syllabic	n̩	̞	Lowered	e̞ (β̞ = voiced bilabial approximant)			
̯	Non-syllabic	e̯	̘	Advanced Tongue Root	e̘			
˞	Rhoticity	ɚ a˞	̙	Retracted Tongue Root	e̙			

TONES AND WORD ACCENTS

LEVEL			CONTOUR		
e̋ or	˥	Extra high	ě or	˩˥	Rising
é	˦	High	ê	˥˩	Falling
ē	˧	Mid	e᷄	˦˥	High rising
è	˨	Low	e᷅	˩˨	Low rising
ȅ	˩	Extra low	e᷈	˧˦˧	Rising-falling
ꜜ		Downstep	↗		Global rise
ꜛ		Upstep	↘		Global fall

The Greek Alphabet

The Mycenaean civilization, dating from the second half of the second millennium BC, employed a syllabic script for the writing of Greek. But writing disappears with the final collapse of this civilization c.1200 BC, and examples of the novel alphabetic writing first appear on pieces of pottery in the 8th century BC, the earliest, not later than 770 BC, coming from a tomb at Osteria dell' Osa near the Latin city of Gabii (Cornell (1995: 103)). Letter forms and spelling conventions display considerable regional variation for several centuries thereafter (the Latin alphabet, incidentally, derives ultimately from that employed by Euboean colonists in Italy). See Jeffery (1990), Powell (1996), Woodard (1997) and Easterling and Handley (2001) for a range of views about the origins of the alphabet, some quite controversial, and for examples of the diversity of letter forms etc.

It seems that these local Greek alphabets were initially developed during the latter part of the 9th century BC on the basis of a brilliant adaptation of the Phoenician script, which, like those used for other Semitic languages, did not note vowel sounds. By redeploying letters that denoted consonant sounds irrelevant to Greek, the vowels could now be written systematically, thus producing the first 'true' alphabet. During the 4th century BC the version of the alphabet initially developed in Ionia (the western coast of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands), having been adopted in Athens in 403/2 BC, gradually assumed the status of a standard throughout the Greek-speaking world, a status which it has retained ever since. It will be useful at the outset to present this alphabet for reference purposes, along with the customary reconstructed pronunciation of the Athenian dialect of the 5th/4th centuries BC (cf. Sturtevant (1940), Allen (1987a)) and the standard modern pronunciation. Digraphs and diacritics are appended:

Greek letter		**Ancient pronunciation (5th/4th century BC)**	**Modern pronunciation**
Αα	(alpha)[1]	[a]	[a]
Ββ	(beta)	[b]	[b]
Γγ	(gamma)	[g]	[ɣ, j]
Δδ	(delta)	[d]	[ð]
Εϵ	(epsilon)	[e]	[e]
Ζζ	(zeta)	[zd]	[z]
Ηη	(eta)	[ɛː]	[i]
Θθ	(theta)	[tʰ]	[θ]

Greek letter		Ancient pronunciation (5th/4th century BC)	Modern pronunciation
Ιι	(iota)	[i, i:]	[i, j]
Κκ	(kappa)	[k]	[k, c]
Λλ	(lambda)	[l]	[l]
Μμ	(mu)	[m]	[m]
Νν	(nu)	[n]	[n]
Ξξ	(xi)	[ks]	[ks]
Οο	(omikron)	[o]	[o]
Ππ	(pi)	[p]	[p]
Ρρ	(rho)	[r]	[r]
Σσ/ς	(sigma)[2]	[s]	[s]
Ττ	(tau)	[t]	[t]
Υυ	(upsilon)	[y, y:]	[i]
Φφ	(phi)	[pʰ]	[f]
Χχ	(chi)	[kʰ]	[x, ç]
Ψψ	(psi)	[ps]	[ps]
Ωω	(omega)	[o:]	[o]

1. The distinction between capital and lower-case letters is not ancient; the former are now conventionally employed in printed texts of ancient authors both for the initial letter of proper names and for the initial letter of the first word of a passage of direct speech, but not to mark the first word of each new sentence. The modern conventions are as for English.
2. σ is used at the beginning or in the middle of words, ς word-finally.

Digraphs		Ancient pronunciation (5th/4th century BC)	Modern pronunciation
αι		[ai]	[e]
αυ		[au]	[af, av]
ει		[e:]	[i]
ευ		[eu]	[ef, ev]
οι		[oi]	[i]
ου		[u:]	[u]
ᾳ	(with ι subscript)[1]	[a:i]	[a]
ῃ	(with ι subscript)	[ɛ:i]	[i]
ῳ	(with ι subscript)	[o:i]	[o]
γγ		[ŋg]	[(ŋ)g]
γκ		[ŋk]	[(ŋ)g]
γχ		[ŋkʰ]	[ŋx]
μπ		[mp]	[(m)b]
ντ		[nt]	[(n)d]

1. Iota in these ‘long’ diphthongs is standardly written subscript in modern texts of ancient authors, but was originally written on the line (adscript) in antiquity. This residual graphic retention after loss in actual pronunciation was due to later ‘archaizing/puristic’ tendencies.

Diacritics[1]	**Ancient pronunciation (5th/4th century BC)**	**Modern pronunciation**
᾿ (smooth breathing)	[null]	[null]
῾ (rough breathing)	[h]	[null]
´ (acute accent)	[rise (+ fall on following syllable)]	[stress]
` (grave accent)	[absence of rise]	[stress]
῀ (circumflex accent)	[rise-fall]	[stress]

1. These were retained in the writing of Modern Greek (despite their redundancy in the case of the breathings and their equivalence in the case of the accents) until the orthographic reform of 1982, which introduced the ‘monotonic’ system whereby the breathings were abandoned and stressed vowels were consistently marked by means of the acute accent alone.

Introduction: The Scope and Purpose of This Book

Our first concrete examples of Greek come from the second half of the second millennium BC, and are associated with the Mycenaean civilization named after the Bronze Age palace of Mycenae near Argos in the Peloponnese. This civilization is now seen as the product of the impact of the brilliant Minoan culture of Crete (named after the legendary king Minos) on the mainland sometime towards the end of the 16th century BC. In particular, crucial aspects of the Mycenaean economic and administrative systems, including the use of writing, were based on Minoan practice. This involved *inter alia* the detailed recording of day-to-day administration on clay tablets by officials installed in palaces controlling their surrounding regions. The destruction of these palaces by fire led to the accidental baking and preservation of collections of tablets not only at Knossos on Crete (probably c.1400 BC, though some place it 150–200 years later, see MacGillivray (2000)), but also on the mainland (c.1200 BC), specifically at Pylos on the western coast of the Peloponnese, at Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid, and at Thebes in Boeotia.

The original language of Minoan Crete remains unknown, but the mainly syllabic script used to write it is called 'Linear A', since this was the earlier of two linear writing systems discovered to have been in use at the palace of Knossos in Crete by the British archaeologist Sir Arthur Evans. In the period when the Mycenaean civilization of the mainland was still developing under Minoan influence, this script was modified to create a new version known as 'Linear B'. Thanks to Michael Ventris' brilliant decipherment in the early 1950s, we now know that the adaptation was designed to facilitate the writing of the Mycenaean language, and that this language was Greek (see Chadwick (1967) for an account of the decipherment, Ventris and Chadwick (1973), Chadwick (1976a), Hooker (1980), Bartoněk (2003) and Duhoux and Morpurgo Davies (2008) for surveys of the script, language and content of the tablets, together with relevant bibliography). Interestingly, the documents which come from the period of the final destruction of the palace at Knossos also use Linear B, a fact that suggests a Mycenaean takeover of Minoan territory, probably following earlier destruction of the principal Minoan sites during the 15th century BC.

In (1) below a Linear B document from the palace at Pylos (PY Ta722) is given first in the now conventional Romanized transcription, followed by the probable phonetic interpretation (based on our knowledge of later Greek and supplemented by internal and comparative reconstruction), which vividly reveals the multiple inadequacies of the script. An item-by-item gloss is provided beneath, followed by a free translation:

(1) Ta-ra-nu a-ja-me-no e-re-pa-te-jo a-to-ro-qo i-qo-qe
po-ru-po-de-qe po-ni-ke-qe FOOTSTOOL 1[1]

[t^{h}râ:nus	aia:ménos	elep^{h}anteío:i	ant^{h}ró:k^{w}o:i	híkk^{w}o:i	k^{w}e
stool(nom)	inlaid(nom)	of-ivory(dat-inst)	man(dat-inst)	horse(dat-inst)-and	

polupódei	k^{w}e	p^{h}oiní:kei	k^{w}e][2]
‘manyfoot’, i.e. octopus(dat-inst)-and		griffin/palm tree(dat-inst)-and	

‘One footstool inlaid with a man and a horse and an octopus and a griffin/palm tree (all) in ivory’

In the course of nearly three and a half thousand years since this tablet was written Greek has obviously undergone many changes, while in the written domain the Linear B syllabary was long ago replaced by an alphabet. But speakers of the modern language can, with a little help and guidance, still recognize here some extremely ancient correspondents of a number of contemporary words:[3]

(2)			
	θρανίο	[θra'nio]	‘desk/form’
	ελεφάντινος	[ele'fa(n)dinos]	‘made of ivory’
	άνθρωπος	['anθropos]	‘man, person, human being’
	ίππος	['ipos]	‘horse’ (when talking of ‘horse power’)
	πολύποδας	[po'lipoðas]	‘polypod, polyp’
	φοίνικας	['finikas]	‘phoenix/palm tree’

It is not, however, the case that every word with a Mycenaean heritage has a continuous history in spoken vernaculars. In particular, in the period since Greece gained its independence from the Ottoman empire in the nineteenth century a great deal of vocabulary previously lost from popular spoken styles has been reintroduced from a learned written tradition that had remained much more closely associated with Ancient Greek. None the less, the educated modern speaker feels some instinctive familiarity with a reasonable part of the Mycenaean lexicon, and indeed with much of the Ancient Greek lexicon more generally.

But Ancient Greek and the later written varieties based on it are not readily accessible to untrained speakers of the standard modern language. The grammatical and lexical divergence between spoken and written forms of Greek began in late antiquity and this growing separation eventually became, and in some respects still remains, a highly problematical issue. Since the development of distinct spoken/popular and written/learned traditions and the consequences of this process will be one of the central themes of this book, we may usefully preview some of the issues here, taking the examples already given as the basis for a simple illustration.

The Athenian dialect (Attic) equivalents of the Modern Greek words in (2) were already spelled in very much the same way at the end of the 5th century BC, especially if we discount the morphological changes that have occurred since then. They were, however, pronounced very differently at that time, as the transcriptions in (3) show:

(3)	θρανίον	[t^{h}ra:níon]
	ἐλεφάντινος	[elep^{h}ántinos]
	ἄνθρωπος	[ánt^{h}ro:pos]
	ἵππος	[híppos]
	πολύπους	[polýpu:s]
	φοίνιξ	[p^{h}oíni:ks]

(2) and (3) together reveal how a highly conservative orthography, which represents the (reconstructed) pronunciation of the 5th/4th centuries BC quite accurately but is clearly rather less suited to the modern language, can utterly conceal the sometimes major sound changes of the last 25 centuries.

This simple example is just one reflection of a much more general linguistic conservatism that, until very recently, extended far beyond matters of spelling. The phenomenon has its origins in the overwhelming prestige of Athenian culture, especially Athenian literature, in the classical period of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The emergence of a true classical canon at such an early date had a remarkable fossilizing effect on the form of written Greek throughout the subsequent history of the language. The resulting problem of 'diglossia' (for a classic account see Ferguson (1959)) has dominated the history of Greek almost to the present day, with the spoken language, particularly of the uneducated majority, evolving in a more or less 'natural' way, i.e. without the retarding effects of training in an archaizing variety, while the orthography, grammar and lexicon of the standardized written language changed very slowly or, in certain styles, hardly at all.

This enduring emphasis on the supposed perfection of the classical written word allowed the fact of sound change to be very largely ignored, and Greeks throughout their history have simply read the texts of earlier periods using whatever the current pronunciation of the language happened to be. But more importantly it also fostered and perpetuated the view amongst the minority who had mastered the archaizing written language that changes in spoken Greek represented a form of linguistic decay that should not be tolerated in writing.

Such a situation obviously presents serious problems for the historical linguist, who, working exclusively with written documents, is faced with severe difficulties in trying to detect and date the changes that took place in spoken Greek. Concrete evidence is often available only in the form of orthographic errors and grammatical or lexical departures from classical usage in texts which, by accident or design, exhibit some degree of compromise with the contemporary spoken language. Considerations of authorial intention and capability, as well as of generic conventions, are therefore paramount, and only when we have answered the question of how far a particular author was attempting, or indeed capable of, a 'classicizing' style can we turn to issues concerning the incidence and chronology of change. An archaizing writer of the later middle ages, for example, would continue to use classical forms like φοίνιξ (though by

then pronounced ['finiks]) long after 'modern' φοίνικας ['finikas] had become the norm in both spoken Greek and subliterary written styles. Thus despite the unbroken continuity and the massive volume of documentary material from the time of the first alphabetic inscriptions down to the present day, many uncertainties still remain concerning the dating and development of key linguistic changes.

Many histories of the Greek language treat the archaizing written language as an artificial construct devoid of interest for the historical linguist, a 'zombie' language that was incompetently handled by its practitioners throughout its pseudo-history, and which persistently stifled creativity because of its ever greater remoteness from the realities of spoken Greek (cf. Browning (1983)). This point of view accurately reflects the sympathies of most linguists with respect to the great language debate of the 19th and 20th centuries in Greece between the merits of the traditional written language and the natural spoken language as a basis for the development of a modern national standard, but it involves an anachronistic projection of near-contemporary issues into ancient and medieval worlds with rather different perceptions and preoccupations.

Furthermore, since those who learned to write in these traditional ways also spoke Greek in a contemporary way, bilateral interference between written and spoken varieties among the educated was an inevitable fact which the historian of Greek cannot, and should not, ignore. Ideology apart, there is no good reason to assign a uniquely privileged position to the development of the spoken language of the illiterate. Instead, efforts should be made to understand the reasons for the persistence of diglossia, and to evaluate its profound impact on the development of the Greek language over the last 2,000 years. It is, after all, emphatically not the case that contemporary standard Modern Greek represents the 'pure' product of the evolution of the spoken language in communities where literacy was unable to play its supposedly deleterious role in hampering language development.

This book will therefore look at the Greek language in all its varieties, and in the context of the changing social and historical circumstances of its speakers/writers. In this way it is possible not only to explain, summarize and exemplify the principal facts of change, but also to render comprehensible a long-term language situation that has often been dismissed as the product of reprehensible folly and slavish imitation on the part of those fortunate enough to have enjoyed the benefits of a proper education. Post-classical and Byzantine intellectuals were not endowed with foreknowledge of what was to come, nor were they all fools.

In what follows, the story of the Greek language will be told in three sections, dealing with Ancient, Medieval and Modern Greek respectively, though the chronological boundaries are of course conventional and essentially arbitrary. The first step will be to examine the array of Greek dialects in the period before the 5th century BC. Against this background we can then seek to account for the emergence of the Attic dialect of the region of Athens (Attica) as the pre-eminent form of Greek during the 4th century. This highly prestigious dialect was the principal foundation for the so-called Hellenistic Koine (κοινή, ancient [koinέ:], modern [ci'ni], = 'common (dialect)') that eventually came to dominate the Greek-speaking world, having first been endorsed and adopted by the all-conquering Macedonians and then carried throughout the East as an administrative and cultural language by the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Its evolving local varieties later formed the basis for the evolution of the spoken dialects

of Medieval and Modern Greek, but the continuing role of the conservative written Koine as an official and literary language, the latter ever more self-consciously 'Attic' in character, profoundly affected the spoken Greek of the educated elite throughout the middle ages and much of the modern period. The efforts to develop a modern standard both before and after Greek independence are therefore a tale of struggle, and ultimately of partial reconciliation, between advocates of the spoken and written traditions as the proper foundation for a language fit to meet the complex and varied needs of a modern European nation. In the event, as often, actual developments on the ground finally overtook both sets of ideologues, though what to do about the 'burden of the past' still remains a live issue among a people who are more sensitive, and indeed more opinionated, than most about matters of language use, language teaching and language change. See Georgakopoúlou and Silk (2009) for a fascinating collection of analyses and interpretations of the key issues from antiquity to the present.

Notes

1 FOOTSTOOL transcribes an ideogram, and 1 a numerical sign.

2 See the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) Chart (p. xvii) for the symbols employed here and henceforth. The only departure from standard usage concerns the ancient 'pitch' accent: this was a contonation involving either a monosyllabic rise-fall on a single long vowel or diphthong, marked in transcriptions as ^, or a rise, marked ′, on one syllable followed by a fall (unmarked) on the next; in certain circumstances, not exemplified here, the rise was neutralized in some way, marked ` (see Allen (1973, 1987a), Devine and Stephens (1994) for details).

3 See 'The Greek Alphabet' (pp. xviii–xx) for details of both classical and modern pronunciations of Greek. In the phonetic transcriptions of Modern Greek the symbol ˈ precedes the syllable to be stressed; see note 2 for the accentuation marks used in the transcriptions of Ancient Greek.

PART I

Ancient Greek

From Mycenae to the Roman Empire

1

The Ancient Greek Dialects

1.1 The Coming of the 'Greeks' to Greece

It is now generally believed that speakers of an Indo-European dialect or dialects arrived in the Balkan peninsula in the early second millennium BC (see Drews (1988), Klingenschmitt (1994), Garrett (1999) for a range of views), and that the language we call Greek developed its distinctive form there through the subsequent evolution and diversification of the speech of those of these newcomers who finally settled in the region. The process of development must have been influenced by language contact with populations already in place, some of whom may have been indigenous, others earlier migrants, though we are not now in a position to identify the peoples and languages concerned despite widespread speculation about the possible impact of 'Pelasgian', about which nothing is known, and even Luwian, a language of the Indo-European family related to Hittite and attested historically in Asia Minor.

A considerable number of words, often exhibiting characteristically non-Greek suffixes, were borrowed into the emerging Greek language at this time. Unsurprisingly, these are typically the names of places and geographical landmarks (e.g. Μυκῆναι [mykɛ̂:nai] 'Mycenae', Ἀθῆναι [at^{h}ɛ̂:nai] 'Athens', Κόρινθος [kórint^{h}os] 'Corinth', Παρνασσός [parnassós] '(Mount) Parnassus', Λυκαβηττός [lykabɛ:ttós] '(Mount) Lykabettos', Κηφισός [kɛ:p^{h}isós] '(the river) Cephisus'), as well as of plants and artefacts (e.g. τερέβινθος [terébint^{h}os] 'turpentine tree', ὑάκινθος [hyákint^{h}os] 'hyacinth', δάφνη [dáp^{h}nɛ:] 'laurel', σῦκον [sŷ:kon] 'fig', ἀσάμινθος [asámint^{h}os] 'bath tub', δέπας [dépas] 'cup', πλίνθος [plínt^{h}os] 'brick', ξίφος [ksíp^{h}os] 'sword').[1]

Characteristic innovations which define Ancient Greek as a distinct language within the Indo-European (IE) family include those listed in (1). Most of these are prehistoric and cannot be securely dated, though the final stages of some, such as the first case of (a), perhaps belong to the historical period of the Linear B tablets (see 1.2), while a very few, such as (i), were completed only after the Mycenaean collapse:

(1) (a) Initial IE *y- [j] partly developed to [h], as in ὅς [hós] 'who' beside Sanskrit *yás*, while medial *-y- was lost, as in τρεῖς [trê:s] 'three', < earlier τρέες

[tré(j)es] by vowel contraction, beside Sanskrit *tráyas*. In other cases, and under unknown circumstances, *y > [dz], later metathesized to [zd] as in ζύγον [zdýgon] 'yoke', beside Latin *iugum*.

(b) The voiced aspirates of IE (**bh*, **dh*, **gh*, **gʷh*) were de-voiced, as in φέρω [pʰero:] 'carry/bear', beside Sanskrit *bhárāmi*.

(c) Initial prevocalic **s-* and intervocalic **-s-* developed to [h], and medial [h] was then often lost, as in ἑπτά [heptá] 'seven' and γένους [génu:s] 'race, stock (gen)', < earlier γένεος [géne(h)os] through contraction of vowels: cf. Latin *septem*, Sanskrit *saptá*, and Sanskrit *jánasas*. Many cases of intervocalic [s] were, however, retained/restored on the analogy of formations in which [s] occurred postconsonantally (e.g. ἐποίησε [epoíɛ:se] 's/he made' beside ἔβλαψε [éblapse] 's/he hurt').

(d) Final consonants other than [n, r, s] were lost, as in τι [ti] 'something', beside Latin *quid*, Sanskrit *cit*.

(e) Word-initially there are vocalic reflexes of original 'laryngeal' consonants before resonants other than **y* (i.e. [l, r, m, n, w]), which the remaining IE languages apart from Armenian have lost, as in ἐρυθρός [erytʰrós] 'red' beside Latin *ruber*, Sanskrit *rudhirá-*.

(f) The originally 'free' (late) IE word accent, based primarily on pitch variation and best preserved in Vedic Sanskrit, was confined to one of the last three syllables.

(g) The superlative suffix -τατος [-tatos] is an innovation exclusive to Greek.

(h) Full grammaticalization of the locative case form originally belonging to certain n-stem deverbal nouns in order to form the regular active infinitive of verbs in -ω [-o:] (the thematic verbs, in which a theme- or stem-forming vowel [e] or [o] intervenes between the root and the ending) is distinctively Greek: thus -ειν [-e:n] or -ην [-ɛ:n] according to dialect, both arising by contraction < -ε-εν [-e(h)en] < **-e-sen*.

(i) The final syncretism of cases, whereby ablative and genitive functions come to be expressed by the 'genitive' case forms and dative, locative and instrumental functions by the 'dative' case forms, is also a key marker of Greek.

1.2 The Earliest Records: Mycenaean Greek

As noted in the Introduction, the decipherment of Linear B in the 1950s firmly established Mycenaean as the earliest documented variety of Greek, making this the European language with the longest recorded history, from the 15th/14th (or, taking the later date for the final destruction of Knossos, the 13th/12th) centuries BC to the present day. This is not the place to attempt a full-scale description, but it will be useful to provide a brief account of Linear B and the problems that arise in describing the highly archaic form of Greek written in it, one which retains, for example, the inherited sound [w] in all positions and a distinct instrumental case form, at least in the plural. Interestingly, however, for all its antiquity this dialect already shows some characteristic innovations of 'East Greek' type (see 1.4 for details).

Although the Linear B script uses ideograms to denote classes of objects and has special signs for weights, measures and numerals, the heart of the writing system comprises some 89 syllabic signs, of which 73 have been assigned more or less agreed phonetic values. Each represents either a vowel sound (V), rarely a diphthong, or a combination of one, rarely two, consonants with a following vowel ((C)CV). But contrasts of vowel length, an important property of Ancient Greek, are not noted, and the set of symbols representing diphthongs is incomplete and only sporadically used, so diphthongs are written inconsistently, either by using the signs for two vowels in combination or by suppressing the notation of a diphthong's second element altogether.

Linear B also largely fails to represent the characteristic Ancient Greek oppositions in the plosive system based on aspiration and voice, having only one sign for each vowel when preceded by any of the three labial or three velar stops, and with only the voiced member distinguished in the dental series:

(2)	(a)	[p, (b)[2], pʰ] +V	represented by:	*pa, pe, pi, po, pu*
	(b)	[t, tʰ] +V	represented by:	*ta, te, ti, to, tu*
		[d] +V	represented by:	*da, de, di, do, du*
	(c)	[k, g, kʰ] +V	represented by:	*ka, ke, ki, ko, ku*

The IE labio-velars **kʷ, *gʷ, *gʰʷ* developed in classical Greek to labials or, via palatalization before front vowels, to dentals (cf. τίς [tís] 'who?', τε [te] 'and' beside Latin *quis*, *-que*). But in Mycenaean these are still retained across the board, always allowing for the characteristic Greek de-voicing of the voiced aspirate to [kʰʷ] (cf. (1b)). The labio-velars are also represented by a single series of syllabic signs, as in *a-pi-qo-ro* [ampʰíkʷoloi] 'attendants' beside classical ἀμφίπολοι [ampʰípoloi], *qo-u-ko-ro* [gʷoukóloi] 'cowherds' beside classical βουκόλοι [bu:kóloi], and *qe-ra-si-ja* [kʰʷɛ:rasía:i] 'mistress of the beasts (dat)' beside classical θηρ-ίον [tʰɛ:ríon] 'wild beast'. Note that [r] and [l] are not graphically distinguished either.

Assuming that Linear B values can be ascribed to corresponding Linear A signs, the evidence suggests that the Minoan language for which this syllabary was originally invented must have had a very different type of phonological system from that of Greek. Note, for example, that incomplete sets of signs are occasionally used to write unusual syllables beginning with clusters containing [w], specifically [dwe], [dwo], [twe], [two] and [nwa]. Perhaps these once belonged, along with those representing the labio-velars, to complete sets representing syllables beginning with labialized consonants in a language in which this secondary articulation was contrastive and generalized.

There is a further incomplete set of signs *za*, *ze*, *zo*, for syllables (probably) beginning with dental affricates, either [tʃa]/[dʒa], [tʃe]/[dʒe], [tʃo]/[dʒo] or [tsa]/[dza], [tse]/[dze], [tso]/[dzo]. These regularly appear where we later find classical ζ [zd] plus vowel (note, however, that classical [zd] is usually the result of a post-Mycenaean metathesis of [dz], cf. Allen (1987a: 54)). In particular, these signs often represent the initial sound of certain words originally beginning with a **y-* that did not develop to [h] (see (1a)), as ζύγον [zdýgon] 'yoke': so Mycenaean *ze-u-ke-u-si* [dzeúgeusi] 'yokers (dat pl)'. They may, however, also represent the product of the palatalization of voiced dentals and

velars before [j] + vowel, as in *e-ne-wo-pe-za* [ennewo-pédza:] '?with nine feet (fem)' < *[-pedja:], cf. later (non-Attic/Ionic) -πέζα [-pézda:]). By contrast, Mycenaean seems in general already to have passed the affricate stage in the treatment of voiceless [tj, kj] plus vowel, showing forms such as *to-so* [tós(s)os] 'so much' beside later τόσ(σ)ος [tós(s)os] < **tot-jos*, and *pa-sa-lo* [passálo:] 'pegs (dual)', analogous to later πάσσαλος [pássalos], < **pakjalos*. But in a few cases the z-series also represents an intermediate affricate stage [tʃ, ts], as in *ka-zo-e* [kátso(h)es] 'worse' (nom pl), < *κάκ-jοσ-ες [kák-jos-es] = {bad}+{er}+{nom pl}. Once again these signs may represent the residue of a complete Linear A series representing syllables beginning with systematically assibilated dentals ([tˢa]/[dᶻa] etc).

Other problems follow from the fact that Ancient Greek had many consonant clusters, and therefore many syllables both beginning and ending in a consonant. Linear B, whose signs normally represent either V or CV, is therefore poorly suited for writing Greek, and various spelling conventions were employed in consequence, involving either suppression (e.g. word-final consonants and syllable-final [r, l, m, n, s] are regularly omitted, as is word-initial pre-consonantal [s]) or the introduction of 'dummy' vowels borrowed from the following, more rarely the preceding, syllable. The professional scribes who wrote the Linear B tablets obviously knew the situations they were recording and were in any case accustomed to reading and writing such highly approximate spellings, but a great deal of reconstruction was required, based on interpretation of the real-world context and knowledge of later Greek and other IE languages, in order to flesh out these bare orthographic 'skeletons'. Typical examples, again using the standard Romanized transcription of the Linear B syllabic signs, are *pe-ma* representing [spérma] 'seed', *ka-na-pe-u* representing [knapʰeús] 'fuller', and *pa-te* representing [pántes] 'all (nom pl)'.

A further major difficulty is that much of the morphology of Ancient Greek involves changes in final consonants or the alternation of final vowels with diphthongs, none of which is represented directly in the script. Thus the evidence of later Greek and related IE languages shows that the endings of the singular of a standard feminine first-declension noun of the Mycenaean period must have been nominative [-a:], accusative [-a:n], genitive [-a:s], dative [-a:i], all of which are spelled with *-a* in Linear B. The task of reconstructing the morphological paradigms of Mycenaean was therefore highly problematical, and a number of questions still remain open. To give just one example, a distinct instrumental case is noted in plural paradigms, ending in *-pi* [-pʰi] in all but second declension o-stems, and this is retained as a variant for a range of oblique cases in the later language of the Homeric epics (as -φι [-pʰi]). In the singular, however, the spelling system could not distinguish an instrumental from other cases (e.g. in the first declension it would end in [-a:], spelled yet again as *-a*). Should we then assume that there was also a separate instrumental case in the singular, or that this function had already been syncretized with those of the dative(-locative) forms as in later Greek? As things stand, there is no internal evidence that can be brought to bear directly on this question and answers depend very largely on what individual researchers find 'plausible' (see, for example, Hajnal (1995), Thompson (1998)).

The art of syllabic writing largely disappeared with the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, and the Greek world then entered a 'Dark Age'. We should note, however, that another syllabic script related to Linear A is attested on Cyprus in the period from

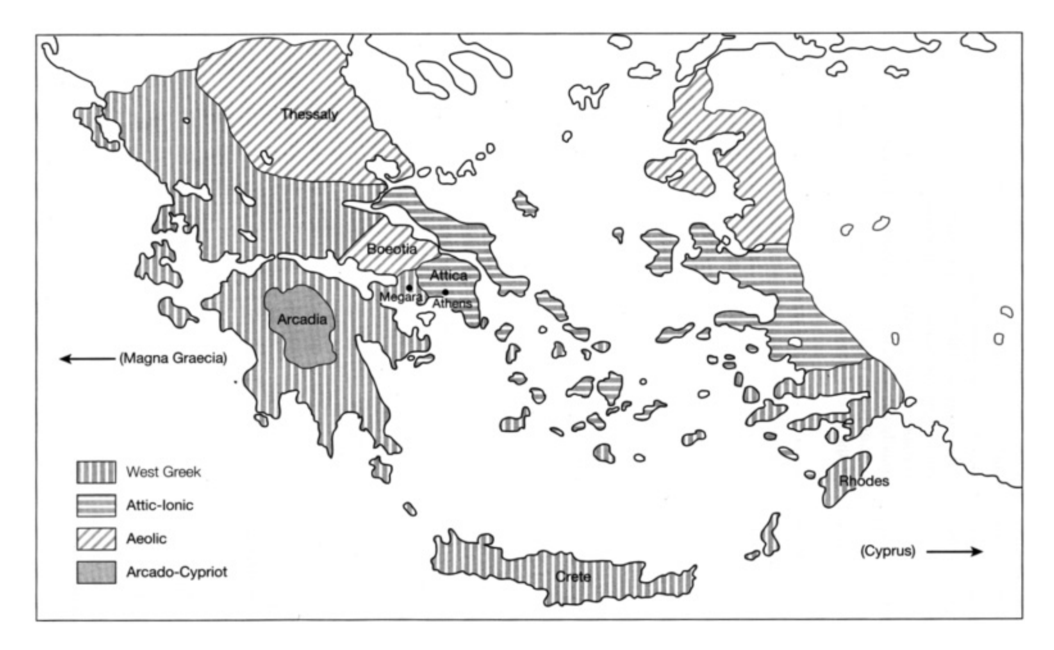
the 16th to the 12th centuries BC. Though this ‘Cypro-Minoan’ syllabary was probably not used for writing Greek at that time, a modified version was developed for this purpose from at least the 8th century BC and remained in use till the 3rd (see Chadwick (1987)). More recently, however, it has been argued that the earliest surviving Greek text is from the 11th/10th century, and that Greek literacy on Cyprus has a more or less continuous history from the period following the Mycenaean collapse (see Olivier (2007: no. 170)).

Elsewhere, however, writing was reintroduced during the late 9th century BC in the form of an adaptation of the Phoenician alphabet, in which redundant consonant signs were redeployed for the first time to represent vowel sounds. The earliest surviving alphabetic inscription can be dated to the first half of the 8th century, and the volume of epigraphic material increases steadily thereafter, with large collections of inscriptions on stone and bronze available from most parts of the Greek-speaking world after 400 BC. It was at this time that the Ionic version of the alphabet was standardized (see ‘The Greek Alphabet’, pp. xviii–xx), and the modern version used in this book derives ultimately from that source. The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with the array of Ancient Greek dialects attested epigraphically in the alphabetic period down to Hellenistic times, but will focus mainly on their likely prehistory and early development in the light of the much older data provided by Mycenaean.

1.3 Greek Dialect Relations and the Place of Mycenaean

If a group of travellers had set out from Athens in the early 5th century BC and made their way westwards in the direction of Megara they would, as they left the region of Attica (cf. Map 1 for this and subsequent ‘trips’), have encountered forms of speech strikingly different from the Attic dialect of Athens and its environs. Megarian was a member of the Peloponnesian Doric subgroup of dialects, spoken in fact not only in the Peloponnese (with the major exception of the remote central region of Arcadia), but also on the islands of the southern Aegean (e.g. Melos, Crete, Thera, Cos and Rhodes), and in many of the Greek cities of Magna Graecia (‘Great Greece’, the heavily colonized regions of southern Italy) and Sicily. These dialects, along with those of north-west Greece (including the dialect of Elis in the north-western Peloponnese), formed the ‘West Greek’ family, so called from the general geographical distribution of the majority of its members.

If on the other hand our travellers had made their way northwards from Athens into Boeotia, they would again have heard dialects very different from that of Attica, but this time also distinct from those of the West Greek family, including the specifically North-West Greek varieties spoken immediately to the west of Boeotia in Phocis, Locris and Aetolia. Continuing northwards, however, they would have perceived a clear relationship between Boeotian and the dialects of Thessaly. But if they had instead boarded a ship in the Piraeus and made their way eastwards, island-hopping across the central and northern Aegean to the central regions of the coast of Asia Minor, they would have encountered a continuum of very closely related forms of speech, the Ionic dialects, with at least the most western variants (on the island of Euboea) displaying a close affinity with the Attic of their point of departure.



Map 1 The Ancient Greek dialects

The ancient Greeks, just like speakers of any other language, were highly sensitive to such dialectal differences, and had long divided themselves into three principal 'tribes': Ionians (comprising speakers of Attic and the Ionic dialects), Dorians (speakers of the North-West Greek and Peloponnesian Doric dialects) and Aeolians (speakers of Boeotian and Thessalian, together with speakers of the dialects of Lesbos and adjacent territory on the northern Aegean coast of Asia Minor). Within these broad groupings, however, many local differences existed, and since the Greek world in this period was politically fragmented, with each major city forming, together with its surrounding territory, an autonomous state, it was usual for local dialects to enjoy official status as written languages and to be employed, in a slightly elevated or refined form, to record both public and private business. None the less, in areas where larger cultural or political units began to emerge, as first with the major Ionian cities of Asia Minor, a regional written standard, transcending the most obvious local peculiarities, quickly began to emerge. As we shall see (chapter 3), it was precisely the emergence of such a larger political unit in the 5th century BC which lay behind the initial development of Attic as an administrative and literary language outside Attica.

Since the total corpus of inscriptional material is very considerable, even if often geographically and chronologically patchy (especially in the period before the 6th century BC), Greek is one of the few ancient languages for which we have a reasonably detailed picture of the overall dialect situation. Modern dialectological research has, overall, confirmed the validity of the ancient dialect divisions, though it is usual now to recognize a fourth dialect group comprising Arcadian (spoken in the central Peloponnese) and Cypriot, and further to divide Ionic into Western, Central and Eastern varieties, treating Attic as a closely related but distinct member of a super-ordinate Attic-Ionic group. Attic-Ionic and Arcado-Cypriot are collectively known as

'East Greek', just as Peloponnesian Doric and North-West Greek together constitute 'West Greek', the labels reflecting their general distribution in the period when they are first documented. Aeolic is now widely seen as fundamentally of North-West Greek type (albeit with some probable prehistoric East Greek admixture from the Mycenaean south), but to have had an early period of strong independent development in the post-Mycenaean period before undergoing renewed North-West Greek influence on the mainland and East Greek influence in Lesbos and neighbouring territory (García-Ramón (1975), Brixhe (2006); see also below). Brief mention should also be made here of the isolated, poorly preserved and very poorly understood dialect of Pamphylia in southern Asia Minor. The region may well have had a Mycenaean presence in the Bronze Age, though many later settlements such as Aspendos, supposedly founded from Argos, are probably of Dorian origin (cf. also the Rhodian colonies in neighbouring Lycia). Given that contacts with Crete and Cyprus persisted into the classical period, and that the surrounding area was populated by speakers of Lycian, Sidetic and Cilician (descendants of ancient Luwian, see Wallace (1983)), we should not be surprised that what little we have of this dialect shows a 'mixed' set of characteristics making it all but impossible to classify according to traditional East/West criteria (cf. Brixhe (1976)).

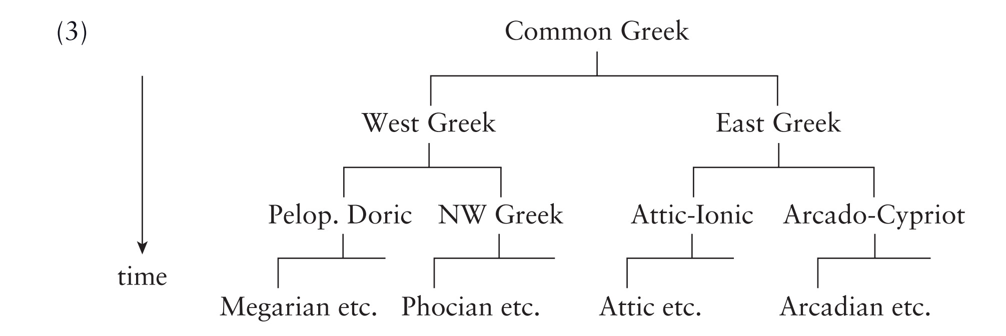
Modern work on Ancient Greek dialectology has tended to fall into two broad types. It should be emphasized, however, that these are in no way mutually exclusive, and many scholars have made significant contributions to both. The first stresses the importance of the compilation of comprehensive descriptions and analyses of the evidence provided by the surviving documents in all its chronological, spatial and social diversity as an essential prerequisite for a successful classification of the dialects and a proper understanding of their historical development. See, for example, the reviews of such work in Brixhe (1985, 1988a) alongside recent studies of particular dialect corpora, such as Arena (1994, 1996), Bile (2006), Blümel (1982), Brixhe (1987), Dobias-Lalou (2000), Dubois (1986, 1995, 2002), Garbrah (1978), Hodot (1990), Méndez Dosuna (1985), and Threatte (1980, 1996). Since most traditional handbooks (e.g. Buck (1955)) have based their descriptions on phenomena attested in relatively small corpora of inscriptions, a great deal has been achieved in recent years to improve our knowledge of the make-up and diversity of the different dialects.

The other approach has focused on the way in which sets of isoglosses (i.e. points of agreement between dialects at a given point in time) can be interpreted as having arisen at different times in the past, thereby creating a relative chronology of the changes involved. This can then serve as the basis for reconstructing aspects of the prehistory of Greek (see, for example, Risch (1955), Chadwick (1956), García-Ramón (1975), and for some specific case studies, Morpurgo Davies (1992, 1993), Vottéro (2006)). Such an approach requires a careful evaluation of the nature of each isogloss.

Certain isoglosses, for example, may be interpreted as evidence of 'shared inheritance' by a set of 'daughters' from a 'common parent' that had acquired its distinctive identity by introducing these very features, as innovations, to the exclusion of all other varieties. In this way we can interpret the relevant synchronic agreement as evidence for an immediately preceding unity, so that Attic-Ionic, for example, becomes the name not only of a group of historical dialects sharing certain innovative characteristics but also the name of the putative parent dialect that had earlier become differentiated from

the rest of Greek by introducing these same features. The logic, then, is that grouping of varieties is predicated on the assumption of a common inheritance of innovations that distinguished the immediate parent of the relevant group from the rest of the language.

By interpreting key isoglosses in this way and then dating the emergence of different bundles of isoglosses to different periods, a dialect 'family tree' can be constructed. Consider, for example, the diagram in (3) (which is presented here simply to illustrate the point and is not intended to be definitive):



Here the relevant isoglosses linking Megarian etc. (i.e. the Peloponnesian Doric dialects) are assumed to have been inherited from a prehistoric 'Peloponnesian Doric' dialect that had earlier innovated in just these respects to the exclusion of 'North-West Greek'. Similarly, the key features linking 'Peloponnesian Doric' with the 'North-West Greek' group are assumed to have been jointly inherited in a still earlier period from a prehistoric 'West Greek' dialect that had become differentiated from 'East Greek' by introducing just these distinguishing properties. And the characteristics shared by both 'West Greek' and 'East Greek' are assumed to have derived earlier still from an undifferentiated 'Common Greek', distinguished in turn by exactly this set of innovations from the rest of Proto-Indo-European (on which see (1)). If there were, for example, no innovations characteristic of 'West Greek' as a whole, both 'Peloponnesian Doric' and 'North-West Greek' would become the labels of branches descending directly from 'Common Greek', always assuming that each of these was distinguished by its own set of characteristic innovations; if there were no characteristic innovations for 'North-West Greek', say, then 'Phocian etc.' would similarly become labels for a set of branches descending directly from 'Common Greek'.

This kind of model, central to traditional studies of Greek dialectology and deriving from standard methodological assumptions of 19th-century work on Indo-European comparison (see Morpurgo Davies (1998)), is based on the view that languages develop through divergence initiated by innovation on the part of subgroups within a previously uniform parent. But this is clearly an unrealistically restricted view of language development, particularly when it is known that speakers of the different varieties involved remained in long-term social and geographical contact: Greek, for example, developed initially within the confines of the Balkan peninsula, and any assumption of clean and permanent breaks between endlessly diverging varieties is plainly implausible. In these circumstances isoglosses can readily arise through local convergence

between dialects that are, 'genetically' speaking, quite remote from one another. Shared innovations of this kind can have no bearing on the structure of a family tree designed to show only divergence caused by innovation within former unities, and if they are mistakenly used as evidence for family relationships, they will only distort and falsify the picture.

Other isoglosses may be due simply to independent parallel innovation (i.e. not reflect innovations first made in a common ancestor) and so must again be discounted in constructing a tree depicting dialectal subfamilies. Still other isoglosses may represent a shared inheritance of highly archaic features from the supposed source of all the dialects ('Common Greek'), or of somewhat less archaic features from the still temporally remote ancestor of a major subgroup of dialects (like 'East Greek'). Such retentions are likely to be scattered quite randomly among the historical descendants, with conservative varieties often retaining more than innovative ones, but they plainly offer no good evidence for grouping dialects into the subfamilies that the model presupposes.

Since isoglosses do not come ready categorized with dates attached, scholars may well disagree, not only about which are the innovations and which the archaisms, but crucially about which innovations are the ones most likely to reflect a shared inheritance from a common parent. It should also be said that not all scholars are equally scrupulous in selecting those isoglosses which, strictly and logically, provide the proper evidence for genetic classification. After all, the most characteristic thing about a given dialect group may well be its conservative rather than its innovative tendencies. In these circumstances establishing the 'correct' reconstruction of prehistory in terms of family relationships is no straightforward matter, and many different views have in fact appeared in the literature (see below).

But the most important point to bear in mind here is that the family-tree model cannot, even in principle, provide a complete account of language history or prehistory, because the process of language development is in practice so much more complex than it allows for. Isoglosses reflecting the retention of archaisms, independent innovations and, above all, contact-induced convergence cannot simply be ignored because they too provide evidence for development, albeit of other kinds. It is imperative, therefore, that any family-tree account be supplemented and indeed corrected in the light of a more complete and realistic approach. In particular, allowance must be made for 'mixed' dialects, partial divergences, and periods of parallel development promoted by contact (see especially Finkelberg (1994) for an attempt to construct such an evolving dialect continuum in Greece for the period 1900–900 BC).

The impact of more modern dialectological methodology has led, on the basis of the seminal works of Porzig (1954) and Risch (1955)), to a radical reappraisal of the prehistory of Greek. None the less, the detailed reconstruction of the developments behind the geographical arrangement of dialects seen in the 5th century BC remains an issue of controversy, depending as it does on particular selections and interpretations of isoglosses, and on the equally controversial question of the place and significance of the Mycenaean evidence. Since the issues involved are not strictly relevant to the core theme of this book, what follows is simply an attempt at a consensus view, based on key works of the last 50 or so years, amongst which we may note the following in particular:

(4) (a) General surveys: Cassio (1984); Chadwick (1956, 1975, 1976a); Coleman (1963); Crespo et al. (1993); Finkelberg (1994); Porzig (1954); Risch (1955, 1979); Wyatt (1970).
(b) The position and interpretation of Mycenaean: Bartoněk (2003); Cowgill (1966); Duhoux and Morpurgo Davies (2008); Morpurgo Davies (1992); Risch (1966); Ruijgh (1961, 1966, 1991); Thompson (1996/7).
(c) The origins and development of the West Greek dialects: Chadwick (1976b); Bartoněk (1972); Méndez Dosuna (1985); Risch (1986).
(d) The emergence and development of Aeolic: García-Ramón (1975); Ruijgh (1978a); Brixhe (2006: 49–55); Vottéro (2006: 137–42).

The spread of Peloponnesian Doric both westwards to Italy and Sicily and eastwards across the southern Aegean, the presence of Aeolic speakers in Lesbos and northern parts of the coast of Asia Minor, the close relationship between Arcadian and the geographically remote Cypriot, and the existence of an Ionic dialect continuum across the central Aegean extending into central and southern regions of the Asia Minor coast can all be readily explained by reference to the extensive colonization movements from the Greek mainland which began during the so-called Dark Age following the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization and continued down to the 6th century BC.

Some difficult issues, however, remain, especially the question of how far back in time the familiar dialect divisions go, and, if things were indeed different in the Dark Age and beyond, what pattern of dialect distribution preceded them. Major obstacles to the development of clear-cut answers to these questions include the often uncertain interpretation of Mycenaean (reflecting the limitations of Linear B), the complete absence of documentary evidence from the period between the earliest alphabetic inscriptions (early 8th century BC) and the time of the latest Linear B tablets, and the continuing dearth of alphabetic material from before the 6th century BC. The overall situation obviously leaves ample room for scholarly disagreement.

The traditional solution to the problem of the distribution of the Greek dialects was provided by means of a theory of three successive 'waves' of invaders (Kretschmer (1896, 1909)), according to which Greek was supposed to have developed as a separate branch of the Indo-European family somewhere outside the Balkan peninsula and to have split into dialects prior to the settlement of the Greek mainland. First the ancestors of the Ionians (c.2000 BC), then the 'Achaeans' (c.1700 BC, this group comprising the ancestors of the Aeolians and Arcado-Cypriots, who were thought to represent the northern and southern branches respectively of an originally unitary dialect group), and finally the Dorians (c.1200 BC) allegedly swept into Greece in turn, with each successive invasion leading to displacements of the established population. In this way the overthrow of the Mycenaeans and the isolated position of Arcadian in historical times could be explained as the result of a massive influx of Dorians into the Peloponnese which left only a small pocket of the earlier population in the remote central mountains.

This approach, however, has now been shown to entail quite serious archaeological and linguistic difficulties. First, it soon became clear that there was little or no evidence in the archaeological record for the influx of Dorians that the theory required. Indeed the whole notion of hordes of invading Indo-Europeans occupying vast expanses of

territory across Europe and Asia has been seriously called into question (e.g. Renfrew (1987), Garrett (1999, 2006)), and many archaeologists now argue instead for more gradual movements of Indo-European peoples, in part at least associated with the adoption and spread of farming. Secondly, it was noted that many of the adopted place names and vocabulary items borrowed from the pre-Greek languages of the Aegean basin had undergone dialectally diagnostic sound changes. The almost certainly borrowed word for 'sea', for example, has the following forms:

(5) (a) Attic/Boeotian: θάλαττα [t^{h}álatta]
(b) Other dialects: θάλασσα [t^{h}álassa]

both of which reveal the dialectally standard products of the palatalization of an original voiceless dental or velar by a following semi-vowel.[3] Consider the example in (6):

(6) (a) Original form: *φυλάκ-jω [p^{h}ulák^j-jo:] 'I guard'
(cf. Attic φύλαξ [p^{h}ýlak-s], genitive φύλακ-ος [p^{h}ýlak-os] 'a guard', showing the original root-final velar)

(b) Attic/Boeotian: φυλάττω [p^{h}ylátto:/p^{h}ulátt^{j}o:]
[k^j] > [tʃ], which was readily identified with pre-existing Boeotian [tt^j] (see immediately below); this > [tt] in Attic)

(c) Other dialects: φυλάσσω [p^{h}ulásso:]
[k^j] > [tʃ] > [ts] > [ss]

Allen (1958) explains this divergent dialectal development on the assumption of a generalized heavy palatalization of /t/ in Boeotian: the Attic reflex is then probably due to close contact with Boeotian at the time of the change (on which see further below). But the fact that loanwords such as that in (5) undergo developments identical to those undergone by native vocabulary (even though we cannot, of course, discover the exact form in which such words were first borrowed) strongly suggests that the division of Greek into the historical dialects attested in literature and alphabetic inscriptions had only taken place after all its future speakers had become established in the Aegean area.

Crucially, just as the old questions of Greek dialectology began to be re-examined in this way, the language of the Linear B tablets was successfully deciphered by Michael Ventris (see Chadwick (1967) for an absorbing account), thus adding an important new dimension to the problem by revealing a form of Greek many centuries older than anything hitherto attested. It very quickly became apparent that, although the tablets from Knossos and Pylos came from sites quite remote from one another, the Mycenaean dialect employed was in general rather uniform, presumably therefore reflecting a semi-standardized written language that differed in key respects from ordinary spoken varieties of the period. It is, however, a dialect which is already clearly of East Greek type, displaying, for example, the characteristic innovatory 'assibilation' of original [t] before [i] (i.e. [ti] > [t^{s}i] > [si]) in the diagnostic environments comprising: the 3sg/3pl verb endings -σι/-νσι [-si/nsi] (vs. West Greek -τι/-ντι [-ti/nti]), the numeral εἴκοσι

[é:kosi] 'twenty' (vs. West Greek (ϝ)ίκατι [(w)íkati]), the morpheme -κόσιοι [-kósioi] '(X)-hundred' (vs. West Greek -κάτιοι [-kátioi]), and the adjectival forms Ἀφροδίσιος [aphrodí:sios]/Ἀρτεμίσιος [artemísios] (vs. West Greek Ἀφροδίτιος [aphrodí:tios]/ Ἀρταμίτιος [artamítios]) from the names of the goddesses Aphrodite and Artemis. Thus the original primary (non-past) 3pl suffix -ντι [-nti] is preserved intact in West Greek, but assibilated in East Greek, including Mycenaean:

(7)	(a)	(i)	Mycenaean:	*e-ko-si*	[ékhonsi]	'they have'
		(ii)	Arcadian:	ἔχο-νσι	[ékhonsi]	
		(iii)	Attic-Ionic:[4]	ἔχου-σι	[ékhu:si]	
	(b)		West Greek:	ἔχο-ντι	[ékhonti]	

Furthermore, Mycenaean was apparently in use in large parts of central and southern Greece, as established by the Linear B archives from Thebes and Pylos, in which either West Greek (the Peloponnese and Crete) or Aeolic (Boeotia and Thessaly) were spoken in later times. Clearly, then, dialects ancestral to West Greek and Aeolic must have co-existed with Mycenaean and other East Greek varieties in the Mycenaean period, and the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization must have entailed considerable population movement if we are to explain successfully the changes of dialect involved in several areas of the mainland. One obvious possibility is that Mycenaean central and southern Greece were 'East Greek'-speaking (note that, on this view, the traditional terminology is no longer appropriate for this earlier period, and some scholars have therefore substituted 'South' or 'South-East' Greek), while non-Mycenaean northern, and more specifically north-western, Greece was 'West Greek' in speech (again, some scholars have substituted 'North' or 'North-West' Greek). West Greek speakers from the north might then have moved gradually into the power vacuum as the Mycenaean civilization failed, leaving pockets of East Greek speakers in the Attic peninsula and the mountains of Arcadia (with many others emigrating to the Aegean islands and Asia Minor).

This remains the standard view, but in the continued absence of convincing archaeological evidence for large-scale Dorian incursions into southern Greece in the late Bronze Age, Chadwick (1976b) suggested that many West Greek speakers were already living in the south as a working class to serve the Mycenaean aristocracy. If correct, this would mean that the former underclass simply took control in most of the areas where it had always lived. In support, Chadwick noted that some variation of usage in the tablets had already been interpreted as evidence for the existence of two Mycenaean dialects, the one dubbed 'normal', the other 'special' (Risch (1966), Nagy (1968); see also the later contribution of Woodard (1986)). The key features in question are as follows ('normal' Mycenaean is given first and 'special' Mycenaean second in each case): assibilation versus non-assibilation of *-ti-* > *-si-* in certain words (mainly place names, personal names and ethnic adjectives); alternation between *-e* [-ei] and *-i* [-i] in the 'dative' singulars of consonant-stem nouns (the former representing the inherited dative ending, subsequently lost, the latter the original locative ending and also the classical form, cf. φύλακι [phýlaki] 'guard (dat)'); and alternation between [o] and [a], the latter again representing the classical norm, as reflexes of original syllabic nasals (i.e. nasals functioning vocalically to form a syllable) in the context of labial

consonants, as in *pe-mo* [spérmo] versus *pe-ma* [spérma] 'seed' < *[spérmn̩], cf. classical σπέρμα [spérma]. But where Risch argued that 'special' Mycenaean reflected the spoken East Greek of the lower classes and constituted the source of historical Arcadian and Cypriot ('normal' Mycenaean having died out with the overthrow of the Mycenaean artistocracy), Chadwick, arguing that non-assibilated *-ti-* points rather to West Greek, proposed that the Mycenaean lower classes were in fact speakers of a West Greek dialect. This interpretation was, however, rejected by Risch (1979), and it is certainly true that the absence of clearly Dorian names is striking, given that non-Greek names of indigenous peoples appear in some numbers.

But it should be noted at this point that we would not necessarily expect any non-prestigious spoken variety to infiltrate official documents composed by a highly trained scribal elite. More recently, therefore, the whole theory of class-based dialect variation in the Linear B tablets has been seriously challenged, most notably by Thompson (1996/7, 2002/3), who argues that most of the observed variation is simply evidence of language change in progress. By taking into account the (probable) relative chronology of tablets from Crete and the mainland together with the relative seniority/ages of different scribes (as reflected in the importance of the business for which they are responsible), Thompson has sought to show that official Mycenaean evolved over time, with differences in scribal practice observable between different periods and even different generations. First, the relevance of the unassibilated forms is dismissed: virtually none belong to the small class of elements that systematically distinguish East from West Greek, and many remain unassibilated even in East Greek dialects of the classical period. With regard to the remaining phenomena, however, there is plausible evidence for the progressive replacement of 'normal' forms with 'special' ones as Mycenaean developed into a more regular-looking East Greek dialect, i.e. one with datives in [i] and reflexes of syllabic liquids in [a], as in the classical period. If correct, this new approach undermines both Risch and Chadwick in that lower-class language (of whatever type) would no longer be attested even sporadically in the documentary record.

Whatever the truth of the matter, much of the dialect diversity of the classical age is now widely taken to be of post-Mycenaean origin. As noted, the old assumption of successive waves of invaders has been abandoned in favour of the view that the 'Greeks' came to Greece in a single, albeit possibly gradual, population movement around the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, and that Greek *in toto* is the product of the consequential contact between the Indo-European dialect(s) of the incoming population and the language(s) of the indigenous populations. The division into East (South) and West (North) Greek varieties had clearly taken place by the late Bronze Age, as the dialect of the Linear B tablets shows, perhaps as a simple function of geographical and political separation, perhaps under different substrate influences.

Much necessarily remains uncertain about this remote period, but when we turn to the later historical dialects it is clear that Arcadian (see Dubois (1986)) remains the closest to a direct descendant of the weakly differentiated 'East Greek' varieties assumed to have been spoken in southern Greece, of which Mycenaean may be taken to have been the official written form. The closely related Cypriot (see Masson (1961)), then, must represent the later development of the East Greek dialect of early Bronze Age colonists. The North-West Greek dialects (Méndez Dosuna (1985), Bile (2006)) are

correspondingly taken to represent the more or less direct descendants of the weakly differentiated 'West Greek' dialects of the Bronze Age.

Other cases, however, are more complex. The Ionic dialects, for example, including here Attic, share typical East Greek innovations with Arcado-Cypriot (e.g. assibilation of original [ti] in the diagnostic contexts, cf. (8) below), and so must in origin represent co-descendants of the East Greek group in the Bronze Age. They have, however, undergone a number of characteristic innovations to the exclusion of Arcado-Cypriot, many of which are demonstrably post-Mycenaean, including the shift of original [a:], preserved in Mycenaean, to [ɛ:], a shift that is complete in Ionic but more restricted in Attic, where [a:] is retained, or perhaps restored, after [i, e, r]. Thus Attic-Ionic μήτηρ [mɛ́:tɛ:r] 'mother', for example, corresponds to μάτηρ [má:tɛ:r] elsewhere, including Mycenaean (cf. the place name *ma-to-(ro)-pu-ro* [ma:trópulos] 'mother city of Pylos'). Many therefore now regard Attic-Ionic as a dialect group that acquired a strongly independent identity only after c.1000 BC, probably in an area comprising eastern Attica and, following colonization, the western and central Aegean basin.

But while Attic shares most of its characteristic innovations with Ionic, it also has important innovations in common with Boeotian, as noted above (see the discussion of (5) and (6)). Thus the early phases of palatalization in Attic follow those of Ionic (both dialects having, e.g., τόσος [tósos] 'so much', against Boeotian τόττος [tóttʲos], all from *[tót-jos]), but the dialect subsequently fell into line with Boeotian (Ionic having, e.g., φυλάσσω [pʰylásso:] 'I guard', against Attic/Boeotian φυλάττω [pʰylátto:]/[pʰuláttʲo:], all from *[pʰulákʲ-jo:], as noted). The most likely explanation is that western Attica, separated by high mountains from the eastern areas, came under Boeotian influence in the post-Mycenaean period some time after Ionic, including at least eastern Attica in its developmental domain, had begun to evolve as a distinct variety. The subsequent political unification of Attica would then have produced the 'mixed' dialect of the classical period, a dialect of broadly Ionic type, but with a number of strikingly discordant features vis-à-vis the Ionic norm. The use of -ττ- [tt] forms then extended in part to the Ionic dialects of the neighbouring island of Boeotia.

Interestingly, Attic-Ionic also shares a number of innovations with Peloponnesian Doric to the exclusion of both Arcado-Cypriot and North-West Greek. The preposition ἐν [en], for example, was used originally both locatively with the dative (= 'in') and allatively with the accusative (= 'into'), an archaism preserved in both Arcadian and North-West Greek. In Attic-Ionic and Peloponnesian Doric, however, a final [s] was added when the preposition was used allatively, giving originally ἐνς [ens], but subsequently forms such as ἐς [es] and εἰς [e:s] through simplification of the cluster and compensatory lengthening (cf. note 3 above: ἐς [es] and εἰς [e:s] were originally preconsonantal and prevocalic contextual variants, with different dialects then making different choices). Thus both East Greek and West Greek seem to have been divided in the early post-Mycenaean period into more conservative and more innovative members, i.e. Arcado-Cypriot (conservative) vs. Attic-Ionic (innovative) on the one hand, and North-West Greek (conservative) vs. Peloponnesian Doric (innovative) on the other. Beginning with Risch (1955), this has been widely interpreted as evidence for a brief but intense period of parallel development on the part of the innovative dialects, perhaps originating in southern Boeotia and northern parts of Attica as Dorians, making their way to the Peloponnese, passed through and/or settled in for-

merly East Greek-speaking lands. These innovations clearly cut across the earlier and more general East–West division, thus making Attic-Ionic and Peloponnesian Doric somewhat 'mixed' varieties. Subsequently, however, particularly with the advent of colonization, the two groups seem to have resumed their largely separate courses of development.

The Aeolic dialects are also now commonly regarded as being largely post-Mycenaean developments (García-Ramón (1975), critically reviewed by Ruijgh (1978a); see also now Brixhe (2006) and Vottéro (2006)), being originally only weakly differentiated from (North-)West Greek in the Bronze Age. One possibility, taking a strongly areal rather than a genetic approach to dialect development, is that Aeolic formed a kind of bridge between southern 'East' Greek and northern 'West' Greek at that time, since there is evidence that proto-Aeolic had already incorporated a number of East Greek features into its otherwise broadly West Greek make-up: e.g. 1pl verb inflection -μεν [-men] in place of West Greek -μες [-mes], and East Greek vocalism in forms such as ἱερός [hierós] 'holy', Ἄρτεμις [ártemis] 'Artemis' vs. West Greek ἱαρός [hiarós], Ἄρταμις [ártamis]. Many distinctively Aeolic features, however, can be shown to be innovations dating from the early post-Mycenaean era. A crucial example is the common, though by no means universal, development before front vowels of labial reflexes of the labio-velar series *k^w, *g^w, *g^{hw} (still preserved in Mycenaean, albeit with de-voicing of the voiced aspirate, as noted). All later non-Aeolic dialects, by contrast, consistently show dental reflexes. Thus while Mycenaean has both *-qe* [kʷe] 'and' and *qe-to-ro-* [kʷetro-] 'four-' (in compounds), and all later dialects have τε [te] 'and', Boeotian has πέτταρες [péttares] and Thessalian πετρο- [petro-] 'four-', beside Attic τέτταρες [téttares].

The Aeolic-speaking areas of the mainland must once have been contiguous, and probably extended further west and south than in the classical period, by which time Thessalian was geographically separated from Boeotian by North-West Greek, and the dialects of both western Thessaly and Boeotia show clear signs of relatively recent North-West Greek influence. In western Thessaly, for example, the genitive singular of the second declension ends in -ō [-o:] (later -ου [-u:]), the regular formation in North-West Greek, and distinct from the eastern suffix -οι [-oi]: both these forms < earlier -οιο [-ojo], by loss of [j] + contraction, and apocopation, respectively. Similarly in Boeotia, we begin to find the substitution of the typically West Greek velar suffix -ξα- [-ksa-] for 'true' Boeotian -ττα- [-ttʲa] in the aorist (past perfective) stem of verbs with an original stem-final dental, e.g. ἐκομιξά-μεθα [ekomiksá-metʰa] for ἐκομιττάμεθα [ekomittʲá-metʰa] (< *[ekomitʲ-sá-metʰa]), 'we carried away', the extension of the velar being based on the existence of presents in -ζω [-zdo:] from both dental (*[-d+jo:]) and velar (*[-g+jo:]) stems, with subsequent paradigmatic confusion. Unsurprisingly, it is the dialect of eastern Thessaly, relatively insulated from the surrounding North-West Greek, that best preserves its distinctively Aeolic look.

Within this overall approach, Lesbian represents the dialect of colonists from Thessaly who made their way across the Aegean around 1000 BC and whose speech subsequently underwent a period of development under the influence of the neighbouring Ionic dialects (albeit with influence also in the other direction), producing yet another mixed variety, but this time with a heavily East Greek component. Particularly significant in this connection is the Lesbian infinitive of athematic verbs (i.e. those in

which inflectional endings are added directly to the root without the thematic or stem-forming vowel [e/o], contrast ἔσ-μεν [éz-men] 'we are' with πείθ-ο-μεν [peítʰ-o-men] 'we persuade'). This has the suffix -μεναι [-menai], which seems to reflect the influence of East Greek -ναι [-nai] on the original West Greek/Aeolic -μεν [-men].[5]

This brief and necessarily selective overview is intended to do no more than supply the background against which to present the later history of the Greek language. The prehistory and early history of Greek remain highly contested fields of inquiry, and many scholars would certainly wish to challenge aspects of the account which has been presented here, for example by insisting on a greater degree of dialect differentiation in the Bronze Age than has been allowed for and by further downplaying attempts at a genetic classification in favour of a model based primarily on areal development. No view is wholly unproblematical, however, since all are necessarily based on what remains a very limited foundation of factual knowledge and on particular selections and interpretations of isoglosses.

1.4 Some Examples

1.4.1 Some basic dialect characteristics

It remains to illustrate something of the diversity of Greek in the classical period by summarizing some of the most important dialect characteristics and considering a few short extracts from dialect inscriptions (for which see now Colvin (2007) alongside Buck (1955)). We may begin with the fundamental contrast between East Greek and West Greek. In each item of (8) below the typically East Greek characteristic is given first, followed by its West Greek equivalent, though we should note that specific evidence is sometimes lacking for particular dialects and that there are localized exceptions. Furthermore, while the Aeolic dialects tend generally to follow West Greek in their retention of inherited/archaic characteristics, they do not show many of the more typical West Greek, particularly Peloponnesian Doric, innovations, or even consistently make the same choices as West Greek from among sets of inherited options. This is only to be expected in view of what has been said above about the relative conservatism of North-West Greek (the subgroup geographically closest to the Aeolic homeland) beside Peloponnesian Doric, the probably mixed character of Aeolic even in the Bronze Age (involving some infiltration of East Greek features from the south), its strongly independent development during the Dark Age, and the susceptibility of the historical dialects to the influence of neighbouring varieties thereafter (North-West Greek for Thessalian and Boeotian, Ionic for Lesbian). Some specifically Aeolic characteristics are therefore appended, as (8j):

(8) (a) Assibilation vs. non-assibilation of original [ti] in the key diagnostic environments listed in the discussion preceding (7) above.

Thessalian and Boeotian retain the inherited forms as in West Greek, while Lesbian has been influenced by East Greek.

(b) The expected aorists (perfectives) in -σα- [-sa-] for verbs in -ζω [-zdo:] with non-velar stems, vs. aorists in -ξα- [-ksa-] quite generally for this class, extended from the velar stems where they originate.

There is some later spread of the West Greek forms into Boeotian, Thessalian and even East Greek Arcadian, but this is not attested in Lesbian, whose speakers must have migrated before this development took place on the mainland.

(c) The masculine and feminine plural of the definite article in οἱ, αἱ [hoi, hai] or οἰ, αἰ [oi, ai] (by analogy with the singular forms ὁ, ἁ/ἡ [ho, ha:/hɛ:] or ὀ, ἀ/ἠ [o, a:/ɛ:]), vs. τοί, ταί [toí, taí]. Cretan is a major exception, perhaps because of Mycenaean/East Greek substrate influence (Brixhe (1991)).

Thessalian and Boeotian retain the inherited forms as in West Greek, while Lesbian has again been influenced by East Greek.

(d) 1pl ending in -μεν [-men], originally the secondary/past ending, vs. -μες [-mes], originally the primary/non-past ending.

Aeolic here follows East Greek, this being a feature that was probably adopted from the south during the Mycenaean period.

(e) Future forms in unaccented -σω [-so:] vs. -σέω [-séo:] or, by contraction, -σῶ [-sô:]. The latter are characteristic of Peloponnesian Doric but poorly attested for North-West Greek (Delphian only). They are clearly innovative, perhaps representing a blend of the standard type with forms derived, through the usual loss of [s], from stems in liquids and nasals originally followed by an IE 'laryngeal' consonant that surfaced in Greek as [e], as in βαλέω/βαλῶ [baléo:/balô:] 'I will throw', < *βαλέ-σω [baléso:]).

Aeolic retains the inherited formation.

(f) Athematic infinitives in -ναι [-nai] (e.g. εἶναι [ê:nai] 'to be' < *[és-nai], vs. -μεν [-men] (e.g. ἔμμεν [émmen] < *[és-men]).

Thessalian and Boeotian follow West Greek, though Lesbian -μεναι [-menai] has apparently been modified by contact with East Greek.

(g) Dialectically diagnostic conditional/modal elements:

(i) conditional conjunction εἰ [e:] 'if', vs. αἰ [ai].

The latter is also general Aeolic.

(ii) modal (conditional/generic) particle ἄν [an] (in Attic-Ionic and Arcadian, though not Cypriot, which has κε [ke]) vs. κα [ka:].

The latter is also Boeotian; Thessalian and Lesbian also have κε [ke], presumably the original Aeolic form.

(iii) the word order ἐάν/ἤν τις [eá:n/ɛ́:n tis] < *εἰ ἄν τις [e: án tis] 'if ever anyone' vs. αἴ τίς κα [aí tís ka:] 'if anyone ever'.

This order is not normal Aeolic, cf. Boeotian ἠ (δέ) κά τις [ɛ: (dé) ká: tis]/Lesbian αἴ κέ τις [aí ké tis] 'if (and) ever anyone', but it does appear occasionally in Boeotian documents, under North-West Greek influence.

(h) Adverbs τότε [tóte] 'then', πότε [póte] 'when?', ὅτε [hóte] 'when', vs. τόκα [tóka], πόκα [póka], ὅκα [hóka].

The latter are also Boeotian, but Lesbian has τότα [tóta] etc., with the same ending as in Attic εἶτα [ê:ta]/ἔπειτα [épe:ta] 'then', in contrast with Ionic εἶτε(ν) [ê:te(n)]/ἔπειτε(ν) [épeite(n)]. Boeotian shows North-West Greek influence, with Lesbian perhaps retaining the original Aeolic forms.

(i) Some dialectally diagnostic words or forms of words:
 (i) (ἐ)θέλω [(e)t^{h}élo:] 'want, wish' vs. λείω/λέω [lé:o:/léo:].
  The latter is not Aeolic.
 (ii) βούλομαι/βόλομαι [bú:lomai/bólomai] 'will, wish', with the o-grade of the root **gwe/ol(s)-*, vs. δήλομαι/δείλομαι [dɛ́:lomai/dé:lomai] with the e-grade.
  Here Thessalian βέλλομαι [béllomai] and Boeotian βείλομαι [bé:lomai] follow West Greek, while Lesbian βόλλομαι [bóllomai] has again been influenced by East Greek.

(j) Aeolic also has a number of characteristic innovations of its own, including: labial reflexes of labio-velars before front vowels (e.g. Lesbian/Thessalian πέμπε [pémpe] 'five' for the usual πέντε [pénte]); active perfect participles in -ων/-οντος [-o:n]/[-ontos] rather than -ως/-οτος [-o:s]/[-otos], e.g. Lesbian κατεληλύθων [katelɛ:lút^{h}o:n] 'having returned'; dative plurals of consonant-stems in -εσσι [-essi] (e.g. πόδεσσι [pódessi] 'feet', rather than -σι [-si], cf. πο(σ)σί [po(s)sí]).
 Lesbian and Thessalian also share the athematic (-μι [-mi]) inflection of contract verbs, i.e. those with stem-final [-a/a:(ɛ:), -e/ɛ:, -o/o:] (e.g. Thessalian εὐεργετέ-ς [euergeté-s] 'benefiting (nom sg)', with participial -(ν)ς [-(n)s] added directly to the stem-vowel just as in Attic athematic verbs, cf. τιθείς [tit^{h}é:s] < *τιθε-νς [tit^{h}e-ns]), and assimilation in clusters of [l, r, m, n] + [j] or original (and non-final) [s], leading to double liquids/nasals, as opposed to cluster simplification followed by compensatory lengthening (e.g. Lesbian κρίννω [krínno:] 'I judge', rather than Attic κρῑ́νω [krí:no:], < *κρίν-jω [krín-jo:]).[6] Boeotian and Thessalian share the extension of athematic -μεν [-men] to thematic infinitives (e.g. Boeotian φερέμεν [p^{h}eré-men] 'to carry', rather than φέρειν [p^{h}erên] etc).

Some brief examples of West Greek (both Peloponnesian Doric and North-West Greek), Aeolic, and East Greek (Arcadian, Ionic and Attic) are presented below, with a short commentary on each. We should first note, however, that punctuation in the transcriptions of epigraphic texts is mostly editorial and written accentuation a matter of convention. In reality we know almost nothing about the accentuation of dialects other than Attic-Ionic (see Probert (2006) for a thorough discussion), and it might therefore be better to omit written accents altogether. We are, none the less, informed by later grammarians that the accentuation of Lesbian was 'recessive', i.e. that the accent fell as far from the end of a word as the rules permit. Texts in Lesbian dialect are therefore conventionally accented in this way. But in so far as Greek grammarians focused their attention exclusively on literary texts, we might reasonably wonder whether recessive accentuation was a more general property of Aeolic (there being no surviving literature in Thessalian, and only the most minimal attestation of literary Boeotian).

Both here and in subsequent chapters, [ ] enclose restorations of illegible or damaged letters, { } superfluous letters inscribed in error, ( ) editorially corrected letters or expansions of abbreviations, and < > letters mistakenly omitted. Other points to note include the following: where the sound [w] was retained, it is written with the letter digamma

Ϝ; iotas later written subscript, as in dative singulars etc., here appear adscript; most local alphabets prior to the standardization of the Ionic version did not distinguish long e- or o-vowels from the corresponding short ones, the letters E/ϵ and O/o denoting both, so long e- and o-vowels that do not carry a circumflex accent (itself a marker of length) are indicated here with a macron above: ϵ̄, ō.

The notion of 'long' e- and o-vowels, however, requires some further comment. In some dialects short e- and o-vowels were closer in articulation than their long counterparts (whether generally, as in Attic and Ionic, or in certain environments only, for which see below), while in other dialects they had the same quality. Furthermore, though many long e- and o-vowels were inherited, others arose secondarily from contraction and compensatory lengthening. According to dialect, therefore, these processes could lead to long vowels that were closer in articulation than the inherited ones (in that they retained the quality of the affected short vowels), or to long vowels that corresponded with these. Once the Ionic alphabet was standardized, in the early 4th century BC, those dialects in which the new and inherited long vowels fully corresponded used H for all long e-vowels and Ω for all long o-vowels, while those in which they differed in quality, whether generally or in part, used these two symbols for more open long vowels and EI and OΥ for closer ones, a usage made possible by the fact that the diphthongs which these digraphs once represented had earlier been monophthongized to a close [e:] and a close [o:] respectively (the latter then raising further to [u:]). Prior to this, however, E and O were used in most areas for all long e- and o-vowels, whatever their quality (as noted).

The dialects that regularly use only H and Ω from the 4th century onwards are Arcadian, Lesbian, and a subset of West Greek including Laconian, Heraclean and Cretan, though earlier Cretan evidence suggests that there was once a qualitative difference, subsequently lost, between the long vowels resulting from contraction (closer) and those arising from compensatory lengthening (more open). In some other West Greek dialects (e.g. Theran, Cyrenaean, Rhodian and Coan) this difference appears to have persisted longer, with contraction again leading quite generally to a closer articulation than lengthening (though once again there is a tendency for this distinction to be lost over time in some areas). Boeotian and Thessalian are potentially misleading here, in that all long e-vowels in both dialects, along with all long o-vowels in Thessalian, had been raised in articulation before the introduction of the Ionic alphabet and these are therefore standardly noted from the 4th century onwards with EI and OΥ. Accordingly, these dialects belong properly with Arcadian, Lesbian etc.

Note finally that the letter H/η was originally used to mark word-initial aspiration, and in this function is transcribed below as *H/h*. Since such aspiration was lost very early in the eastern Ionic-speaking area, the letter was recycled, being used first to denote the new, very open, long e-vowel [æ:] deriving from original long [a:] (a highly characteristic Attic-Ionic sound change) and then to represent the inherited long e-vowel [ɛ:] too, once these two sounds had merged. The use of H to represent open long e-vowels spread quite early to the central Ionic-speaking area and also to the Doric-speaking islands of the southern Aegean, where it doubled up both as the marker of aspiration and as a symbol for open long e-vowels (though in Crete, where word-initial aspiration was also lost early, it was naturally used only for the latter). It was eventually generalized as a means of denoting open long e-vowels [ɛ:] with the stand-

ardization of the Ionic alphabet. We may also note in passing that the rough and smooth breathings of the version of the Ionic alphabet used here are in origin graphic reductions of the left- and right-hand ‘halves’ of H respectively.

In view of the considerable additional variation in archaic local alphabets beyond what has already been discussed (especially in the notation of the voiceless aspirates and of [ps, ks]), and given the many remaining uncertainties of interpretation in a range of specific cases, no attempt will be made here to offer a systematic phonetic transcription, though each text is accompanied by a word-for-word gloss and a free translation.

1.4.2 West Greek

(a) Laconian (Sparta, Peloponnesian Doric)

IG V.1.123, 5th century BC. Record of the victories of Damonon and his son.

Δαμο̄́νο̄ν	ἀνέθε̄κε	Ἀθαναία[ι]	Πολιάχο̄ι					
Damonon	dedicated	to-Athana	Poliachos					
νικάhας	ταυτᾶ	hᾶτ'	οὐδε̄̀ς	πε̄́ποκα	το̂ν	νῦν.		
having-won	thus	as	no-one	ever-yet	of-those	now.		
τάδε	ἐνίκαhε	Δαμ[ο̄́νο̄ν]	το̄ι	αὐτο̄	τεθρίππο̄[ι]	αὐτὸς	ἀνιοχίο̄ν·	ἐν
In-these	won	Damonon	with-the	his	4-horse-chariot	himself	driving;	in
Γαιϝόχο̄	τετράκι-ν̄	καὶ	Ἀθάναια	τετ[ράκιν]	κε̄̀λευhύνια			
Earthshaker’s(-games)	4-times	and	(games-)of-Athana	4-times	and-Eleusinian(-games)			
τε[τράκιν.]	καὶ	Ποhοίδαια	Δαμο̄́νο̄[ν]	ἐνίκε̄	Hέλει, καὶ	ho κέλ[ε̄ξ		
4-times	and	(games-)of-Pohoidan	Damonon	won	at-Helos, and	the courser		
hάμ]ᾶ,	αὐτὸς	ἀνιοχίο̄ν	ἐνhε̄βο̄́hαις	hίπποις	hεπτάκιν	ἐκ	τᾶν	αὐτο̂
at-the-same-time,	himself	driving	with-young	mares	7-times	out-of	the	his
hίππο̄ν	κε̄̀κ	το̂	αὐ[τ]ο̂	[hίππο̄.] …				
mares	and-out-of	the	his	stallion.				

‘Damonon made this dedication to Athana (*Athene*) Poliachos, having won victories in such a way as no man alive today has ever done before. Damonon was victorious in the following contests with his own four-horse chariot, himself holding the reins: in the games of the Earthshaker (*Poseidon*) four times and the games of Athana four times and the Eleusinian games four times. And Damonon won the games of Pohoidan (*Poseidon*) at Helos seven times, and his courser on the same occasions, himself holding the reins, with fillies from his own mares and by his own stallion. …’

Characteristic of all non-Attic-Ionic dialects is the retention of original long [a:] (as in νικάhας [ni:ká:ha:s] ‘having won’ beside Attic νικήσας [ni:kɛ́:sa:s] etc.) and, where contraction occurs, the development of [a:] + an o-vowel to [a:] rather than [o:] (as in τᾶν [tâ:n] ‘the (fem gen pl)’ beside Attic τῶν [tô:n], both < τάων [tá:o:n]. We may also note here the typically West Greek -ποκα [-poka] (cf. (8h)) alongside specifically Laconian features such as the use of -κιν [-kin] as the suffix for numeral adverbs (e.g. hεπτάκιν [heptákin] ‘seven times’ beside Attic ἑπτάκις [heptákis]) and the general weakening of intervocalic [s] to [h] (as in ἐνίκαhε [ení:ka:he] ‘he won’ beside Attic

ἐνίκησε [ení:kɛ:se] etc.). Such a change had occurred generally in Greek during the Bronze Age, but in many cases the sound was restored analogically on the basis of parallel forms in which the [s] occurred after a consonant (see (1c)): the weakening here is a later local development, beginning in the 5th century. On the basis of makeshift Athenian spellings with Σ of the sound in Laconian words that is elsewhere spelled with Θ, it also seems likely that Θ already represented the fricative [θ] in Laconian (so σιός [θiós] = θεός [tʰeós] 'god/goddess'). As we shall see in subsequent chapters, fricativization of all three voiceless aspirated plosives eventually took place everywhere, and it is therefore conceivable that the process was already complete in Laconian. In any case, this example shows clearly that we should not imagine that local orthographies were routinely adapted to reflect sound change: thus spellings with Σ appear in Laconian inscriptions only after the universal adoption of the Ionic alphabet in which Θ still represented [tʰ]. It also follows that the changes in question may also have been taking place in other areas at this time. Similar problems of orthographic conservatism arise in connection with major changes in the vowel system, as discussed briefly below in connection with Boeotian and at length in later chapters.

(b) Cretan (Gortyn, Peloponnesian Doric)

GDI 4991, mid-5th century BC. The Gortyn law code; disputes over the ownership of slaves.

Θιοί. ὄς κ' ἐλευθέρο̄ι ἒ̄ δόλο̄ι μέλλε̄ι ἀντιμο̄λε̂ν, πρὸ δίκας μὲ̄ ἄγεν.
Gods. Who ever for-free-man or for-slave be-about to-bring-suit, before trial not seize (inf).

αἰ [δέ] κ' ἄγε̄ι καταδικακσάτο̄ τô ἐλευθέρο̄ δέκα στατε̄́ρανς,
if but ever he-seize let-him-condemn (in-case-)of-the free-man 10 staters,

τô δόλο̄ πέντε, ὄτι ἄγει, καὶ δικακσάτο̄ λαγάσαι ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ
of-the slave 5, because he-seizes, and let-him-decree release (inf) in the 3

ἀμέραις. αἰ δέ] κα μὲ̄ [λαγ]άσει, καταδικαδδέτο̄ τô μὲν ἐλευθέρο̄
days. If but ever not he-release, let-him-condemn (in-case-)of-the EMP free-man

στατε̂ρα, τô δόλο̄ [δα]ρκνὰν τᾶς ἀμέρας Ϝεκάστας, πρίν κα λαγάσει·
a-stater, of-the slave drachma (during-)the day each, until ever he-release;

τô δὲ κρόνο̄ τὸν δι[κ]αστὰν ὀμνύντα κρίνεν. ...
(in respect-)of-the and time the judge under-oath decide(inf). ...

'Gods. Whoever is about to bring suit with regard to a free man or a slave shall not make seizure before the trial. If he makes seizure, he (*the judge*) shall condemn him to a fine of ten staters in the case of a free man, five in the case of a slave, because he seizes him, and shall decree that he release him within three days. But if he does not release him, in the case of a free man he (*the judge*) shall condemn him to a fine of a stater, in the case of a slave a drachma, for each day until he releases him; and as to the time the judge shall decide under oath. ...'

Typical West Greek features here include aorist stems in [-ks-] from non-velar roots (e.g. καταδικα-κσά-το̄ [katadikaksáto:] 'let him condemn' beside Attic καταδικα-σά-τω [katadikasáto:], cf. (8b)) and the forms αἰ and κα [ai, ka:] 'if, ever' (see (8g)). Note that the archaic alphabet used on Crete at this time did not distinguish voiceless [p, k] from aspirated [pʰ, kʰ], employing only Π and Κ (cf. ἀντι- [ampʰi-], δαρκνάν

[darkʰná:n] 'drachma (acc)'). Some regular Cretan characteristics include psilosis (loss of initial aspiration, as in ὄς [os] 'who' beside Attic ὅς [hos]), assimilation of [zd] to [dd] (as in καταδικαδδέτō [katadikaddétto:] 'let him condemn' beside Attic καταδικαζέτω [katdikazdéto:]), short-vowel aorist/perfective subjunctives (as originally in this athematic formation, and guaranteed for Cretan by later spellings: contrast λαγά-σει [lagáse:] 's/he should release' with corresponding Attic forms modelled on the long-vowel thematic subjunctives of the present/imperfective stem), and thematic infinitives in -εν [-en] (cf. κρίνεν [krí:nen] 'to judge' beside Attic κρίνειν [krí:ne:n]). None of these features, however, is exclusively Cretan or even exclusively West Greek.

(c) Elean (Olympia, North-West Greek)

GDI 1152, early 6th century BC. The immunity of Patrias.

'Α ϝράτρα τοῖρ Ϝαλείοις. Πατρίαν θαρρε̂ν καὶ γενεὰν καὶ
The decree for-the Eleans. Patrias have-legal-protection (inf) and family and
ταὐτô. Αἰ ζέ τίς κατιαραύσειε, Ϝάρρēν, ὂρ Ϝαλείō.
the-(property-)of-him. If but someone bring-charge, stand-trial (inf), as (against-)Elean.
αἰ ζὲ μὲ̄πιθεῖαν τὰ ζίκαια ὂρ μέγιστον τέλος ἔ̄χοι καὶ τοὶ
If but not-should-apply the rights who highest office should-hold and the
βασιλâες, ζέκα μναῖς κα ἀποτίνοι Ϝέκαστος τôν μὲ̄πιποεόντōν καθυταὶς
basilaes, 10 minas should pay each of-the not-applying dedicated
τοî Ζὶ Ὀλυνπίοι· ἐπενπôι ζὲ κ' Ἐλλανοζίκας καὶ τâ̓λλα ζίκαια
to-the Zeus Olympian; take-care-of and should Hellanodikas and the-other rights
ἐπενπέ̄τō ἀ ζαμιοργία· ...
let-take-care-of the board-of-damiourgoi; ...

'The decree of the Eleans. Patrias shall have legal protection along with his family and his property. And if anyone brings a charge, that man is to stand trial as [he would if he brought a charge] against an Elean. And if whoever should hold the highest office and the basilaes (*magistrates*) should not apply his rights, each of those who fail to do so should pay ten minas dedicated to Olympian Zeus, and the Hellanodikas (*chief judge with jurisdiction at the Olympic games*) should take care of this, and let the board of damiourgoi (*magistrates*) take care of his other rights; ...'

The interpretation of this text remains uncertain in several respects. Some take πατριάν [patriá:n] (differently accented) to be a common noun meaning 'clan' rather than a proper name and the subject of the first sentence to be unspecified accused people who are to enjoy security in respect of 'clan, family and property'. The target of the charge in the second sentence must then be an accused's 'clan, family and property', but this raises difficulties for the interpretation of the following elliptical clause, which apparently states that such an accuser shall stand trial 'as in a case against an Elean'. Are the accused and his clan and family not likely to be Eleans themselves? The alternative, adopted here, is to take Patrias to be a foreigner who is given legal protection on the same basis as an Elean (cf. Koerner (1981: 190–4), Colvin (2007: 168)).

Once again West Greek features are in evidence, most obviously the conditional conjunction αἰ [ai] (cf. (8g)) and the plural article τοί [toi] (cf. (8c)), along with the a-vocalism in ἰαρός [iarós] 'sacred' beside Attic ἱερός [hierós], as in κατ-ιαρ-αύσειε [kat-iar-aúseie] 's/he should imprecate/accuse' beside Attic καθ-ιερ-εύσειε [kat^h-ier-eúseie]. Specifically North-West Greek is the shift of [e] > [a] before [r] seen in Ϝάρρε̄ν [wárrɛ:n] 'to stand trial' beside (Ϝ)έρρω [(w)érro:] elsewhere (this latter normally with the non-technical meaning of 'go away/go to ruin'). Characteristically Elean are the use of the optative with κα [ka:] to frame an injunction (e.g. κα ἀποτίνοι [ka: apotí:noi] 's/he should pay back') and of the bare optative in generic relative clauses rather than the subjunctive with the generic/conditional particle (e.g. ὄρ ... τέλος ἔχοι [or ... télos éxoi] 'whoever holds office'.[7] Note too the psilosis, some apocopation of prepositions, shortening of final long diphthongs as in dative τοῖ [toî] 'to-the' beside Attic τῶι [tô:i], the shift of [ɛ:] > [a:], as in Ϝαλείοις [wa:leíois] 'for-Eleans', and of [e] > [a] after as well as before [r], as in κατ-ιαραύ-σειε [kat-iaraú-seie], and partial rhotacism of final [s] > [r], as in τοῖρ [toîr] beside Attic τοῖς [toîs]; in later inscriptions the r-spellings become uniform, though s-spellings remained in use earlier, as here, with the r-spellings originally typical of phonologically weak forms such as (clitic) articles and pronouns. We may note too the diphthongal product of compensatory lengthening in final syllables originally ending in [ns], as in accusative feminine plural κα-θυταίς **[kat-θutaís]** 'dedicated' beside Attic κατα-θυτάς [katat^{h}ytá:s], both from an original *[kata-t^{h}utáns]. The spelling with Z of what elsewhere would be represented by Δ, as in ζέ for δέ [de], ζίκαια for δίκαια [díkaia] etc., probably represents the early fricativization of [d] > **[ð]** (cf. Méndez Dosuna (1991): Z was free to be redeployed in Elean because it was no longer required to represent [dz, zd], which had earlier assimilated to [dd] and then simplified initially to [d]). As we shall see in later chapters, the three voiced plosives were eventually fricativized everywhere, and this may already have been the case in Elean despite the absence of parallel orthographic evidence for [b, g]. We should also remember that changes that are directly or indirectly attested graphically in certain localities in a given period may already have taken place more widely, but without any corresponding orthographic clues.

(d) Phocian (Delphi, North-West Greek)

CID I.3, first half of 5th century BC. Prohibition of the removal of sacred wine.

τὸν Ϝοῖνον μὲ̄ φάρεν ἐς τοῦ δρόμου· αἰ δέ κα φάρε̄ι, hιλαξάστο̄ τὸν
The wine not take(inf) out-of the racecourse; if but ever one-take, let-him-propitiate the
θεὸν hôι κα κεραίε̄ται, καὶ μεταθυσάτο̄ κἀποτεισάτο̄ πέντε
god for-whom ever it-be-mixed, and let-him-sacrifice-in-lieu and-pay-back 5
δραχμάς· τούτου δὲ τôι καταγορε̄́σαντι τὸ hε̄́μισσον.
drachmas; of-this and to-the accuser the half.

'People should not remove the wine from the racecourse; if someone does remove it, let him propitiate the god for whom it is mixed, and let him offer a sacrifice in place of it and pay back five drachmas; and half of this is to go to the accuser.'

Though found in a wall dated to the late 4th century the language here generally has an older appearance, though some 'modern' spellings (e.g. -ου for -ο̄ as the genitive singular in τοῦ δρόμου [to: drómo:] 'the racecourse') suggest we may actually be

dealing with a later copy of an older inscription. Note once again the characteristic West Greek conditional conjunction αἰ [ai] and particle κα [ka:] (8g), and the aorist stem in [-ks-] from a non-velar root in hιλαξ-άστο̄ [hilaks-ást^{h}o:] (8b). This last form also shows one of the typical North-West Greek ΣΤ spellings discussed in note 7 for Elean, and may once again provide indirect evidence for a fricative pronunciation of the voiceless aspirates in other contexts. There is also the North-West Greek shift of [e] > [a] before [r] in φάρεν [fáren] 'to carry' beside Attic φέρειν [p^{h}ére:n]. The short vowel form of the infinitive ending is not, however, the norm in North-West Greek, though it is characteristic of Phocian specifically, along with the o-stem form of the word for 'half', hε̄́μισσον [hɛ́:misson], beside Attic ἥμισυ [hɛ́:misy] (though neither of these features is exclusively Phocian). The preposition ἐξ [eks] 'out of' usually appears as ἐκ [ek] before consonants, but in some dialects, as here, the cluster simplified to ἐσς/ἐς [ess/es] in this environment.

1.4.3 Aeolic

(a) Boeotian (Thebes)

IG VII.2418, mid-4th century BC. List of contributions for the Sacred War beginning 355 BC.

[τοὶ χρεί]ματα συνεβ[άλονθο ἐν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν] ἐπο[λέμιον] Βοιωτοὶ
These money contributed to the war which fought Boeotians
πε[ρὶ τῶ ἱαρῶ τῶ ἐμ Βελφοῖς π]ὸτ τὼς ἀσεβίοντας τὸ ἱαρὸ[ν τῶ
about the temple the in Delphi against those defiling the temple of-the
᾿Απόλλωνος τῶ Π]ουθίω. ᾿Αριστίωνος ἄρχοντος· ᾿Αλυζῆοι ...·
Apollo the Pythian. Aristion being-archon; Alyzaioi ...;
πρισγῆες Χάροψ Δάδωνος, ᾿Αριστο ...· ᾿Ανακτοριῆες τριάκοντα μνᾶς·
elders Charops (son-)of-Dadon, Aristo- ...; Anaktorieis 30 minas;
πρι[σγῆες] ... Φόρμω, ῎Αρκος Τε̄ρῆος. ...
elders ... (son-)of Phormos, Arkos (son-)of-Tereus.

'The following contributed money to the war fought by the Boeotians for the temple at Delphi against those committing sacrilege against the temple of Pythian Apollo. In the archonship (*magistracy*) of Aristion: the people of Alyzia ...; the elders Charops son of Dadon, Aristo- ...; the people of Anaktorion 30 minas; the elders ... son of Phormos, Arkos son of Tereus ...'

The most distinctively Aeolic feature here is the labial reflex of an original labio-velar before the front vowel in Βελφοῖς [belp^{h}oîs] 'Delphi (dat)' beside Attic Δελφοῖς [delp^{h}oîs], both < *g^welbh- 'womb' (cf. (8j)). But mainland Aeolic, as noted, often agrees with North-West Greek, whether as a reflex of its early history or as the result of later convergence. The use of the preposition ἐν [en] with the accusative to mean 'to/into' (ἐν τὸν πόλεμον [en ton pólemon] 'to/for the war') is clearly an archaism shared by these two groups (as well as by Arcadian and Cypriot), while the form ἱαρόν [hiarón] 'temple', with a-vocalism, is common to mainland Aeolic and West Greek in general.

Some typical Boeotian features are reflected in the orthographic system, which displays an unusal degree of adaptation to sound change over time. In particular, Boeotian provides early graphic evidence of major changes in the vowel system that eventually became universal. By the mid-4th century, for example, standard Boeotian spellings, in which I [i:], EI [e:] and H [ɛ:] are used where EI [e:], H [ɛ:] and AI [ai] would normally be expected, show that [e:] (<[ei]) and [ɛ:] (all original and secondary long e-vowels) had been raised to [i:] and [e:] respectively, while the diphthong [ai] had been monophthongized to [ɛ:]. Examples from this text include πρισγ-ῆες [pri:zgê:es] 'elders/ambassadors' beside Thessalian πρεισβ-εία [pre:zbé:a] 'rank of elder/embassy',[8] χρείματα [k^{h}ré:mata] 'property/money' beside Attic χρήματα [k^{h}rɛ́:mata], Ἀλυζῆοι [aluzdɛ̂:oi] 'Alyzaians' beside Attic Ἀλυζαῖοι [alyzdaîoi]. As always (see also the discussion of fricativization in connection with Laconian and North-West Greek above), it is unclear just how much of a pioneer Boeotian truly was in this respect, given that other alphabets, most importantly the standardized Ionic alphabet, were much more conservative. This complex issue will be addressed in more detail in later chapters. Note too the regular raising of [e] > [i] before another vowel, as in ἐπολέμι-ον [epolémi-on] 'they fought' < ἐπολέμε-ον [epoléme-on], and the characteristic mainland Aeolic 3pl ending in συνεβάλο-νθο [sunebálont^{h}o] 'they-contributed', for standard -ντο [-nto], perhaps with extension of the aspirate from 1pl -μεθα [-met^{h}a] and 2 pl -σθε [-st^{h}e].

(b) Thessalian (Matropolis in western Thessaly)

SEG 36.548, second half of 3rd century BC. The privileges of the Basaidai clan.

θιός· τύχαν ἀγαθάν· συνθείκα Βασαίδουν τεῖς ἐΐντεσσι τοῦν πεττάρουν

God; good fortune; agreement of-Basaidai for-those being of-the 4

γενίουν καὶ τᾶς ταγᾶς κοινανείντουν τὲν πάντα χρόνεν, καὶ αὐτεῖς

tribes and in-the taga participating (for-)the all time, both for-themselves

καὶ τᾶι γενιᾶι τᾶι ἐς τύτουν γινυμέναι. μὰ ἔστου ποδέξαστα πὸτ

and the offspring the out-of these happening. Not let-it-be to-accept to

τὰν ἰσοτιμίαν μαδέμινα μαδὲ ταγὰν δοῖν ἔξου τᾶς

the equality-of-privilege anyone nor taga they-should-give outside the

συγγενείας. ...

clan. ...

'God; good fortune; agreement for those of the Basaidai belonging to the four tribes and participating in perpetuity in the taga (*chief magistracy*), both for themselves and for the offspring issuing from them. It shall not be permitted to accept anyone into equality of privilege nor should they assign the taga outside the clan. ...'

Note once again the Aeolic reflex of an original labio-velar before a front vowel in πεττάρουν [pettáru:n] 'four', beside Attic τεττάρων [tettáro:n] (with palatalization, cf. Latin *quattuor* for the original sound), and also the typically Aeolic consonant-stem dative plural ending in -εσσι [-essi] as in εἴντεσσι [é:nt-essi] 'being (dat pl)', beside the Ionic ἐοῦσι [eûsi] < *[eónt-si] (cf. (8j)).[9] The motive for this development appears to have been avoidance of the stem allomorphy resulting from the simplification of [-nts-],

with the ending itself based on the analogy of the o-stem nominative -οι [-oi] beside dative -οισι [-oisi], so that the usual dative -σι [-si] was added to the nominative plural -ες [-es].

Of particular importance here are the Thessalian treatment of both original and secondary long e- and o-vowels, which had evidently raised to [e:] and [u:] (spelled EI and OY) respectively, e.g. συνθείκα [sunt^{h}é:ka:] 'agreement' (cf. Attic συνθήκη **[synt^{h}ɛ́:kɛ:]**) and Βασαίδουν [basaídu:n] 'Basaidai (gen pl)' (cf. Attic Βασαίδων [basaído:n]). The form of o-stem dative plurals in -εις [-e:s] rather than -οις [-ois], as in τεῖς [tê:s], αὐτεῖς [autê:s] and, later in the text, τύτεις [tú:te:s], points to the monophthongization and subsequent partial loss of lip-rounding attested graphically in this period also for Boeotian (i.e. [oi] > [ø:] > [e:]); but the final stage appears still to be confined to phonologically weak articles and pronouns if we compare δοῖν [dø:n] 'they should give' and, later in the inscription, ξενδόκοι [ksendókø:] 'witnesses (nom)'. Similar changes eventually took place everywhere, and in all environments, though with all the usual problems of establishing the proper chronology.

In this particular inscription, however, there are some further unexpected spellings in final syllables which have been taken by Chadwick (1993) as evidence of the shift from the inherited pitch accent to a stress accent, with an associated loss of vowel quality (vowel weakening) in post-tonic unaccented syllables containing short [o], and in clitic elements such as articles. Thus τὲν ... χρόνεν (normally spelled τὸν ... χρόνον [ton … k^{h}rónon] '(for-)the time') may well represent **[tən ... 'k^{h}ronən]**, while the 3pl optative form δοῖν [dø:n] suggests the complete syncopation of such a vowel (< δοῖεν ['dø:en]). Once again, this shift in the character of the accent eventually occurred everywhere in Greek, but as always with many uncertainties about the timing. As we shall see in later chapters, the advent of a stress accent was intimately bound up with the loss of contrastive distinctions in vowel quantity, though this complication has been ignored in the tentative transcriptions offered here. Evidence for such vowel weakening, however, remains a peculiarity of Thessalian, at least in native varieties of Greek, and indeed of this document.

Apocopated prepositions and preverbs are the norm in this dialect, e.g. ποτ [pot] for ποτί [potí], and ποδέξαστα [po(d)-'deksastæ:] for ποτι-δέξασθαι [poti-déksast^{h}ai], where the ΣT spelling, which is rare and relatively late in Thessalian compared with North-West Greek, may once again provide evidence for the fricativization of voiceless aspirates in other environments (though this possibility has not been adopted in the transcriptions).[10] Other oddities remain unexplained, however. The negative μά, apparently [ma:], for example, is unique to this inscription (elsewhere μεί [me:] is used in Thessalian, as expected), and it is quite uncertain why the root element of the demonstrative meaning 'this' is written τυτ- rather than τουτ- [tu:t-] in the usual way (though it implies that the pronunciation of the original diphthong [ou] may have developed differently from that of the long o-vowels). See García-Ramón (1987) for a thorough discussion of this text.

(c) Lesbian (Mytilene)

IG XII.2.6, soon after 324 BC. Settlement of disputes between exiles returning under an edict of Alexander the Great and the remaining citizens of Mytilene.

… [καὶ οἰ β]ασί[λ]ηες προστι]θησ[θον τῶι κατεληλύθοντι ὡς τέχναν
… and the basilees let-them-bestow to-the-one having-returned because plot
τεχνα]μέν[ω] τῶ ἐ[ν τᾶι] πόλι πρόσθε [ἔοντος. αἰ δέ κέ τις τῶν
plotting the-one in the city previously being. If but ever anyone of-the
κατεληλυθόν]των μὴ ἐμμένη ἐν ταῖς διαλυσί[εσ]σι ταύτ[αισι, μὴ …
having-returned not abide in the resolutions these, not …
]εζέσθω πὰρ τᾶς πόλιος κτήματος μήδενος μη[δὲ στειχέτω
let-him from the city possession any nor let-him-walk
ἐπὶ μῆ]δεν τῶμ παρεχώρησαν αὔτωι οἰ ἐν τᾶι πόλι πρό[σθε ἔοντες,
upon any of-what they-surrendered to-him those in the city previously being,
ἀλλὰ σ]τείχοντον ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰ κτήματα οἰ παραχωρήσαν[τες αὔτωι
but let-them-walk upon these the possessions those having-surrendered to-him
ἐκ τῶν] ἐν τᾶι πόλι πρόσθε ἐόντων, καὶ οἰ στρόταγοι εἰσ[αῦθις
out-of those in the city previously being, and the strotagoi thereafter
ἀποφέρο]ντον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐν τᾶι πόλι πρόσθε ἔοντα τὰ κτήματα …
let-them-return to the-one in the city previously being the possessions …

'And the basilees (*magistrates*) shall bestow favour on those who have returned from exile on the grounds that those who were previously in the city are contriving deceit. But if any of those who have returned from exile does not abide by these resolutions, he shall not … any property from the city nor shall he lay claim to anything that those who were previously in the city surrendered to him, but of those who were previously in the city those who surrendered property to him shall lay claim to this, and the strotagoi (*magistrates*) shall return the property thereafter to those who were previously in the city. …'

Another important Aeolic feature in evidence here is the perfect participle with stem in -οντ- [-ont-], as in the imperfective participle, rather than the usual -οτ- [-ot-], so κατεληλύθ-οντι [katelɛ:lút^{h}-onti] 'having returned (dat)' rather than Attic κατεληλύθ-οτι [katelɛ:lýt^{h}-oti] (see (8j)). The conditional particle κε [ke] is regular in both Lesbian and Thessalian (Boeotian κα [ka:] is probably a North-West Greek feature), while 3pl imperatives in -ντον [-nton] (active, cf. στείχο-ντον [sté:k^{h}o-nton] 'let them walk (upon)/lay claim to') and -σθον [-st^{h}on] (medio-passive, cf. προστίθη-σθον [prostít^{h}e:st^{h}-on] 'let them add/bestow') are characteristically Lesbian; Attic has -ντων [-nto:n] and -σθων [-st^{h}o:n] respectively. The final -ι [i] of long diphthongs started to be lost quite early in Lesbian, and from the late 4th century forms with plain long vowels prevail, so here ἐμμέν-η [emmén-ɛ:] 's/he abide by (subjunctive)' beside Attic ἐμμέν-ηι [emmén-ɛ:i].

An important feature of Lesbian not illustrated here is 'diphthongal' compensatory lengthening following the simplification of [n] + word-final [s] or, medially, [n] + secondary [s] (i.e. resulting from the assibilation of [ti] or the simplification of *[ts] (< *[t-j])), as in παῖσα [paîsa] 'all (fem sg)' beside Attic πᾶσα [pâ:sa], both from πάνσα [pánsa] (<*πάντ-jα [pánt-ja]). Since accusative plurals of the first and second declension therefore end in -αις [-ais] and -οις [-ois] (< -ανς [-ans] and -ονς [-ons]),[11] it follows that the dative plurals of these declensions will normally have 'long' forms in -αισι [-aisi] (cf. ταύταισι [taútaisi] 'these (dat pl)') and -οισι [-oisi]); only the article has the short forms, though conventionally with a different written accent from the accusative, so dative ταῖς [taîs] vs. accusative ταίς [taís] etc.

1.4.4 East Greek

(a) Arcadian (Mantinea)

IG V.2.262, 5th century BC. Judgement against those guilty of sacrilege against Athena Alea, whose temple had been the scene of a fight.

[ϝο̄]φλε̄̃ασι οἵδε ἰν 'Αλέαν· ... ὀиέοι ἄν χρε̄στε̄́ριον κακρίνε̄ ε̄̃
Have-been-condemned these to Alea; ... Whom(ever) ever oracle condemn or

γνο̄σίαι κακριθε̄̃ε̄ τôν χρε̄μάτο̄ν, πὲ τοῖς ϝοικιάται(ς)
by-judicial-inquiry be-condemned (in-respect-)of-the property, with the house-slaves

τâς θεô ἦναι, κὰ ϝοικίας δάσασσθαι τὰς ἄνο̄δ' ἐάσας. εἰ
of-the goddess be(inf), and houses distribute(inf) those above being. Inasmuch-as

τοῖς ϝο̄φλε̄κόσι ἐπὶ τοῖδ' ἐδικάσαμε[ν], ἅ τε θεὸς κὰς οἰ
upon-those condemned on this-basis we-passed-judgement, the both goddess and the

δικασσταὶ, ἀπυиεδομίν[ος] τôν χρε̄μάτο̄ν τὸ λάχος, ἀπεχομίνος κὰ
judges, having-given-away of-the property the share, kept-away in

τὂρρέντερον γένος ἦναι ἄματα πάντα ἀπὺ τοῖ ἱεροῖ, ἵλαον ἦναι.
the-male race be (inf) days all from the temple, propitious be (inf).

εἰ δ' ἄλλα иις ἔατοι κὰ τôννυ, ἰνμεμφὲς ἦναι. ...
If and other-things someone allows against these-things, blameworthy be(inf). ...

'The following have been condemned to pay retribution to Athena Alea: ... Whoever the oracle condemns or is condemned by judicial process to forfeit his property, this together with his household slaves shall belong to the goddess, and he shall distribute the houses he may own in addition. Inasmuch as we, both the goddess and the judges, have passed judgement on the condemned on the following terms, that they should hand over their allotted portion of property and be banished in the male line for all time from the temple, this shall be propitious. And if anyone allows anything else, contrary to these provisions, that shall be impious. ...'

Some standard East Greek features in evidence here include aorists in -σα- [-sa-] rather than -ξα- [-ksa-] from verbs in -ζω [-zdo:] with non-velar stems (cf. (8b)), as ἐδικάσα-μεν [edikása-men] 'we-judged'), the East Greek 1pl ending -μεν [-men] (cf. (8d)), the plural article οἰ [oi] (cf. (8c)), and the conditional conjunction εἰ [e:] (cf. (8g)). Arcadian, however, is a conservative East Greek dialect, as noted, and several archaisms are also apparent, including the use of ἰν [in] with the accusative = 'into', as also in North-West Greek and mainland Aeolic (ἰν < ἐν [en] through the characteristic Arcado-Cypriot raising before [n], as also in the participial ending -μινος [-minos]), and the 3sg middle/passive ending in -τοι [-toi] (as in ἔα-τοι [éa:-toi] 's/he allows'), inherited directly from Mycenaean (e.g. *e-u-ke-to(-qe)* [eúkʰe-toí(-kʷe)] PY 140 '(and) s/he-declares'), beside the innovative -ται [-tai] used elsewhere. Characteristically Arcadian are the absence of compensatory lengthening when final [-ns] is simplified (ἀπ-εχομίνος [apekʰomínos] beside Attic ἀπ-εχομένους [apekʰoménu:s] 'being kept away (acc pl)', both < -μένονς [-menons]), the apocopated prepositions and preverbs with subsequent assimilation and simplification of double consonants (κα-κρίνε̄ [ka-krínɛ:] < [kak-krínɛ:] < [kat-krínɛ:] < [kata-krínɛ:] 's/he condemn (subjunctive)', πε τοῖς ... [pe tois ...] < [pet tois ...] < [ped tois ...] < [peda tois ...] 'with the ...'), short diphthongs in the dative

singulars of a- and o-stem nouns (probably representing original locatives, as in τοῖ ἱεροῖ [toi ieroî] ‘the temple (dat)’), and the use of the dative rather than the usual genitive with ablatival prepositions (ἀπὺ τοῖ ἱεροῖ [apu toi ieroî] ‘from the temple (dat)’, as also in Cypriot). Uniquely in this inscription κάς [kas] is used for the later and more usual καί [kai] ‘and’ (with assimilation to [w] and simplification in κὰ ϝοικίας [ka woikías] < [kaw woikías] < [kas woikías])), but this form is also shared by Cypriot and must be original in the dialect, as is ὄ-νυ [ónu] ‘this’ (also shared with Cypriot) for the usual ὅ-δε [hóde]. The prepositions πεδ(ά) [ped(á)] ‘with’ and ἀπύ [apú] ‘from’ are attested in Mycenaean, and presumably represent a direct inheritance from the Bronze Age.

The letter И is used here to indicate the current stage in the development of the palatalization of labio-velars before front vowels in this dialect, as in иις ‘someone’ (beside τις [tis] elsewhere) and ὀ-иέοι ‘to-whomever’ (= Attic ὅ-τεῳ [hó-teo:i]), but mysteriously not in τε [te].[12] It probably represents [tʃ/ts] in that an earlier Arcadian inscription (IG V.2.554, late 6th/early 5th century) has a spelling with Z implying an affricate pronunciation (ὅ-ζις ‘whoever’, perhaps = [ó-tsis]), while later Arcadian employs the usual t-spellings, showing that a t-element was involved throughout.

(b) Ionic

(i) Eastern (Berezan near Olbia, a colony of Miletus on the Black Sea)

SEG 26.845, late 6th century BC. Letter on lead from Achillodoros to his son Protagores.

ὦ Πρωταγόρη, ὁ πατήρ τοι ἐπιστέλλε̄. ἀδικε̂ται ὑπὸ Ματασυος,
O Protagores, the father to-you writes. He-is-wronged by Matasys,
δο̄λο̂ται γάρ μιγ καὶ το̂ φορτηγεσίο̄ ἀπεστέρε̄σεν. ἐλθὼμ παρ'
he-enslaves for him and of-the shipping-business deprived. Going to
'Αναξαγόρην ἀπήγησαι· φησὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν 'Αναξαγόρεω δο̂λον
Anaxagores inform; he-says for him of-Anaxagores slave
ε̂̓ναι μυθεόμενος· Τἄμ' 'Ανα<ξα>γόρης ἔχε̄, καὶ δο̄́λο̄ς καὶ
to-be claiming: ‘The-my(-things) Anaxagores holds, both slave-men and
δο̄́λας κοἰκίας. ὁ δὲ ἀναβῶι τε καὶ οὔ φησιν ε̂̓ναι οὐδὲν ἐωυτῶι
slave-women and-houses.’ He but shouts-out both and not says to-be nothing for-himself
τε καὶ Ματασιν καὶ φησὶν ε̂̓ναι ἐλεόθερος καὶ οὐδὲν ε̂̓ναι ἐωυτ(ῶ)ι
both and Matasys and says to-be free and nothing to-be for-himself
καὶ Ματ{ατ}ασυ. ε̄̓ δέ τι αὐτῶι κἀναξαγόρη, αὐτοὶ οἴδασι
and Matasys. If but anything for-him and-Anaxagores, themselves they-know
κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτο̄́ς. ...
between them selves. ...

‘Protagores, your father (*Achillodoros*) writes to you. He is being abused by Matasys, for he holds him as a slave and has robbed him of his shipping business. Go to Anaxagores and inform him; for he (*Matasys*) says that he (*Achillodoros*) is Anaxagores’ slave, claiming: “Anaxagores has all my stuff, slave men and slave women and houses.” But he (*Achillodoros*) shouts out in protest and denies that there is anything between himself and Matasys and declares that he is a free man and that there is nothing between himself and Matasys. If, however, there is anything between him (Matasys) and Anaxagores they themselves know between themselves. ...’

The Ionic dialects, with Attic, form the more innovative branch of East Greek. The most characteristic Ionic innovation here is the shift of original [a:] > [ɛ:] (standardly written H) in all environments. As noted earlier, this innovation is shared with Attic but there [a:] is retained/restored after [i, e, r]. So here we have Ἀναξαγόρης [anaksagórɛ:s] etc. where other dialects, including Attic, would have Ἀναξαγόρας [anaksagóra:s]. Equally characteristic of Attic-Ionic are the optional presence of a final [-n] (‘movable *nu*’) in dative plurals in -σι(ν) [-si(n)] and verb forms in -σι(ν) [-si(n)]/ -ε(ν) [-e(n)]), as φησίν [pʰɛ:sín] ‘s/he says’, and the process of ‘quantitative metathesis’, which involves the shortening of an open long e-vowel before an o- or a-vowel, followed by synizesis (a running together of the two vowels, involving a semi-vocalic pronunciation of [e] noted here as [e̯]) and, when the second element was originally short, a form of compensatory lengthening (Méndez Dosuna (1993a)); thus [ɛ:o] > [e̯o:], as in Ἀναξαγόρ-εω [anaksagóre̯o:] ‘Anaxagores (gen)’, with -εω [-e̯o:] < -ηο [-ɛ:o] < -αο [-a:o] (in Attic the genitive ending of masculine a-stems was replaced by -ου [-u:], borrowed from the o-stem paradigm).

Other Ionic features include the form of the reflexive pronoun ἑωυτόν [eo:utón] etc. beside Attic ἑαυτόν [hea:utón], the levelling of the plural paradigm of a number of irregular verbs (so here οἴδ-ασι [oíd-a:si] ‘they-know’ reformed to the singular οἶδ-α [oîd-a] ‘I-know’ etc., in place of the opaque ἴσ-ασι [ís-a:si] still retained in Attic), and the apparent falling together of an original sequence [eo] with the diphthong [eu], as reflected in the spelling of the latter in ἐλεόθερος ‘free’, normally ἐλεύθερος [eleútʰeros]; μυθεόμενος ‘claiming’ was probably therefore pronounced [mytʰeúmenos].[13] Specifically Eastern Ionic is the loss of aspiration, as in ἑωυτῶι [eo:utô:i] ‘to himself’ or ἀπ-ήγησαι [ap-ɛ́:gɛ:sai] ‘tell (imperative)’, beside Attic ἑαυτῶι [hea:utô:i] and ἀφ-ήγησαι [apʰ-hɛ́:gɛ:sai].

(ii) Central/Cycladic (Delos)

IG XII.5.2, late 7th/early 6th century BC. Verse dedication of Nikandre of Naxos to Artemis (on a statue of a female figure).

Νικάνδρη μ' ἀνέθε͂κεν h(ε)κηβόλο͂ι ἰοχεαίρηι,
Nikandre me dedicated to-Far-shooting Showerer-of-arrows,
ϙο͂ρη Δεινοδίκηο το͂ Ναξσίο͂, ἔξσοξος ἀλήο͂ν,
daughter of-Deinodikes the Naxian, exalted of-other(-women),
Δεινομένεος δὲ κασιγνε͂τη, Φhράξσο͂ δ' ἄλοχος (ν)<ῦν>
of-Deinomenes and sister, of-Phraxos and wife now.

‘Nikandre dedicated me to the Far-shooting Showerer of Arrows (*Artemis*),
Daughter of Deinodikes the Naxian, exalted above other women,
Sister of Deinomenes, and now wife of Phraxos.’

This inscription in hexameters, the metre of Ionic epic and most notably of the Homeric poems (see chapter 2 for details), shows that Central Ionic still retained word-initial aspiration, with H used to represent not only [h] (in fact the whole initial syllable [he] in h(ε)κηβόλο͂ι [hekæ:bólo:i] ‘Far-shooting’) but also the current stage in the develop-

ment of long [a:] towards [ɛ:], presumably [æ:]. Evidently this had not yet merged with original [ɛ:], since the latter is still spelled with E (as in ἀν-έθεκεν [an-ét^{h}ɛ:ken] 's/he dedicated'). The letters borrowed as K (*kappa*) and ϙ (*koppa*) represented distinct phonemes in the Semitic languages, namely /k/ and /q/, but since there was no such contrast in Greek, the latter was quickly dropped, though it still appears in a few early inscriptions, as here, to mark the allophone of /k/ before o- and u-vowels.

Interestingly, the metre shows that the endings seen in Δεινομέν-εος (apparently [de:nomén-eos]), ἀλ-ήōν (apparently [all-ǽ:o:n]) and Δεινοδίκ-ηο (apparently [de:nodík-ǽ:o]) all actually scan as single heavy syllables. With regard to the first of these, we may compare the later spellings with EΥ (note 13) and recall the probable diphthongal pronunciation of -εο- as [eu] in (i). But the later Ionic spellings of the second two cases, namely -εων [-e̯o:n] and -εω [-e̯o:], suggest that these had developed their monosyllabic status through synizesis (with compensatory lengthening of the second element when this was originally short), cf. again (i) above. The metrical values of these endings here therefore show that [æ:o(:)] had already undergone these changes, making the orthography conservative and the probable pronunciation [alle̯ó:n] and [de:nodíke̯o:].

(iii) Western (Eretria in Euboea)

IG XII.9.187, late 5th century BC. Stone honouring Hegelochos of Taras (Tarentum) for his part in the liberation of Eretria from Athens in 411 BC.

θεοί. ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλῆι Ἡγέλοχον τὸν Ταραντῖνον πρόξενον
Gods. It-seemed-good to-the Council Hegelochos the Tarentine proxenos

εἶναι καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ αὐτὸν κ[α]ὶ παῖδας, καὶ σίτηριν εἶναι
be (inf) and benefactor both himself and children, and public-maintenance be (inf)

καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ παιρί, ὅταν ἐ[π]ιδημέωριν, καὶ ἀτελέην καὶ
both for-himself and children, whenever they-be-in-town, and exemption-from-taxes and

προεδρίην ἐς τõς ἀγῶνας, ὡς συνελευθερώραντι τὴμ πόλιν
privilege-of-front-seats for the games, because having-joined-in-freeing the city

ἀπ' Ἀθηνάων.
from Athenians.

'Gods. The Council decreed that Hegelochos of Taras should be a proxenos (*official friend of Eretria and political representative of Eretrians in Taras*) and benefactor, both himself and his sons, and that meals should be provided at public expense both for himself and his sons whenever they are in the city, and the privilege of occupying front seats at the games, because of his help in freeing the city from the Athenians.'

As might be expected from its geographical location, the Ionic of Euboea is in some ways closer to Attic than are more Eastern varieties. In particular, Euboean shows initial aspiration, Attic-style [tt] and [rr] where other Ionic dialects have [ss] and [rs] (e.g. in θάλαττα [t^{h}álatta] 'sea' and θάρρος [t^{h}árros] 'boldness'), and also lacks compensatory lengthening in words such as ξένος [ksénos] beside regular Ionic ξεῖνος [ksê:nos], both < ξένϝος [ksénwos]. None the less, it shares with the rest of Ionic the shift of original [a:] > [ɛ:] in all environments (cf. προεδρίην [pro(h)edríɛ:n] 'privilege-of-front-

seats'), a marked resistance to certain vowel contractions (as in ἐπιδημέωριν [epidɛ:méo:rin] 'they-are-in-town (subjunctive)' beside Attic ἐπιδημῶσιν [epidɛ:mô:sin]) and the formation of feminine abstract nouns from s-stem adjectives with the suffix -έη/-ε(ί)η [-éɛ:/-e:ɛ:] (< *-ε(σ)-ία [-es-ía:]) rather than -εια [-e:a] (so ἀτελέη [ateléɛ:] 'exemption from taxes', rather than ἀτέλεια [atéle:a], both < ἀτελής [atelέ:s] 'free-from-charges'). The shortening of long diphthongs, seen here in the article τεῖ [tei] but not yet in the noun βουλῆι [bu:lɛ̂i] 'council', is typical of Euboean after around 400 BC. The rhotacism of intervocalic [s] > [r], as in παιρί [pairí] 'children (dat pl)' for παισί [paisí] etc., is a marked peculiarity of the dialect of Eretria and Oropos.

(c) Attic

IG I.3.40, 446/5 BC. Stone from the acropolis of Athens regulating relations between the city and Chalcis in Euboea following the revolt of the island from the Athenian league.

ἔδοχσεν τε͂[ι β]ο̄λε͂ι καὶ το͂ι δε̄́μο̄ι, 'Αντιοχὶς ἐ[πρυτ]άνευε,
It-seemed-good to-the council and the people, Antiochis(-tribe) was-presiding,
Δρακ[ον]τίδε̄ς ἐπεστάτε̄, Διόγνε̄τος εἶπε· κατὰ τάδε τὸν
Drakontides was-chief-president, Diognetos proposed: on these(-terms) the
hόρκον ὀμόσαι 'Αθε̄ναίο̄ν τε̄̀ν βο̄λε̄̀ν καὶ το̄̀ς δικαστάς· οὐκ
oath swear of-Athenians the council and the jurors: not
ἐχσελο͂ Χαλκιδέας ἐχ Χαλκίδος οὐδὲ τε̄̀ν πόλιν ἀνάστατον
I-shall-expel Chalcidians from Chalcis nor the city ruined
ποήσο̄ οὐδὲ ἰδιο̄́τε̄ν οὐδένα ἀτιμο̄́σο̄ οὐδὲ φυγε͂ι ζε̄μιο̄́σο̄
I-shall-make nor private-citizen none I-shall-strip-of-rights, nor with-exile I-shall-punish
οὐδὲ χσυλλε̄́φσομαι οὐδὲ ἀποκτενο͂ οὐδὲ χρε̄́ματα ἀφαιρε̄́σομαι
nor I-shall-arrest nor I-shall-kill nor property I-shall-take-away
ἀκρίτο̄ οὐδενὸς ἄνευ το͂ δε̄́μο̄ το͂ 'Αθηναίο̄ν ...
unjudged (from-)no-one without the people the of-Athenians ...

'The Council and the People resolved, the Antiochis tribe was presiding, Drakontides was in the chair, Diognetos put the motion: the Council and jurors of the Athenians shall swear the oath as follows: I shall not expel the Chalcidians from Chalcis nor lay waste their city nor deprive any individual of his rights nor punish him with exile nor arrest him nor put him to death nor deprive anyone of his property untried without the People of the Athenians ...'

The 'old' Athenian alphabet did not include the letters H and Ω, or use the digraphs EI and OΥ other than to note what had been genuine diphthongs: E and O are therefore employed to represent all e- and o-vowels. Similarly, ΧΣ and ΦΣ were used where Ξ and Ψ would appear after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet, cf. χσυλλε̄́φσομαι [ksyllέpsomai] 'I shall arrest': these spellings imply that [s] was perceived as having an acoustic effect on the preceding plosive analogous to aspiration. Where a diphthong ending in [i] was followed by a vowel there was a tendency in several dialects, including Attic, for this to acquire a consonantal articulation [j] and then, at least optionally, to be dropped. In some common words this pronunciation became the norm and was

reflected in the standard orthography, cf. ποήσο̄ [poɛ́:so:] 'I shall make/do', < ποιήσω [pojɛ́:so:]/[poiɛ́:so:] (though the etymological spelling was later restored, leading eventually to a spelling pronunciation). As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the use of periphrases comprising an abstract noun with a verb like 'do' (e.g. ἀνάστατον ποήσο̄ [anástaton poɛ́:so:] 'ruined I-shall-make') is a characteristic of the language of Athenian officialdom that was to have a long-term future in this register.

A developed variety of Attic was soon to play the dominant role in the subsequent development of Greek, a history from which all other ancient dialects eventually disappeared almost without trace. This story will be taken up in detail in chapter 3, but first we must consider the role of the ancient dialects in literature, and in particular the emergence of specifically literary dialects, since this issue lies at the heart of the problem of diglossia which has characterized Greek for most of its history.

Notes

1 The conventional written accents on Ancient Greek words are normally transferred directly into phonetic transcriptions (see Introduction, note 2), except in the case of articles, relative pronouns, prepositions and certain conjunctions which, in connected speech, were unaccented proclitics, just as forms of the 3rd-person anaphoric pronoun αὐτόν [autón] 'him' etc. were enclitic (see Méndez Dosuna (2000: 279–8, for relevant evidence and examples). In later chapters, dealing with periods when the ancient pitch accent had changed to one characterized by stress, analogous conventions are applied.

2 /b/ is largely the product of later developments, deriving particularly < */gʷ/, on which see immediately below, and may not even have been a sound of Mycenaean at all (cf. Thompson (2005)).

3 Normally [j], though palatalization of [t] also occurs before original [w], as in Ionic τέσσερες [tésseres]/Attic τέτταρες [téttares] < IE *kʷetwor-*, perhaps involving the fronting of [w] > [jʷ] caused by an inherently palatalized articulation of /t/ as [tʲ] in at least this environment.

4 The group [ns] has here been simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened in 'compensation' to maintain the original 'heavy' syllable quantity. The ancient pitch accent was associated with a syllable-timed rhythm, reflected directly in poetry, which required fixed metrical sequences of light and heavy syllables, the latter being 'closed' (by a consonant or length), the former 'open' (i.e. not so closed). See Allen (1973), Devine and Stephens (1994) for a full discussion of the issues.

5 The element -αι [-ai] occurs in other infinitives (e.g. that of the sigmatic aorist active and in medio-passives) so the extension of this to -μεν [-men] may be partly a matter of paradigmatic levelling. But the addition is only to the athematic infinitive ending, which suggests that a specific model, i.e. one involving this ending in just the athematic infinitives, must have provided the impetus for the change.

6 It is a moot point whether the non-Aeolic simplification that precedes compensatory lengthening is of the original cluster or of a geminate liquid/nasal of the Aeolic type.

7 Note that Elean spellings with ΣΚ and ΣΤ, e.g. πάσκω for πάσχω [páskʰo] 'I suffer' or medio-passive infinitives in -σται for -σθαι [-stʰai], suggest that voiceless aspirates had in general become fricatives as in Laconian, but that a preceding [s] had blocked the process. So here ἔχοι [éxoi] etc.

8 In Aeolic [g] is the normal reflex of the voiced labio-velar before [u], and [b] before e-vowels, but there was much analogical levelling within paradigms and among related word forms.

9 The Thessalian stem is athematic, with the unexpected long vowel perhaps deriving analogically from participles like φιλεῖντες [p^{h}ilê:ntes] 'loving (nom pl)', remodelled from φιλέντες [p^{h}iléntes] on the basis of the stem in φίλει-μι [p^{h}íle:mi] 'I love', cf. κοινανεί-ντουν [koina:né:ntu:n] 'participating (gen pl)' in this text, again showing the long stem-vowel and the athematic conjugation of vowel-stem verbs characteristic of Thessalian and Lesbian (as well as of Arcadian and Cypriot) but not of Boeotian (cf. (8j)): contrast ἐπολέμι-ο-ν [epolémi-o-n] in 1.4.3(a). This may therefore have been a feature of Mycenaean that also characterized the North-West Greek of the 'bridge' areas where Aeolic was later to develop its own distinctive identity, with Boeotian subsequently reverting to North-West Greek norms, as often.

10 The final -α is perhaps just a mistake for -αι [-ai], though this does not rule out the possibility of a monophthongized pronunciation similar to that written with H in Boeotian (as suggested in the transcription).

11 Prevocalic final [-ns] simplified to [-s] prehistorically in all dialects, but remained unchanged pre-consonantally, being subject to simplification only later (and then not everywhere); in the latter case compensatory lengthening of some kind took place. Most dialects then generalized one or the other form, though the original distribution is preserved in the forms of the article in early Cretan, as in the Gortyn law code.

12 It is also used, in a unique aberration from normal spellings, to mark a similar, though presumably voiced, pronunciation of original [d] before a front vowel in ἀπυ-иεδο-μίνος ?[apu-dzedo-mínos] 'having given away' (cf. Attic ἀπο-δεδο-μένους [apodedoménu:s]).

13 Spellings with -ευ- [eu] of original [eo]-sequences are sometimes later attested (and even appear in the text of Homer, presumably as an editorial correction for the sake of the metre, cf. 2.2 number (4)).

2

Classical Greek: Official and Literary 'Standards'

2.1 Introduction

Though there were certainly differences based on class, age and gender within the dialect of any given city, there is little to suggest that there was any significant difference in prestige between the geographically defined varieties of spoken Greek down into the classical period. Indeed, there was no basis for such differentiation in the absence of a unified Greek state and the cultural pre-eminence typically associated with the dialect of a dominant class within a larger political structure transcending the boundaries of individual cities.

Much the same situation obtains for the official written versions of local dialects known to us from inscriptions (key characteristics and examples are given in 1.4), though the great Ionian cities of Asia Minor appear to have adopted a more or less unified official standard from early times, in recognition of their collective cultural identity and shared political interests. Otherwise, the first dialects to acquire a truly panhellenic status were those employed in early Greek literature during the 7th, 6th and 5th centuries BC. Though our texts have undoubtedly suffered from editorial 'correction' and copyists' error over the centuries, enough remains clear to enable us to conclude, on the basis of comparison with inscriptional material, that the earliest examples of work in any particular genre are composed in stylized versions of the dialects of the regions where those who first gave that genre its definitive form lived and worked.

The prestige attaching to such classic works soon led to what seems, from a modern point of view, a rather surprising development. During this period most genres (definable in terms of metre, subject matter and manner of performance) attracted authors from across the Greek-speaking world, and their work was routinely composed in the traditionally associated literary dialects even when the authors concerned came from areas in which a different variety was spoken. This genre-conditioning of dialect is a striking feature of the earliest Greek literature and is not only a sign of respect for tradition but also a natural consequence of the ready availability within any particular written dialect of established and refined literary conventions and verbal 'tools of the

trade'. See Cassio (2008) for an up-to-date survey of the Ancient Greek literary dialects, together with relevant bibliography.

2.2 The Language of Homer and its Influence

2.2.1 Ionian epic

To understand this situation properly we must first examine the language of the earliest surviving Greek literature, that of the 'Homeric' epic poems the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.[1] The dialect of the texts that have been transmitted to us is essentially an archaic eastern Ionic[2] but with an admixture of Aeolic features (some ancient, some more recent, and with different regional origins), and a number of conspicuous archaisms not characteristic of any one particular historical dialect or region (see Palmer (1962), Horrocks (1980, 1987, 1997)). A sample of the relevant diagnostic data is given in (1):

(1) (a) Ionic:
- (i) original [a:] > [ɛ:] in all environments (e.g. βίη [bíɛ:] 'force').
- (ii) 'quantitative metathesis' (e.g. -ηο [-ɛ:o] > -εω [-e̯o:], as in Πηληιάδεω [pɛ:lɛ:iáde̯o:] 'the son of Peleus (gen)', cf. 1.4.4 (b)(i)).
- (iii) athematic infinitives in -ναι [-nai] (e.g. θεῖναι [tʰe:nai] 'to put').
- (iv) conditional ἤν [ɛ:n] 'if', and modal particle ἄν [an].
- (v) compensatory lengthening in ξεῖνος [ksê:nos] 'stranger/guest' etc. after simplification of clusters consisting of a liquid/nasal + [w] (eastern and in part central Ionic, but not western).

(b) Aeolic:
- (i) labial reflexes of labio-velars before [i, e] (e.g. πίσυρες [písyres] 'four').
- (ii) gemination of liquids/nasals rather than simplification of clusters involving liquids/nasals with [j] or original [s] followed by compensatory lengthening (e.g. ἔμμεν(αι) [émmen(ai)] 'to be' < *[és-men(ai)] etc.: not Boeotian).
- (iii) thematic infinitives in -έ-μεν [-é-men], mainland Aeolic (e.g. ἀκου-έ-μεν [aku:émen] 'to hear').
- (iv) athematic infinitives in -μεν [-men], mainland Aeolic (e.g. ἴ-μεν [ímen] 'to go').
- (v) athematic infinitives in -μεναι [-menai], Lesbian (e.g. ἔμ-μεναι [émmenai] 'to be').
- (vi) dative plurals of consonant-stem nouns in -εσσι [-essi] (e.g. πόδεσσι [pódessi] 'feet').

(c) Archaisms (many probably of Mycenaean vintage):
- (i) o-stem genitives in -οιο [-oio] (e.g. δόμοιο [dómoio] 'house').
- (ii) the oblique case ending -φι [-pʰi] (e.g. ὄρεσφι(ν) [órespʰin] 'mountains'.
- (iii) much vocabulary, such as ἄναξ [ánaks] 'ruler', δέπας [dépas] 'cup', ἔγχος [éŋkʰos] 'sword', etc.

Ionic predominates throughout and the Aeolic and archaic forms normally provide semantically equivalent variants that are metrically distinct in terms of their patterning

of light and heavy syllables.[3] This plainly artificial amalgam is explained by arguing that the Greek epic tradition was in origin an oral one (for the development of the original hypothesis see M. Parry (1928a, 1928b, 1930, 1932), and A. Parry (1971); the bibliography is now enormous). Its origins almost certainly go back into the Bronze Age (cf. Horrocks (1980, 1997)) and its final development, culminating in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* probably took place in Ionia during the 8th century BC. Dialect mixture and archaism are typical of traditional oral poetry, and the reason has to do with the typically 'formulaic' character of oral poetic diction, which, in a world without writing, evolves organically within the framework of a fixed metre as an aid to composition and memory.

Recall that in the absence of contrastive stress the ancient pitch accent was associated with a syllable-timed speech rhythm. Early Greek poetry therefore exhibits a range of stylizations of natural phonological phrasing into 'lines', or sometimes 'stanzas', characterized by sequences of light (⏑) and heavy (–) syllables organized into metrical feet. Greek epic, for example, is composed in dactylic hexameters, lines of six feet consisting either of dactyls (– ⏑⏑), truncated in the sixth foot to (– ⏑), or spondees (– –); the fourth foot is typically, and the fifth foot overwhelmingly, dactylic:

(2) |1 – ⏕ |2 – ⏕ |3 – ⏕ |4 – ⏕ |5 – ⏕ |6 – ⏓ |

Over time, as a natural consequence of the composition, performance and transmission of 'text' without the aid of writing, recurrent themes come to be characterized by sets of conventional, though always adaptable, descriptive phrases occupying different sections of the line. Such 'formula systems' are not merely rendered more memorable by their metricality, but crucially facilitate new composition by providing the poet with ready-made sets of metrically different ways of saying the same or similar things (cf. Hoekstra (1965), Hainsworth (1968), Horrocks (1980, 1997)). In (3), for example, we have the formula system for describing a weeping male in the accusative case, where each variant occupies a different slot within the last four feet of a hexameter (the optional adjectives, with different meanings and metrical structures, provide for extra flexibility over and above the core components):

(3)	... 3	4		5		6
	– ⏑ ⏑	–	⏑ ⏑	– ⏑	⏑	– ⏑
				δάκρυ	χέ-	-οντα
			κατὰ	δάκρυ	χέ-	-οντα
	τέ-	-ρεν	κατὰ	δάκρυ	χέ-	-οντα
	θαλε-	-ρὸν	κατὰ	δάκρυ	χέ-	-οντα
				dákry	kʰé-	-onta
				tear	pouring(acc)	
			katà	dákry	kʰé-	-onta
			down	tear	pouring(acc)	
	té-	-ren	katà	dákry	kʰé-	-onta
	soft		down	tear	pouring(acc)	
	tʰale-	-ròn	katà	dákry	kʰé-	-onta
	abundant		down	tear	pouring(acc)	

Ultimately the feasibility of composition, memorization and performance depends on the availability of such conventionalized diction across the core thematic spectrum, and the poet's capabilities would be seriously damaged if these fundamental building blocks were undermined by the replacement of traditional forms with more modern equivalents with different metrical properties. Earlier, or dialectally distinct, grammatical forms and phrases were therefore retained whenever these offered metrical options distinct from their 8th-century Ionic equivalents, especially if these were embedded in a range of formula systems. In the case of (3), for example, the option of separating a preverb from its verb (so-called 'tmesis', as in κατὰ ... χέοντα [kata … kʰéonta]) is a very ancient construction that had probably passed out of vernacular use centuries earlier but had remained central to the oral poet's formulaic repertoire. Such traditional elements could, of course, also be exploited freely outside the network of formula systems, since metrically different endings, word forms and phrases of identical or closely related meaning are self-evidently helpful across the board. The propensity of oral traditions to retain archaic and 'foreign' dialect forms long after the introduction of more modern, or more local, equivalents needs no further explanation.

Thus, although such an artificial language could never have been the spoken dialect of any particular region, the fundamentals of grammar and diction were regularly modernized in line with the spoken Greek of those localities where epic bards were working at any given time. The major proviso, as noted, was that such updating should not seriously damage the poets' traditional compositional and stylistic repertoire, thereby guaranteeing the retention of older and 'foreign' elements at each stage. For the Homeric poems, the eastern Ionic of the 8th century BC provided the latest, and so the dominant, layer of linguistic fabric into which other elements remained inextricably woven. Of these, the residual archaisms are readily explained as formulaically protected, or stylistically characteristic, survivals from the Bronze Age, but there are two competing scenarios to account for the presence of the Aeolicisms. According to one theory, epic story-telling in the post-Mycenaean era was initially developed in areas where Aeolic speech was emerging and only passed over to Ionia at a later date for the final 'phase' of its artistic evolution (cf. West (1988), Peters (1986), and see Haug (2002) for a recent attempt to support this hypothesis). The other theory, perhaps more realistically, sees hexameter poetry in some form as a common inheritance of both the Aeolic- and Ionic-speaking areas after the Mycenaean collapse, with borrowing and adaptation of material between the two traditions until the time when the Ionic tradition, perhaps in part as a result of the monumental composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, finally eclipsed its rival. Horrocks (1987, 1997) offers some arguments in favour of the hypothesis that Homer's Aeolicisms were borrowed from such a parallel tradition rather than representing the residue of an earlier Aeolic phase of the tradition (see also Wyatt (1992)).

Only when the epic tradition shifted from a truly creative to a more recitative phase, a change standardly associated with the effects of the return and spread of writing during the 8th and 7th centuries, did the Homeric poems and other traditional hexameter poetry eventually come to be seen not as a corpus of material inevitably to be adapted over time but rather as constituting a set of definitive 'texts' for recitation,[4] texts which also provided a linguistic model for any future, increasingly literate, composition in hexameters. The first Greek literary dialect was thus created, and its impact

was to be immense and lasting. The unprecedented scope and outstanding quality of the Homeric poems undoubtedly contributed to the decline and ultimate demise of innovative composition, and may even have prompted the earliest extended use of writing as a means of recording them (see Powell (1996)). Whether or not this is so, their prestige in antiquity cannot be overestimated. They were felt to embody the very essence of Greek culture and quickly formed the cornerstone of traditional education throughout the Greek-speaking world. It was therefore entirely appropriate, though also entirely accidental, that their dialect was not that of a particular region but a 'poetic' variety which, while clearly related to contemporary Ionic, transcended the parochialism of local and even official varieties through the elevating effects of archaism and high-flown formulaic phraseology and the distancing effect of Aeolic loanwords and grammatical formatives. These linguistic qualities of the first, universally admired, masterpieces of Greek literature determined the Greek view of what was linguistically appropriate within the higher levels of poetic discourse for many centuries to come (see, for example, Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1404b, *Poetics* 1458a–b, and cf. Passa (2008a) for an up-to-date survey of the various issues involved).

In (4) Achilles replies to king Priam of Troy, who wishes to ransom the body of his son Hector, killed by Achilles in revenge for the death of his friend Patroclus:[5]

(4)

ὣς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα πατρὸς ὑφ' ἵμερον ὦρσε γόοιο·
ἁψάμενος δ' ἄρα χειρὸς ἀπώσατο ἦκα γέροντα.
τὼ δὲ μνησαμένω ὁ μὲν Ἕκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
κλαῖ' ἀδινά, προπάροιθε ποδῶν Ἀχιλῆος ἐλυσθείς,
αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς κλαῖεν ἑὸν πατέρ', ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε
Πάτροκλον· τῶν δὲ στοναχὴ κατὰ δώματ' ὀρώρει.
αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥα γόοιο τετάρπετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς,
καί οἱ ἀπὸ πραπίδων ἦλθ' ἵμερος ἠδ' ἀπὸ γυίων,
αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ θρόνου ὦρτο, γέροντα δὲ χειρὸς ἀνίστη,
οἰκτείρων πολιόν τε κάρη πολιόν τε γένειον,
καί μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·
"ἆ δείλ', ἦ δὴ πολλὰ κακ' ἄνσχεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν.
πῶς ἔτλης ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν ἐλθέμεν οἶος,
ἀνδρὸς ἐς ὀφθαλμούς, ὅς τοι πολέας τε καὶ ἐσθλοὺς
υἱέας ἐξενάριξα; σιδήρειόν νύ τοι ἦτορ.
ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ κατ' ἄρ' ἕζευ ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἄλγεα δ' ἔμπης
ἐν θυμῷ κατακεῖσθαι ἐάσομεν ἀχνύμενοί περ·
οὐ γάρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο."

Homer *Iliad* 24, 507–24

[hɔ:s p^{h}áto, tɔ̂:i d ara patròs hup^h hí:meron ɔ̂rse góoio;
Thus he-spoke, in-him and then for-father somewhat desire he-aroused of-lamentation
hapsámenos d ara k^{h}e:ròs apɔ́:sato ɛ̂:ka géronta.
touching and then hand he-pushed-away gently old-man.
tɔ: de mnɛ:saménɔ: ho men héktoros androp^{h}ónoio
The-two and remembering the-one EMP Hector man-slaying
klai adiná, propároit^{h}e podɔ̂:n ak^{h}ilɛ̂:os elust^{h}eís,
wept vehemently, before feet of-Achilles slipping-down,

autar ak^{h}illeùs klaîen heon patér, állote d aûte
but Achilles wept his father, another-time and further
pátroklon; tɔ:n de stonak^{h}ɛ̀: kata dɔ́:mat orɔ́:re:.
Patroclus; of-them and wailing through house rose.
autar epé: ra góoio tetárpeto dî:os ak^{h}illeús,
But when then of-lamentation had-his-fill noble Achilles,
kai hoi apo prapídɔ:n ɛ̂:lt^{h} hí:meros ɛ:d apo gújjɔ:n,
and for-him from mind went desire and from limbs,
autík apo t^{h}róno: ɔ̂:rto, géronta dè k^{h}e:ròs anístɛ:,
forthwith from seat he-rose, old-man and by-hand he-raised-up,
oikté:rɔ:n polión te kárɛ: polión te géne:on,
pitying grey both head grey and beard,
kai min p^{h}ɔ:nɛ́:sa:s épea pteróenta prosɛ:úda:
and him speaking-aloud words winged addressed:
â: dé:l, ɛ̂ dɛ pollà kak ánsk^{h}eo son kata t^{h}u:món.
Ah unlucky man, indeed and many evils you-endured your in heart.
pɔ̂:s étlɛ:s epi nɛ̂:as ak^{h}aiɔ̂n elt^{h}émen oîos,
How you-dared to ships of-Achaeans to-come alone,
andròs es op^{h}t^{h}almó:s, hos toi poléas te kai est^{h}ló:s
of-man to eyes, who for-you many both and good
hujjéas eksenáriksa? sidɛ:re:ón nu toi ɛ̂:tor.
sons I-killed? Iron surely for-you heart.
all áge dɛ: kat ar hézdeu epi t^{h}róno:, álgea d émpɛ:s
But come indeed down then sit on seat, woes and at-least
en t^{h}u:mɔ̂:i katakêst^{h}ai eá:somen ak^{h}númenoí per;
in heart to-rest we-will-allow grieving though;
o: gar tis prɛ̂:ksis péletai krueroîo góoio.]
Not for any result exists of-chilling lamentation.

'So he spoke, and stirred in him some passion of grieving for his own father. He took the old man's hand and pushed him gently away, and the two of them remembered, Priam slipping down before Achilles' feet and weeping vehemently for Hector slayer-of-men, Achilles for his own father and then again for Patroclus. Their wailing rose through the house. Then when noble Achilles had taken his fill of sorrow and the passion had gone from his mind and limbs, he rose forthwith from his seat and raised the old man by the hand, pitying his grey head and his grey beard, and addressed him aloud in winged words: 'Ah unlucky man, you have surely endured many evils in your heart. How could you dare to come alone to the ships of the Achaeans, before the eyes of the man, myself, who have killed many fine sons of yours? Your heart is surely made of iron. Come and sit down now upon this chair, and despite our grieving we will let our sorrows at least lie still in the heart. For there is no gain in chill lamentation.'

Assuming an east Ionic origin for the monumental Homeric poems, as seems most likely, the writing of word-initial aspiration, though reflected here in the transcription, must be assumed to be post-Homeric and of editorial origin (recall that east Ionic is psilotic from the time of the earliest records). Alongside the characteristic Ionic forms with [ɛ:] from original [a:] (στοναχή [stonak^{h}ɛ́:] 'wailing', ἀνίστη [anístɛ:] 's/he raised up', πρῆξις [prɛ̂:ksis] 'gain'), we may also note here the Aeolic thematic infinitive ἐλθέμεν [elt^{h}émen] 'to come' and the Aeolic treatment of the initial labio-velar in πέλεται

[péletai] 'there exists' (this verb did not survive in Ionic so the expected τέλεται [téletai] would have been impossible). Among the archaisms in evidence the metrically useful o-stem genitive singular in -οιο [-oio] appears rather more frequently than the 'modern' -ου [-o:] (just twice in θρόνου [tʰróno:] 'seat'); there are also two examples of tmesis, namely ὑφ' (ἵμερον) ὦρσε **[hupʰ** (hí:meron) **ɔ̂:rse]** 's/he somewhat (passion) aroused', and κατ' (ἄρ') ἕζευ [kat ar hézdeu] 'down (then) sit (imp)', the latter with Ionic-style contraction of -εο [-eo] > -ευ [-eu], cf. 1.4.3 (b)(i) (though the spelling is probably late).

The use of a stylized regional dialect blended with a range of 'archaic', 'foreign' and 'poetic' features associated with a particular genre is also characteristic of other varieties of poetry in the 7th and 6th centuries BC.[6] Though the earliest surviving examples necessarily come from the alphabetic period, it is almost certain that each of the genres was shaped by a long oral tradition during which it had evolved its own dialectal characteristics and stylistic conventions. But by the time we have access to these traditions there was already widespread exploitation of epic forms and epic diction. This is not to say that early Greek poetry is fundamentally unoriginal: literary dialects were always adaptable, and individual poets were capable of significant experimentation and innovation. But all genres display in varying degrees a 'distanced' quality deriving in part from their own internal evolution but also reflecting a universal appreciation of the value of epic-style diction in imparting a universal quality to work that was increasingly aimed at a panhellenic audience.

2.2.2 Ionian elegy and iambus

Some of the earliest poetry of the archaic age comes from Ionic-speaking areas and is composed in dactylic or iambic/trochaic rhythms, i.e. metres based on combinations of dactyls and spondees (– ⏖ and – –) on the one hand, and of iambs/trochees and spondees (⏑ –/– ⏑ and – –) on the other. Most of this dactylic poetry is not composed purely in hexameters, however, but in 'elegiac couplets', each consisting of a hexameter followed by a (so-called) pentameter:

(5) | – ⏕ | – ⏕ | – ⏕ | – ⏕ | – ⏕ | – ⏓ |
| – ⏕ | – ⏕ | – ‖ – ⏖ | – ⏖ | ⏓ |

Leading figures include Archilochus (7th century, from Paros in the Cyclades, but left for Thasos), Callinus (7th century, from Ephesus), Mimnermus (7th century, probably from Smyrna, though apparently descended from immigrants from Colophon), Semonides (7th century, originally from Samos but led a colony to Amorgos) and Hipponax (6th century, from Ephesus), though there are also practitioners of Ionic-style poetry from other dialect areas, including Tyrtaeus (7th century, from Sparta), Solon (7th/6th century, from Athens) and Theognis (6th century, from Megara), all of whom seemingly make only minimal use of elements from their own local vernaculars.[7] In general, the dactylic character of elegiac poetry allows for straightforward deployment of epic formulae and diction, and the impression is overwhelmingly of traditional foundations rooted in the language of the epic, though with additional contemporary elements, chiefly from Ionic, as required by the subject matter.[8] By contrast, the Ionian tradition of iambic/trochaic poetry, a genre that had clearly evolved independently of the epic, makes significantly less use of epic precedent and convention and its diction

appears to be correspondingly closer to the Ionic vernacular. Both genres deal with an astonishing range of subject matter (see West (1974), Bowie (1986), Passa (2008b), Kaczko (2008a)).

Archilochus 5, which is probably a complete poem, is a good example of the more personal, and often much more cynical, tone of Ionic elegiac poetry:

(6)

ἀσπίδι μὲν Σαΐων τις ἀγάλλεται, ἣν παρὰ θάμνῳ
ἔντος ἀμώμητον κάλλιπον οὐκ ἐθέλων,
αὐτὸν δ' ἐξεσάωσα. τί μοι μέλει ἀσπὶς ἐκείνη;
ἐρρέτω· ἐξαῦτις κτήσομαι οὐ κακίω.

Archilochus 5

[aspídi men saíɔ:n tis agálletai, hɛ:n para t^{h}ámnɔ:i
In-shield EMP of-the-Saii someone exults, which beside bush
éntos amɔ́:mɛ:ton kállipon o:k et^{h}élɔ:n,
weapon blameless I-abandoned not willing,
autòn d eksesáɔ:sa. tí moi méle: aspìs eké:nɛ:?
self but I-saved. What to-me concerns shield that?
errétɔ:; eksaûtis ktɛ́:somai o: kakíɔ:]
let-it-perish; again I-will-acquire not worse.

'Some Thracian tribesman rejoices in my shield (blameless equipment that I abandoned unwillingly beside a bush), but myself I saved. What does that shield mean to me? To hell with it! I'll get another one just as good.'

Sextus Empiricus (*Pyrrhoneioi Hypotyposeis* 3.216) slightly misquotes the first three lines of this poem in connection with the story of the Spartan mother who told her son to return from battle with his shield or on it (i.e. dead). Though there is nothing remotely heroic, or indeed Homeric, about the sentiments here, almost all of the phraseology that is so skilfully and wittily recycled can be found somewhere in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey,* including the epic Aeolicism κάλ-λιπον [kállipon] 'I abandoned', with apocopation of the preverb κατά- [kata-]. But the use of the singular ἔντος [éntos] '(piece of) equipment' is apparently an innovation, while ἀμώμητον 'blameless' appears just once in the Homeric corpus, at *Iliad* 12.109.

2.2.3 Personal lyric

The personal lyric poetry of Alcaeus and Sappho, both from 7th/6th-century BC Lesbos, appears at first sight to make quite natural use of the Lesbian dialect, though we have no early epigraphic material to compare directly and we should remember that our texts are largely the work of Hellenistic scholars of the 3rd and 2nd centuries who *inter alia* seem to have introduced a number of false hyper-Aeolic forms. But both poets were working within a tradition that must have had long-term links with the various Ionian traditions, and which allowed occasional use of epic-style features and phraseology, not only in poems with dactylic rhythms, such as Sappho 44,[9] but also more generally. Noteworthy among these are: genitives of o-stems in -οιο [-oio] beside Lesbian -ω [-o:] (Alcaeus 174(a), ἐρχομένοιο [erk^{h}oménoio] 'coming'); dative plurals of

o-stems in -οις [-ois] beside -οισι [-oisi] (Sappho 94.12, πόλλοις ... στεφάνοις [póllois …step^hánois] 'many…garlands'); dative plurals of consonant stems in -σι(ν) [-si(n)] beside -εσσι [-essi] (Alcaeus 129.22, πόσιν [pósin] 'feet'); 3pl aorists (past perfectives) of athematic verbs in -σαν [-san] rather than -ν [-n] (ἔδοσαν [édosan] 'they gave'); omission of the augment in past-tense indicative verb forms beside the regular augmented forms (Alcaeus 332.2, κάτ-θανε [kátt^hane] 's/he died'); and the thematic inflection of contract verbs[10] beside the native athematic conjugation (Sappho 44.33, ὀν-καλέοντες [oŋ-kaléontes] rather than ὀν-καλέντες [oŋ-kaléntes] 'calling upon (nom pl)'. See Bowie (1981) for a full discussion of 'poetic' and other features that were probably alien to the contemporary vernacular of the island; Tribulato (2008a) provides a contemporary survey of the core issues and an up-to-date bibliography.

Sappho 1, quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*De Compositione* 173–9), provides a good sense of the intensely personal character of much of this poetry. The first three stanzas of the poem, which is cast in the form of a prayer, are given in (7); the metre is the Sapphic stanza, comprising three hendecasyllabic lines, followed by an Adonean:

(7) – ˘ – ⏓ | – ˘ ˘ – | ˘ – ⏓ (× 3)
– ˘ ˘ – –

ποικιλόθρον' ἀθανάτ' Ἀφρόδιτα,
παῖ Δίος δολόπλοκε, λίσσομαί σε·
μή μ' ἄσαισι μηδ' ὀνίαισι δάμνα,
πότνια, θῦμον,
ἀλλὰ τυίδ' ἔλθ', αἴ ποτα κἀτέρωτα
τᾶς ἔμας αὔδας ἀίοισα πήλοι
ἔκλυες, πάτρος δὲ δόμον λίποισα
χρύσιον ἦλθες
ἄρμ' ὐπασδεύξαισα· κάλοι δέ σ' ἆγον
ὤκεες στροῦθοι περὶ γᾶς μελαίνας
πύκνα δίννεντες πτέρ' ἀπ' ὠράνωἴθε-
-ρος διὰ μέσσω·

Sappho 1, 1–12

[poikilót^hron a:t^hanát ap^hródi:ta,
Of-richly-worked-throne immortal Aphrodite,
paî díos dolóploke, líssomaí se;
child of-Zeus wile-weaving, I pray-to you:
mέ: m ásaisi mɛ:d oníaisi dámna:,
not me with-pains nor with-sorrows tame,
pótnia, t^hûmon,
lady, heart,
alla tuíd élt^h, ai pota ka:térɔ:ta
but hither come, if ever also-on-other-occasions
ta:s ema:s aúda:s aíoisa pέ:loi
the my voice hearing afar
éklues, pátros de dómon lípoisa
you-listened, of-father and house leaving

kʰrú:sion ɛ̂:ltʰes
golden you-came
árm upazdeúksaisa; káloi de s â:gon
chariot having-yoked; beautiful and you they-brought
ɔ́:kees stro:tʰoi peri gâ:s melaína:s
swift sparrows over earth black
púkna dínnentes ptér ap ɔ:ránɔ:ítʰe-
close-packed whirling wings from heaven/ether
-ros dia méssɔ:;]
through middle;

'Aphrodite of the richly worked throne, immortal, wile-weaving child of Zeus, I pray to you: tame not my heart, lady, with pain and anguish, but come hither if ever at other times you heard my voice afar and listened, and leaving your father's golden house you yoked your chariot and came; and beautiful swift sparrows brought you over the black earth from heaven through the midst of the ether whirling their close-packed wings; …'

The Lesbian dialect was characterized by psilosis and recessive accentuation, and the editors have marked the text accordingly. Note here too the characteristic dative plurals in -αισι [-aisi], the temporal adverbial in -τα [-ta] ((ἀτέρωτα **[atérɔ:ta]** 'on other occasions'), and the preposition/preverb ὐπά [upá] (= ὑπό] [hypó]) 'under', as well as the diphthongal product of compensatory lengthening seen in the feminine participles ἀίοισα [aíoisa] 'hearing', λίποισα [lípoisa] 'leaving' etc. (Attic has -ουσα [-u:sa], with both endings < [-onsa] < *[-ontsʲa] < *[-ont-ja]). The athematic inflection of contract verbs seen in δίννεντες [dínnentes] 'whirling' (beside Attic δινέοντες [d:néontes]) is a feature of both Lesbian and Thessalian, while the labial reflex of an original labio-velar before a front vowel in πήλοι [pɛ́:loi] (contrast Attic τηλοῦ [tɛ:lû:]) 'afar' is characteristic of all Aeolic dialects. Note, however, that the double nasal in δίννεντες [dínnentes] is a hyper-Aeolic form, based analogically on the genuine doubling of nasals and liquids in place of compensatory lengthening seen in forms like κρίννω [krínno:] 'I judge' beside Attic κρίνω [krí:no:] (both < *[krín-jo:]).[11] Epic influence is apparent in the word ὤκεες [ɔ́:kees] 'swift', which is only epic/poetic, in the artificial lengthening of the first syllable of ἀθανάτ' [a:tʰanát(a:)] 'immortal', and in the disyllabic pronunciation of διά [dia] 'through', which elsewhere appears either prevocalically with the final vowel elided or pre-consonantally as a monosyllable written ζά (though Z here is also editorial, reflecting a much later epigraphic spelling of what by then had perhaps become [zʲa], but which was almost certainly still [dja] in Sappho's time). Overall, the third stanza provides some particularly clear echoes of epic diction, e.g. in the use of the formulaic phrase 'black earth' (also in Archilochus 58.2) and in the description of the birds 'whirling their close-packed wings' (cf. *Odyssey* 2.151).

The last great practitioner of such solo song was Anacreon (6th/5th century), who hailed from Ionian Teos in Asia Minor but joined a colony to Abdera in Thrace after the Persian occupation of his homeland and later worked both on Samos, at the court of the tyrant Polycrates, and then at Athens, at the court of the tyrant Hipparchus. His poems in lyric metres, following the essentially 'local' traditions of the genre, are composed in a stylized eastern Ionic[12] with many Homeric echoes, and deal mostly

with love and drinking. They are characterized by meticulous attention to technique and a striking wit.

2.2.4 Choral lyric

By contrast, choral lyric was traditionally associated with performance at public, particularly religious, festivals. Its thematic range is correspondingly wide, including hymns, paeans (addressed to Apollo), dithyrambs (traditionally in honour of Dionysus), mythological narratives, processional songs, songs specifically for choruses of girls, dance songs, wedding songs, drinking songs, erotic songs, eulogies, dirges and victory odes. But there are a number of recurrent elements that characterize the genre as a whole, most notably honour for the gods, comment on the celebrants and the use of mythology for moralizing purposes, and these remain more or less central down into the middle of the 5th century.

The language of choral lyric underwent its most important early development in Doric-speaking areas and is therefore often described as 'Doric', but the impact of the epic was from the first much more pervasive than in personal lyric, especially in its phraseological reminiscences, and there is also evidence of an already conventionalized input from an Aeolic tradition (with certain features demonstrably Lesbian). Important among these Aeolic features are dative plurals of consonant stems in -εσσι [-essi] (also epic), athematic forms of contract verbs, words with double liquids and nasals like κλεεννός [kleennós] 'famed',[13] and above all specifically Lesbian forms showing the characteristic diphthongal outcome of compensatory lengthening following the simplification of [ns], such as Μοῖσα [moîsa] 'Muse', φέροισα [p^{h}éroisa] 'bearing (fem)', φέροισι [p^{h}éroisi] 'they bear'. In this connection we may note that the poet Terpander of Lesbos is supposed to have founded a school of music in 7th-century Sparta (see West (1992), Cassio (2005)).

The earliest writer of choral lyric of whose work substantial fragments survive is Alcman, who again worked in 7th century Sparta but may originally have come from Sardis in Lydia (Asia Minor). Since we have only around 200 lines of his poetry (roughly half on papyrus, the remainder in brief quotations), and since there are necessarily many uncertainties about the transmission of the text, it is difficult to say much more than that the dialect is of West Greek type, already blended with a number of epic and Aeolic features. Unusually for the genre, however, there are also some specifically Laconian elements which, if they are not simply later additions, may reflect the essentially local character of the occasions for which Alcman was writing (though we should not forget that Alcman was working within a tradition that normally avoids such linguistic parochialism; see Cassio (2007) for a full discussion).

Later practitioners whose work survives in part are: Stesichorus (7th/6th century), who was born in south Italy at Mataurus or Locri but lived and worked mainly at Himera in northern Sicily; Ibycus (6th century) from Rhegium in south Italy, who, like Anacreon, settled at the court of the tyrant Polycrates on Samos; Simonides (6th/5th century), who came from Ionian Ceos but travelled widely, spending time in Athens, Thessaly and finally at the court of the tyrant Hieron I in Syracuse; Pindar (late 6th/5th century) from Cynoscephalae in Boeotia, who was partly educated in Athens and again travelled extensively in connection with his work; and Bacchylides

(late 6th/5th century), the nephew of Simonides, who went to Syracuse with his uncle before later being exiled from Ceos to the Peloponnese. The last two names are especially linked to the composition of victory odes associated with the celebration of the major panhellenic games at Olympia, Delphi and the isthmus of Corinth.

The varied geographical and dialectal backgrounds of these poets, coupled with their cosmopolitan lifestyles, naturally supported the emergence and establishment of a stylized literary Doric which, rather in the manner of Homer's Ionic, vaguely suggested the regional/ethnic origins of the genre but simultaneously transcended these through its acknowledgement of the contribution of Lesbos and its self-consciously 'poetic' vocabulary based in part on epic forms and phrases. The foundational Doric features include: -ᾱ- [a:] where Ionic has secondary -η- [ɛ:]; genitive singulars of masculine a-stems in -α [-a:] (< -αο [-a:o]) and genitive plurals of all a-stems in -ᾶν [-â:n] (< -άων [-á:o:n]); non-assibilated -τι [-ti]/-ντι [-nti]; the accusative clitic prounouns νιν [nin] (3rd person) and τιν [tin] (2nd person); and the conjunctions ὅκα [hóka] 'when' and αἰ [ai] 'if' (albeit alongside the epically sanctioned ὅτε [hóte] and εἰ [e:]). It should be said, however, that the permitted components are not uniformly blended in all authors. In particular, Stesichorus' surviving work comprises fragments of narrative poetry on epic-style themes in predominantly dactylic rhythms, a combination that favoured the choice of epic diction and language, thus rendering the Doric component comparatively marginal despite the fact that he was himself a West Greek speaker (the main Doric marker in evidence is simply -ᾱ- [a:] for secondary Ionic -η- [ɛ:]).

A common consideration, however, seems to have been that the language should be distinguished from contemporary Ionic, so grammatical forms and features taken from epic are often of the hallmarked 'poetic/archaic' variety (e.g. -οιο [-oio] genitives in the second declension or optional augments), though metrically useful epic/eastern Ionic forms such as ξεῖνος [ksê:nos] 'foreigner/guest', with compensatory lengthening after simplification of a group comprising a nasal/liquid and [w], are admitted, along with use of the modal particle ἄν [an] beside Aeolic κε [ke]. But athematic infinitives in -ναι [-nai] and forms showing -η- [ɛ:] < original [a:], presumably felt to be among the more distinctive of those Ionic markers still current, are almost universally avoided.

Interestingly, however, much of what is most strongly characteristic of Doric (e.g. the modal particle κα [ka:], aorists in -ξα [-ksa] from verbs with non-velar stems in -ζω [-zdo:], futures in -σέω/-σῶ [-séo:/-sô:],[14] or feminine participles in -ονσα [-onsa]/ -ωσα [-o:sa]) is also disfavoured, as is anything readily identifiable as a regionally specific form within West Greek (e.g. word forms with the Laconian shift of intervocalic [-s-] > [-h-], as in the feminine participial ending -ωhα [-o:ha]). Ultimately, then, the language of choral lyric, with its hybrid dialect and predilection for unusual words and elaborate compounds, is as artificial as that of Ionian epic. Carefully distanced from local vernaculars and validated by poetic tradition, it carried the prestige and the mystique required of a language to be used for artistic communication with the wider Greek-speaking world. See Tribulato (2008b) for a recent discussion of key issues and relevant bibliography.

In (8) we have the first stanza of Pindar's first Olympian ode, composed for Hieron of Syracuse on the occasion of his victory in the horse race of 476 BC. The poem as a whole has a repeated triadic structure involving four groups of three stanzas (a strophe and an antistrophe with the same metrical structure, followed by an epode). The first

three words will be familiar to those who have visited the Pump Room in Bath, where they appear over the entrance:

(8)

ἄριστον μὲν ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς αἰθόμενον πῦρ
ἅτε διαπρέπει νυκτὶ μεγάνορος ἔξοχα πλούτου·
εἰ δ' ἄεθλα γαρύεν
ἔλδεαι, φίλον ἦτορ,
μηκέθ' ἁλίου σκόπει
ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἁμέρᾳ φαεννὸν ἄστρον ἐρήμας δι' αἰθέρος,
μηδ' Ὀλυμπίας ἀγῶνα φέρτερον αὐδάσομεν·
ὅθεν ὁ πολύφατος ὕμνος ἀμφιβάλλεται
σοφῶν μητίεσσι, κελαδεῖν
Κρόνου παῖδ' ἐς ἀφνεὰν ἱκομένους
μάκαιραν Ἱέρωνος ἑστίαν, ...

Pindar *Olympian* I, 1–15

[áriston men hú:dɔ:r, ho de k^{h}ru:sòs ait^{h}ómenon pû:r
Best EMP water, the but gold blazing fire
hate diaprépe: nuktì megá:noros éksok^{h}a pló:to:;
just-as stands-out at-night in-lordly (is-)pre-eminent wealth;
e: d áet^{h}la gá:ruen
if but prizes to-speak
éldeai, p^{h}ílon ɛ̂:tor,
you-wish, dear heart,
mɛ:két^{h} ha:lío: skópe:
no-longer than-sun look-for
állo t^{h}alpnóteron en ha:méra:i p^{h}aennón ástron erɛ́:ma:s di aít^{h}eros,
other warmer in day shining star empty through ether,
mɛ:d olumpía:s agɔ̂:na p^{h}érteron audá:somen;
nor than-Olympia contest better let-us-speak;
hót^{h}en ho polúp^{h}atos húmnos amp^{h}ibálletai
whence the much-spoken-of hymn embraces
sop^{h}ɔ̂:n mɛ:tíessi, keladê:n
of-wise-men plans, to-sing-aloud-of
Króno: paîd es apneà:n hikoméno:s
of-Cronus son in rich arriving
mákairan hiérɔ:nos hestía:n, ...]
happy of-Hieron hearth, ...

'Best of all is water, though gold is pre-eminent among lordly wealth, just as blazing fire stands out by night; but if, dear heart, you wish to speak of prizes, no longer look by day for another bright star in the empty sky that is warmer than the sun, nor let us speak of a place of contest better than Olympia; from where the famous song of praise embraces the undertakings of wise men (*poets*), so they can sing out loud of the son of Cronus (*Zeus*) when they come to the rich and happy hearth of Hieron, ...'

The long a-vowels of West Greek appear throughout (cf. μεγάνορος [megá:noros] 'lordly (gen)', ἁλίου [ha:lio:] 'sun (gen)', ἁμέρᾳ [ha:méra:i] 'day (dat)'), while the short-

vowel infinitive in -εν [-en] (γαρύ-εν [ga:rú-en] 'to say/speak'), characteristic of many but not all West Greek dialects, provides a metrically useful variant to -ειν [-e:n]; neither feature is uniquely Doric, however, and neither is readily localizable. A few Aeolic forms are interwoven into the mildly Doric backcloth, namely φαεννόν [p^{h}aennón] 'bright/shining', with its double nasal (< *φα(Ϝ)εσ-νό- [p^{h}a(w)es-nó-], though see note 11), and μητί-εσσι [mɛ:tí-essi] 'plans/thoughts', with its dialectally characteristic dative plural ending; the latter is an epic Aeolicism, however, and once again neither has any very specific regional identity. Epic is also the source of many vocabulary items and turns of phrase: αἰθόμενον πῦρ [ait^{h}ómemon pûr] 'blazing fire', for example, is formulaic, but the use of the neuter plural of the adjective ἔξοχος [éksok^{h}os] 'distinguished (among)' as a kind of preposition with the genitive is also Homeric, as are the verbs ἔλδομαι [éldomai] 'I desire' and αὐδάω [audá:o:] 'I speak', and the comparative adjective φέρτερος [p^{h}érteros] 'braver/better'. This is all characteristically 'poetic' vocabulary, much of which also turns up later in Attic tragedy (on which see immediately below).

2.2.5 Athenian drama

Although choral lyric began to fall out of favour during the second half of the 5th century BC, it continued to play an important part in Athenian drama, where a chorus retained an integral role both in tragedy and, to an increasingly lesser extent, in comedy. Such was the power of tradition that, beyond the increased use of poetic vocabulary and epic-style archaism in lyric passages, a small set of 'Doric' features (in practice mainly -ᾱ- [a:] for secondary Attic -η- [ɛ:] < [a:], though only selectively, and 1st-declension genitives with contraction of a- and o-vowels to -ᾱ- [a:])[15] was still superimposed on the still largely Attic-based, though emphatically not vernacular, language of the choral passages of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides.

The comparatively more 'natural' spoken dialogue, however, was composed mostly in lines comprising six iambi (⏑ –), with spondaic and other variants permitted in certain positions. The basic metrical pattern, said by Aristotle to resemble most the rhythms of normal speech, is given in (9):

(9) | ⏓ – | ⏑ – | ⏓ – | ⏑ – | ⏓ – | ⏑ – |

But even tragic dialogue was composed in an Attic deliberately distanced from the vernacular.[16] In particular, the key Attic phonological markers of -ττ- [tt] and -ρρ- [rr] are consistently shunned in favour of the otherwise all but universal variants -σσ- [ss] and -ρσ- [rs] (which also happened to be Ionic with all the prestige of its literary traditions; see Colvin (2004), who argues that deliberate dissociation from Boeotian, which also had -ττ- [tt], was an additional factor). Furthermore, much everyday vocabulary is often replaced by words with a poetic, mainly Homeric/Ionic, pedigree, or by unusual neologisms (e.g. ἀπότιμος [apóti:mos] 'dishonoured/unworthy' for ἄτιμος [áti:mos]; ὅμαιμος [hómaimos] 'brother', lit. 'same blood', for ἀδελφός [adelp^{h}ós] etc.). While some of these elements doubtless helped to impart a more dignified quality to the language, the use of other, apparently quite ordinary, grammatical and lexical features of contemporary Ionic seems to reflect a more general influence of Ionian literature on the early evolution of literary Attic.

Typical archaic/epic features deliberately selected (one assumes) to elevate tragic diction include the following; the ordinary Attic equivalents are given in parentheses:

(10) (a) Paradigms such as perfect ὄπωπα [ópo:pa] 'I have seen' (ἑόρακα [heóra:ka]), gen sg δορός/δουρός/δούρατος [dorós/du:rós/dú:ratos] 'spear' (δόρατος [dóratos]).

(b) Epic vocabulary such as ἔχθος [ék^{h}t^{h}os] 'hatred' (ἔχθρα [ék^{h}t^{h}ra:]); εἷμα [hê:ma] 'cloak' (ἱμάτιον [hi:mátion]); ἱππότης [hippótɛ:s] 'horseman/knight' (ἱππεύς [hippeús]); πόσις [pósis] 'husband' (ἀνήρ [anɛ́:r]); δάμαρ [dámar] 'wife' (γυνή [gynɛ́:]); μολεῖν [molê:n] 'to go' (ἐλθεῖν [elt^{h}ê:n]); λεύσσειν [leússe:n] 'to see' (ὁρᾶν [horâ:n]).

Amongst the contemporary Ionicisms in evidence we may note:

(11) (a) The replacement of typically Attic morphology, as in the use of 3pl imperatives formed by the addition of -σαν [-san] to the 3sg in -τω [-to:] rather than with the original -(ό)ντων [-[ó]nto:n], e.g. ἴτωσαν [íto:-san] beside Attic ἰόντων [i-ónto:n], 'let them go'.

(b) Assorted vocabulary items (the normal Attic words are again given in parentheses): ἱστορῶ [historô:] 'I enquire' (ἐρωτῶ [ero:tó:]); ἀγρεύω [agreúo:] 'I hunt' (θηρεύω [t^{h}ɛ:reúo:]); φερνή [p^{h}ernɛ́:] 'dowry' (προῖξ [proîks]); νεοχμός [neok^{h}mós] 'new'/'novel' (νεός [neós]).

Finally, there is a small set of words that apparently come from a 'Doric' tradition distinct from that of choral lyric. The most likely source is the western Greek world, with Sicily in particular strongly linked to the development of drama (cf. Björck (1950)). Epicharmus of Syracuse, for example, was a leading exponent of comedy in the late 6th/5th centuries, and we also know Sophron of Syracuse as a 5th-century writer of mime. Though comedy and mime are unlikely to have influenced Athenian tragedy directly, it is not impossible that there were also more serious, if also less developed, dramatic traditions that could have inspired Attic writers much as Epicharmus is said to have done in the field of comedy. Whatever the truth of the matter, it is striking that the originally Doric-looking items in (12) first entered Attic via tragedy, apparently in preference to both native and epic/Ionic equivalents:[17]

(12) δαρός [da:rós] 'long'; ὀπαδός [opa:dós] 'attendant'; κυναγός [kyna:gós] 'hunter', lit. 'hound-leader'; ναός [na:ós] 'temple'; λαός [la:ós] 'people'

These all contain an original long -ᾱ- [a:] in contexts where both Attic and Ionic had long had -η- [ɛ:], though the standard Attic forms for the last two items are actually νεώς [neó:s] and λεώς [leó:s], derived by 'quantitative metathesis' from the expected νηός [nɛ:ós] (attested in Homer and Ionic historiography) and ληός [lɛ:ós] (not Homeric, where λαός [la:ós] is always used, but attested in some manuscripts of the historian Herodotus). See Kaczko (2008b) for a recent discussion of these and other issues, together with useful bibliography.

The short extract in (13) from Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* gives a good sense of the tragic style. Oedipus, having discovered that years before he had unknowingly killed his father and married his mother, has just put out his eyes. He now addresses the chorus of Theban elders:

(13)

ὡς μὲν τάδ' οὐχ ὧδ' ἔστ' ἄριστ' εἰργασμένα,
μή μ' ἐκδίδασκε, μηδὲ συμβούλευ' ἔτι.
ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδ' ὄμμασιν ποίοις βλέπων
πατέρα ποτ' ἂν προσεῖδον εἰς Ἅιδου μολών,
οὐδ' αὖ τάλαιναν μητέρ', οἷν ἐμοὶ δυοῖν
ἔργ' ἐστὶ κρείσσον' ἀγχόνης εἰργασμένα.
ἀλλ' ἡ τέκνων δῆτ' ὄψις ἦν ἐφίμερος,
βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἔβλαστε, προσλεύσσειν ἐμοί;
οὐ δῆτα τοῖς γ' ἐμοῖσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ποτε·
οὐδ' ἄστυ γ', οὐδὲ πύργος, οὐδὲ δαιμόνων
ἀγάλμαθ' ἱερά, τῶν ὁ παντλήμων ἐγὼ
κάλλιστ' ἀνὴρ εἷς ἔν γε ταῖς Θήβαις τραφεὶς
ἀπεστέρησ' ἐμαυτόν, αὐτὸς ἐννέπων
ὠθεῖν ἅπαντας τὸν ἀσεβῆ, τὸν ἐκ θεῶν
φανέντ' ἄναγνον καὶ γένους τοῦ Λαΐου.

Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1369–83

[ho:s men tád u:k^h hô:d est árist e:rgazména,
That EMP these-things not thus are best done,
mɛ́: m ekdídaske, mɛ:de symbouleú éti.
not me teach nor counsel still.
egò: gar u:k oîd ómmasin poíois blépo:n
I for not know (with-)eyes what-kind seeing
patéra pot an proseîdon e:s háidu: moló:n,
father ever would I-have seen to (house-of-) Hades going,
u:d au tálainan mɛ:tér, hoin emoì dyoîn
nor again wretched mother, (to-)whom[dual] (by-)me two
érg esti kré:sson aŋk^{h}ónɛ:s e:rgazména.
deeds are greater (than-)hanging done.
all hɛ: tékno:n dɛ:t ópsis ɛ̂:n ep^{h}hímeros,
But the of-children then sight was desirable,
blastoûs hopo:s éblaste, prosleússe:n emoí?
being-born as they-were-born, to look-upon for-me?
u: dɛ:ta tois g emoîsin op^{h}t^{h}almoîs pote;
Not for-sure (with-)the at-least my eyes ever;
u:d ásty g, u:de pýrgos, u:de daimóno:n
nor city EMP, nor tower nor of-gods
agálmat^h hierá, to:n ho pantlɛ́:mo:n egò:
statues holy, of-which the all-wretched I
kállist anɛ̀:r hê:s en ge tais t^{h}ɛ́:bais trap^{h}é:s
most-nobly man one in at-any rate the Thebes being-brought-up
apestérɛ:s emautón, autòs ennépo:n
I-deprived myself, myself telling
o:t^{h}ê:n hápantas ton asebɛ̂:, ton ek t^{h}eô:n
to-expel all-men the impious(-one), the-(one) by gods
p^{h}anént án(ha)gnon kai génu:s tu: la:íu:.]
shown unholy and of-race the(-one) of-Laius.

'Do not try to persuade me that what has been done thus is not best done, and counsel me no more. For I do not know with what eyes, as a man with sight, I could have looked upon my father when I came to Hades, or my poor mother, to both of whom I have done things far too bad for hanging. Was then the sight of my children, born as they were born, something I might wish to look upon? Never, at least with these eyes of mine. Nor were the city or its wall of towers or the holy statues of the gods, which I, the utterly wretched man once raised most nobly of all in Thebes, forfeited by telling all to expel the impious one myself, the one now shown by the gods to be unholy, and of the race of Laius (*his father*).'

The language here is fundamentally Attic, but it has been very carefully elaborated and adapted. Note first of all the substitution of [ss] for [tt] in κρείσσον(α) [kré:ssona] 'greater/better (neut pl)': the normal Attic form is κρείττων [kré:tto:n] (masc sg), and the true Ionic equivalent is κρέσσων [krésso:n]. More generally, both syntax and diction are highly 'poetic', often involving the incorporation of epic/Ionic elements. Thus the normal order of noun and specifier is reversed in ὄμμασιν ποίοις [ómmasin poíois] 'with what kind of eyes?', while the use of a modified abstract noun in ἡ τέκνων ὄψις [hɛ: tékno:n ópsis], literally 'the of-children sight/the child-y sight', to mean 'my children (if) visible', with the participle βλαστοῦσ(α) [blastû:sa] 'having been born' agreeing with ὄψις [ópsis], is a particularly bold extension of epic-style periphrases in which a noun meaning 'force/strength' (μένος [ménos], βίη [bíɛ:], ἴς [ís], σθένος [stʰénos]) is combined with the genitive of a proper name, as in ἱερὸν μένος Ἀλκινόοιο [hieròn ménos alkinóoio] '(the) mighty strength of-Alcinous', a formula meaning 'the mightily strong Alcinous' that recurs throughout the Phaeacian episode of the Odyssey. As far as vocabulary is concerned, ὄμμα [ómma] 'eye', βλώσκω (aorist ἔμολον) [bló:sko:/émolon] 'come/go', ἐφίμερος [epʰhímeros] 'desirable' (in Hesiod but not Homer), βλαστάνω 'sprout/be born' (not in epic, but 'poetic' when used of people rather than plants), (προσ)λεύσσω [(pros)leússo:] 'see', (παν)τλήμων [(pan)tlɛ́:mo:n] 'suffering' and ἐννέπω [ennépo:] 'tell' are for the most part first attested in Ionic hexameter poetry and then widely used in other poetic genres, including tragedy, but are all generally avoided in prose writing of the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

This determined avoidance of the prosaic and *a fortiori* the contemporary vernacular together with the striving for a style linked to prestigious panhellenic, especially Ionic traditions marks the beginning of the formation of a literary variety of Attic. As with the other literary dialects already discussed, this Ionicized form of Attic soon evolved into a panhellenic literary language in its own right, but in this case one that was no longer strictly genre-conditioned. Instead Attic emerged as *the* common literary language for the whole Greek world, effectively replacing all other dialects if we exclude short-lived revivals in certain genres. The linguistic experimentation of the Athenian dramatists certainly helped to pave the way for this development, but the final triumph of Attic as not only a literary but also an official 'common language' for the whole Greek-speaking world depended ultimately on the development of Attic prose writing, and above all on the political circumstances of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. These issues will be discussed in detail in the following chapters, but first we must consider the origins and growth of prose writing in Ionia, which played a central role in the early evolution of a belletristic Attic prose style.

2.3 Official and Literary Ionic

Much early literature is composed in verse because fixed rhythms and the associated formulaic phraseology are invaluable aids to composition and memory in predominantly oral cultures. But by the beginning of the 6th century BC Ionia (comprising western Asia Minor and adjacent islands) was at the centre of the development of Greek commercial life and, equally importantly, of the first flowering of 'classical' Greek civilization. As such it offered a highly congenial, prosperous and increasingly literate social context for the revolutionary deployment of prose for intellectual pursuits such as scientific and philosophical speculation and the development of historiography in a form that went far beyond the mere recording of official and personal business.[18]

Some of the early Greek philosophers like Xenophanes of Colophon (Ionia, 6th/early 5th centuries, but worked chiefly in Sicily), Parmenides of Elea (southern Italy, late 6th/5th centuries) and Empedocles of Acragas (Sicily, first two-thirds of the 5th century) followed in the Hesiodic tradition of didactic verse (see note 4) and expounded their doctrines in epic-style hexameters.[19] But most of the great innovative thinkers from Ionia, like Thales (Miletus, 7th/6th centuries), Anaximander (Miletus, late 7th/6th centuries), Anaximenes (Miletus, 6th century) and Heraclitus (Ephesus, 6th/5th centuries), all wrote in prose, as did the geographer and historiographer Hecataeus (Miletus, 6th/5th century). Perhaps they felt that the character of the material they wished to present (data based on observation and reasoning) and the novel ways in which they wished to present it (precisely, sometimes abstractly, and without adornment superfluous to the argument) did not lend themselves so readily to expression in a medium that had evolved in very different circumstances and for rather different purposes.[20] Whatever the actual motivation, prose was already in use for official business, and it was clearly felt that it could be successfully adapted to fulfil more ambitious functions in philosophical and scientific discourse.

As already noted, official inscriptions from the major cities of Ionia reveal from the earliest times a more or less uniform written dialect, a variety superordinate to the four different spoken varieties identified by the 5th-century historian Herodotus (I.142, unfortunately without linguistic details),[21] and a crucial indicator, alongside the establishment of the Ionian League centred on the holy site of the Panionium at Mycale, of the existence of a common civilization that transcended the limits of the traditional city state.[22] Unsurprisingly, then, the dialect employed in early Ionian prose is also of a generalized eastern Ionic character, broadly parallel, as far as we can tell, to that of official documents in its major characteristics, but significantly different in others. One particular difference is, however, likely to be more apparent than real. Most official eastern Ionic documents have forms of interrogative, indefinite and relative adverbs and pronouns beginning with [p-] before o- and u-vowels, just as elsewhere in the Greek world, and such forms also appear in epic/didactic poetry and in the texts of some of the early elegiac/iambic poets. These same words, however, begin with [k-] in other early Ionic poetry and in surviving fragments of early Ionic scientific prose, as well as in the text of Herodotus and in subsequent Ionic historiography and technical writing. This difference apparently reflects divergent treatments of the original labio-velar *[k^w-] during the Greek Dark Age following the Mycenaean collapse:

(14)

Official Ionic (mostly)			Literary Ionic (in part)	
πῶς	[pɔ̂:s]	'how?'	κῶς	[kɔ̂:s]
πότε	[póte]	'when?'	κότε	[kóte]
ποῦ	[pû:]	'where?'	κοῦ	[kû:]
πόθεν	[pót^{h}en]	'where from?'	κόθεν	[kót^{h}en]

It is important to note, however, that the few epigraphic counterexamples are all earlier than the p-forms, which first appear only in documents from the second half of the 4th century BC. Oddly, the attested forms are all relative pronouns or adverbs, namely: ὀκοῖα [okoîa] 'of whatever kind (neut pl)', from Erythrae (*IErythr* 205.11, first half of the 4th century); ὄκō [óko:] 'where', from Sigeum in southern France, a colony of Miletus (SEG 38, 1036.7, last half of the 5th century); ὀκόσō [okóso:] 'of how much/ at what price' from Emporium in Spain, a colony of Phocaea (SEG 37, 838.13, c.500 BC).[23] Perhaps, then, the k-forms were the original eastern Ionic ones, but were simply replaced under the growing influence of Attic on the local dialect during the course of the 4th century (for which see chapter 3).

Recall now that in post-Homeric Ionic literature k-forms appear in the texts of the poets Anacreon (Teos), Callinus (Ephesus), Hipponax (Ephesus, then exiled to Clazomenae), Mimnermus (Smyrna, originally an Aeolian city but occupied in the 9th century by Ionians from Colophon) and Semonides (Samos), as well as in the prose fragments of Heraclitus (Ephesus), all of whom were from Ionian cities. By contrast, our texts of Archilochus (Cycladic Paros, but left young for Thasos), Solon (Athens), Theognis (Megara) and Tyrtaeus (Sparta) all show p-forms. Assuming that this distinction in the textual tradition is not accidental, it confirms that the k-forms were indeed characteristic of early eastern Ionic (and known to have been so by later editors).[24] It is unfortunate that we have no relevant evidence for the prose of the early Milesian philosophers, but it seems that Heraclitus and the later Ionian prose writers, including Herodotus, employed these local k-forms not only as a marker of their Ionian identity but as something that simultaneously linked their work to an established literary *Kunstsprache*.

Herodotus is the only writer of Ionic prose whose work has survived in sufficient quantity to attempt any serious stylistic assessment, and we shall therefore focus on his work henceforth. He was born c.485 BC in the originally Dorian city of Halicarnassus, though it was by then a mixed Greek-Carian town that had recently fallen within the Ionian sphere of influence. He subsequently travelled widely in the Greek world and beyond, and also spent time in Athens, where he may have been exposed to some of the rhetorical techniques currently being taught to the sons of the wealthy by visiting Ionian sophists (itinerant higher-education tutors, cf. chapter 3). One may surmise that the Ionic idiom in use at Halicarnassus, given its location, was broadly of the Carian type (see note 21), though perhaps with some residual West Greek characteristics. But the prevailing cultural climate ensured that no one would attempt to use a local vernacular for literary purposes. Given the status of Miletus as the dominant centre of philosophical and scientific inquiry in Ionia, a natural assumption would be that the language first used for technical prose writing would have been a suitably stylized version of that city's dialect, and that Herodotus would have taken

this as the principal foundation on which to develop a suitably literary variety of Ionic for his history. But his artistic ambition and cosmopolitan outlook ensured an outcome that, even in antiquity, was seen as linguistically heterogeneous and highly 'poetic' in style.

Two particularly striking stylistic attributes are the loose attachment of background information to principal clauses through the use of participles, and the repetition of phrases, rather like brackets or bookends, at the beginning and end of digressions to help differentiate these from the main narrative. Another is the vast number of apparently epic/Homeric forms and phraseological reminiscences. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure just how well our texts represent his original usage, since, as always, they passed through the hands of later editors and copyists who may well have embellished what they found or 'restored' on *a priori* grounds what they took to be correct Ionic. On the other hand, the impulse to develop a distinctively literary form of Ionic for belletristic prose writing must have been strong in a culture characterized by traditional poetic *Kunstsprachen*, and the epic/Ionic tradition in particular must have seemed an attractive source (cf. Cassio (1996: 147–50)). As a result, it is often impossible to determine the true status of particular elements, and though Herodotus is described as Ὁμηρικώτατος [homɛrikó:tatos] 'Homeric in the highest' by the literary critic Longinus (*On the Sublime* 13.3), it may be that this commentator of the early Roman empire was in part misled by the handiwork of Hellenistic predecessors. Nor should we forget that at least some 'epic' elements that look archaic/poetic to us, and already seemed so to Hellenistic and Roman scholars, may still have been in more or less current use in 5th-century Ionia.

A few examples will help to clarify the issues. Items like οὔνομα [ú:noma] 'name' and εἵνεκα/-κεν [hé:neka/-ken] 'for the sake of' almost certainly represent editorial spellings based on Homeric forms in which the initial vowel was artificially lengthened *metri gratia* (older texts would have had ONOMA, ENEKA etc.). Such forms had no place in the 'normal' Ionic used by other prose writers (cf. note 20), and it is hard to see what extra value they would have added to Herodotus' original text. Similarly, metrical considerations make it clear that adjacent vowels that are in principle subject to contraction have in many cases already been contracted in Ionic elegiac and iambic poetry, and analogously, that combinations of [e] + [a]/[o(:)] have undergone synizesis (despite persistently conservative spellings, cf. 1.4.4 (b)(ii)). By the mid-5th century contracted forms are also quite normal in Ionic inscriptions. It seems likely, therefore, that the superficial appearance of Herodotus' text, in which uncontracted forms predominate, is misleading, and that Homerically inspired spellings such as ἔδεε 'it was necessary', or νόος 'mind', again represent editorial interpretations of earlier spellings like ΕΔΕ and ΝΟΣ (pronounced [éde:], [nu:s]) that should properly have been respelled ἔδει, νοῦς. Notice in support the presence of spurious but epic-looking forms like κέεται 's/he lies' (2.164.1), apparently representing [kéetai]. Since this word originally contained the diphthong [ei] there could be no contraction of [e] + [e] to 'undo', and the correct form κεῖται [kêtai] is actually attested elsewhere, e.g. 7.198.2. None the less, there remains the remote possibility that Herodotus himself decided to pay tribute to the fountainhead of Ionian literary culture by deliberately using at least some highly archaic Homeric forms (though it is doubtful that he would have invented something like κέεται). On the other hand, we may be quite sure that the marking of initial aspi-

ration is purely editorial, not only because eastern Ionic was psilotic but because there is no trace of the aspirate in compounds: thus ἀπ-ικνέεται [ap-ikné:tai] 's/he arrives' rather than ἀφ-ικνέεται [ap^{h}-hikné:tai] etc.

Whatever the truth of the matter in specific cases, the prestige of Ionian achievement soon led to this new literary language becoming the model for prose writers elsewhere, above all for historians and scientists who readily exploited a vocabulary and expository style developed specifically for the treatment of their respective disciplines. Thus the historians Antiochus of (Dorian) Syracuse and Hellanicus of (Aeolian) Lesbos both used the Ionic literary standard in the last quarter of the 5th century BC, as did Hippocrates from (Dorian) Cos when compiling his medical treatises (assuming that at least some of the writings of the large Hippocratic corpus can be attributed to an individual author of that name). See Vessella (2008a) for further discussion of the development of technical and literary prose in Ionic.

The following extract from Herodotus' history of the conflicts between Greece and Persia is a typical example of the sort of discursive background story in which he took great delight. The context is the aftermath of a major battle during the Persian invasion and conquest of Egypt (beginning c.525 BC), in which the Egyptians have been routed:

(15) θῶμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· τῶν γὰρ ὀστέων κεχυμένων χωρὶς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἔκειτο τὰ ὄστεα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχάς, ἑτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων), αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαί εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλοις ψήφῳ μούνῃ βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δή τι ἰσχυραί, μόγις ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξειας. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γε εὐπετέως ἔπειθον, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὀστέον. τὠυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἴτιόν ἐστι· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἄν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτό ἐστι αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσῃσι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αἴτιον τόδε· σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πίλους τιάρας φορέοντες. (Herodotus 3.12)

[t^{h}ɔ̂ma de méga ê:don put^{h}ómenos para tɔ:n epik^{h}ɔ:ríɔ:n; tɔ:n gar
Marvel and great I-saw learning-by-inquiry from the locals; the for
ostéɔ:n kek^{h}uménɔ:n k^{h}ɔ:rìs ekatérɔ:n tɔ:n en tɛi mák^{h}ɛ:i taútɛ:i pesóntɔ:n
bones being-scattered apart of-each-side of- those in the battle this having-fallen
(k^{h}ɔ:rìs men gar tɔ:n persḙɔ̂:n éke:to ta ostéa, ɔ:s ek^{h}ɔ:ríst^{h}ɛ: kat ark^{h}á:s,
(apart EMP for of-the Persians lay the bones, as were-separated at beginnings,
etérɔ:t^{h}i de tɔ:n aiguptíɔ:n), ai men tɔ:n persḙɔ̂:n kep^{h}alaí e:si ast^{h}enê:s
elsewhere and of-the Egyptians), the EMP of-the Persians heads are weak
ó:tɔ: ɔ́:ste, e: t^{h}élois psɛ́:p^{h}ɔ:i mó:nɛ:i balê:n, diatetrané:s, ai de
so-much that, if you-would-want with-pebble single to-strike, you-will-pierce, the but
tɔ:n aiguptíɔ:n ó:tɔ: dɛ: ti isk^{h}uraí, mógis an lít^{h}ɔ:i paísa:s
of-the Egyptians so indeed in-some-way strong, scarcely would with-stone having-struck
diarrɛ́:kseias. aítion de tó:to: tóde élegon, kai emé ge eupetéɔ:s
you-would-smash-through. Reason and of-this this they-said, and me at-least readily
épe:t^{h}on, oti aigúptioi men autíka apo paidíɔ:n arksámenoi ksurɔ̂:ntai ta:s
they-persuaded, that Egyptians EMP immediately from children beginning shave the

kep^{h}alà:s kai pros ton ɛ́:lion pak^{h}únetai to ostéon. tɔ:utò de tô:to kai to: mɛ̀:
heads and against the sun thickens the bone. The-same and this also of-the not
p^{h}alakrô:st^{h}ai aítión esti; aiguptíɔ:n gar an tis elak^{h}ísto:s ídoito
to-go-bald reason is; of-Egyptians for would someone least see
p^{h}alakrò:s pántɔ:n ant^{h}rɔ́:pɔ:n. tó:toisi men dɛ: tô:tó esti aitíon
bald of-all men. For-these EMP indeed this is reason
isk^{h}urà:s p^{h}orê:n ta:s kep^{h}alá:s, toisi de pérsɛ:isi oti ast^{h}enéas p^{h}ore̯û:si
strong to-carry the heads, for-the but Persians that weak they-carry
ta:s kep^{h}alá:s aítion tóde; skiɛ:trop^{h}eû:si eks ark^{h}ɛ̂:s pí:lo:s tiá:ra:s
the heads reason this; they-stay-in-the-shade from beginning felt-hats tiaras
p^{h}ore̯óntes.]
wearing.

'I saw there a great marvel that I learned about from the local people. The bones of those who had fallen on either side in this battle still lay scattered separately (for the bones of the Persians lay apart, just as they had originally been separated, with those of the Egyptians on the other side). Now the skulls of the Persians are so weak that if you were to hit them with a single pebble you will pierce them, while those of the Egyptians are somehow so strong you could hardly smash them if you struck them with a stone. They told me that the reason for this (and I for my part was readily persuaded) was that the Egyptians right from childhood shave their heads so that the bone thickens through exposure to the sun. This is also the reason for their not going bald; for of all mankind you would see the fewest bald heads among the Egyptians. So this is the reason why they have strong skulls, and the reason why the Persians have weak skulls is as follows: from the beginning they seek shade by wearing felt "tiaras".'

The reader will see that the written aspirate has been ignored in the transcription and that some of the more dubious graphic distensions of probably contracted forms have been 'recontracted', so ἀσθενέες 'weak (nom pl)' is assumed to have been pronounced [ast^{h}enê:s] etc.; some manuscripts have more of these than others, e.g. ἐκέετο [ekéeto] for ἔκειτο [éke:to] 'lay'. Other uncontracted forms have been left, however, as almost certainly characteristic of the contemporary dialect, e.g. ὀστέα [ostéa] 'bones' etc. Also characteristically Ionic are the shift of original [a:] > [ɛ:] even after [e, i, r], as in σκιητροφέουσι [skiɛ:trop^{h}eû:si] 'they-seek-shade', the crasis (blending) of juxtaposed o- and a-vowels > [ɔ:] in τὠυτό [tɔ:utó] 'the same (neut)' (< τὸ αὐτό [tò autó]), the conservative spelling of 1st-declension genitive plurals in -έων despite the almost certain synizesis [-e̯ɔ̂:n], and the long forms of dative plurals of the 1st and 2nd declensions in -ῃσι [-ɛ:isi]/-οισι [-oisi]. The heavy use of adjunct participles is apparent throughout.

We have already seen that in the dialogue of Athenian tragedy the local dialect was accepted in an elevated and internationalized form that incorporated material from earlier poetic traditions, most notably the Ionian epic. The first Athenian prose writers were similarly affected by the usage of their Ionian predecessors, despite the fact that Athens had acquired an empire during the course of the 5th century and was building a formidable reputation of its own as a centre of education and culture. We can therefore trace significant differences between the conservative official Attic of this period and the self-consciously literary Attic of, for example, Thucydides, who wrote his famous history of the war between Athens and Sparta in the latter part of the 5th

century BC. The nature of the rise of the Attic dialect to pre-eminence, both as an official and as a literary language, must now be considered in detail.

Notes

1 The true author(s) are unknown, but it is convenient to retain the traditional name of Homer.

2 The fact that our text of Homer has interrogative/indefinite pronouns and adverbs beginning with π- [p] rather than κ- [k], as in πῶς [pô:s] 'how?' etc., is not a decisive argument against this conclusion, which is strongly supported by (1a)(v). Though the text of Herodotus (from Halicarnassus in south-western Asia Minor) certainly has the k-forms, our text of Homer may well have been 'amended' in the course of its transmission. See 2.3 for further discussion.

3 A heavy syllable is closed by a consonant or by length (as in the case of long vowels and diphthongs), light syllables are open (i.e. not so closed).

4 These include the 'didactic' poetry of Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, the Homeric Hymns and the lost poems of the so-called epic cycle (cf. Janko (1982)). The language of Hesiod, who according to tradition hailed from Aeolic-speaking Boeotia, is all but identical to that of Homer: Cassio (2006) discusses the principal differences, which are perhaps attributable to local developments within a mainland tradition of Ionic hexameter poetry. The Homeric Hymns as we have them are most probably of a later date than the Homeric and Hesiodic poems.

5 In the transcriptions of most of the following extracts a distinction is drawn between close [o:] (written ΟΥ) and open [ɔ:] (written Ω) when both exist. In Attic the change of [o:] to [u:] probably took place during the late 5th century (partly because original [u:] had already shifted to [y:]). In the Attic extract, therefore, ΟΥ is transcribed as [u:] and Ω as [o:].

6 With the exception of the work of Theognis of Megara (6th/early 5th century), all of this poetry has survived not in regular manuscript tradition but accidentally, either through the discovery of papyrus fragments in Egypt or because later writers saw fit to quote extracts from it.

7 Though the texts we have are not always reliable in matters of linguistic detail, a few of these 'local' features are guaranteed by metrical factors: e.g. Doric-style futures in -σῶ [-sô:] < -σέω [-séo:] as in ἀλοιησεῦ[μεν] [aloiɛ:seûmen] 'we shall thresh/smash' in Tyrtaeus 1.55, which is in all other respects an epic form (including the Ionic-style contraction of [-eo-] > [-eu-]).

8 Unlike in Homer, the texts of Callinus and Hipponax (from Ephesus), of Mimnermus (from Smyrna), and of Semonides (originally from Samos) show *k*-forms of interrogative, relative and indefinite pronouns and adverbs (e.g. κῶς [kô:s] 'how?' rather than πῶς [pô:s] etc.), just like the text of Herodotus (from Halicarnassus). The text of the 6th/5th-century lyric poet Anacreon (from Teos) and the prose fragments of the 6th/5th-century philosopher Herakleitos (again from Ephesus) also have the k-forms. Cf. note 2, and see 2.3 for further discussion.

9 Composed in so-called 'Aeolic dactyls': ⏓ ⏓ | – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – | ⏑ ⏓

10 I.e. those with stems ending in one of [-a, -e, -o], which then frequently 'contracts' with the first vowel of the (thematic) personal ending; e.g. Attic τιμά-ω [ti:má:o:] > τιμῶ [ti:mô:], etc. Lesbian and Thessalian have τίμα-μι [tí:ma:mi] etc., with the (athematic) endings added directly to the stem.

11 The spelling of ὠράνω [ɔ:ránɔ:] 'heaven (gen)' represents the reverse phenomenon, viz. the writing of a long o-vowel for the sake of the metre even though the original was probably

ὀρράνω [orránɔ:]; in the local alphabet the word would have been written OPANO, allowing for both options when transcribed into the Ionic alphabet.

12 Note, for example, the absence of internal aspiration in the compound κάτ-οδος [kátodos] 'way-down/descent' in 395.11 (Attic has κάθ-οδος [kátʰ-hodos] with manner assimilation of the plosive). His text also has the k-forms of interrogative and indefinite pronouns and adverbs (cf. notes 2 and 8 above, and see 2.3).

13 This might be another epic Aeolicism, even if the particular words are not always attested, but we must be wary of what may be editorial interpretations of original spellings like ΚΛΕΝΟΣ etc.

14 Cassio (1996) sees these relatively rare future forms as mainly intrusive and due to the influence of later editions made in Sicily where there was interference from local dialects (especially that of Syracuse).

15 Thus μάτηρ [má:tɛ:r] 'mother' but ἡδύς [hɛ:dýs] 'sweet', etc. The majority of distinctively Doric features (e.g. forms with unassibilated -τι [-ti]/-ντι [-nti] or athematic infinitives in -μεν [-men]) are entirely absent, as are the Lesbian forms with -οι- [oi] where Attic has -ου- [u:]. The 3rd-person pronoun νιν [nin] is used, however, and some Aeolic forms with double nasals.

16 As might be expected, the language of Old Comedy, represented almost entirely by the surviving plays of Aristophanes, is, as far as we can tell, rather closer to varieties of contemporary Athenian speech, and some scholars have used these texts as a basis for sociolinguistic studies (Dover (1987), Willi (2003)). There is, however, a great deal of word-play and parody of other genres, especially tragedy and choral lyric, and any scholar engaged in such work must remain sensitive at all times to issues of style and context.

17 Some of these eventually lost their 'high' poetic associations and evolved into everyday vocabulary items in the Koine (see the later chapters of this part).

18 Doric was put to similar uses in Magna Graecia, but relatively little survives from this tradition and we have correspondingly little sense of its origins and development (see Cassio (1989), Vessella (2008a)).

19 Xenophanes was also a more traditional poet and wrote elegiacs and iambics on a variety of other themes.

20 Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st century BC) characterizes the language of early Ionic prose as 'clear and normal, pure and concise'.

21 According to Herodotus the 12 members of the Ionian League were dialectally divided as follows: (a) the Carian cities (Miletus, Myus and Priene), (b) the Lydian cities (Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae and Phocaea), (c) Erythrae (though also in Lydia) and the neighbouring island of Chios, and (d) the island of Samos, just off the Aegean coast between Ephesus and Miletus. Colonies of these cities would presumably have retained something close to the dialect of their mother city.

22 The only significant qualification relates to the written dialect of the island of Chios, which shows some Lesbian traits (most notably the 3pl verb ending -οισι [-oisi]).

23 The development might even have begun in these relative forms, where there was a fully lip-rounded environment (i.e. with o- or u-vowels both preceding and following the labiovelar) to encourage dissimilation of the 'sandwiched' consonant, with later generalization to the interrogative/indefinite adverbs and pronouns.

24 The fragments of the poetry of Xenophanes of Colophon show p-forms despite his Ionian origin. We should bear in mind, however, that Xenophanes abandoned Colophon as a young man following the Persian conquest c.545 BC, and spent the rest of his life travelling, especially in the Greek west. His use of the more international p-forms is not, therefore, surprising, always assuming that the text can be taken seriously.

3
The Rise of Attic

3.1 Attic as a Literary Standard

By the time of Herodotus' history Ionia had long lost its independence to Persia. Athens, however, as a leading city of the Ionian tribe, had not only supported an unsuccessful Ionian revolt, but also played a leading role in defending Greece proper against the consequential Persian aggression of the early 5th century BC. The city emerged from these confrontations as a major maritime power, with most of the islands of the Aegean and a number of important cities around its coasts falling under Athenian domination. By the mid-5th century Athens was an imperial city that could rival Dorian Sparta, the established military power, for the leadership of Greece, a rivalry which extended also into the political sphere, since Athens was the foremost democratic city of the age, while Sparta retained a more traditional oligarchic form of government.

At the same time, and partly in consequence of its new pre-eminence in other spheres, Athens was rapidly becoming a major centre of learning and culture, attracting leading intellectuals (the so-called 'sophists', peripatetic teachers of various skills and theories who provided higher education for the well-to-do) from all parts of the Greek world, and beginning the development of its own cultural and educational institutions. Most importantly, in this atmosphere of military and material success and growing national pride, the Athenians developed a literature in a version of their own dialect, particularly in the fields of tragedy, comedy, history, oratory and philosophy.

The core of the language of Athenian tragedy, as noted in 2.2.5, is essentially Attic, despite the overlay of a range of 'distancing' features. The same is true of the ordinary (i.e. non-parodic) language of Old Comedy, familiar from the plays of Aristophanes, though this is, as far as we can tell, much closer to colloquial varieties of the Attic of the period. Similarly, rhetoric, one of the most notable 'inventions' of the 5th-century Greek enlightenment, and the key instrument of democratic political life, achieved its definitive form in the dialect of Athens. Many sophists laid great emphasis on the importance of effective speaking as a means of managing one's affairs and manipulating circumstances to one's advantage, and found willing customers for their educational services in a society which gave free rein to the exploitation of such skills.

Notable names in this connection include the early practitioner Protagoras (c.490–c.420 BC), from Abdera in Thrace, and a little later, Gorgias of Leontini in Sicily (c.483–375 BC), and Thrasymachus (c.459–c.400 BC) from Chalcedon on the Asian side of the Bosporus. The evolution of a specifically Attic prose style is certainly due in part to the influence of these non-indigenous, mainly Ionic-speaking, visitors, an influence which manifests itself both in the style and organization of argument and in the use of language, particularly through the introduction of Ionic technical terminology and the semantic extension of existing vocabulary.

Unsurprisingly, then, the historian Thucydides, who was born around 460 BC and exiled in 424 BC for his failure as a general during the 'Peloponnesian' war between Athens and Sparta (431–404 BC), wrote his account of that conflict in a rather internationalized Attic, which suppresses the most characteristically Attic features in favour of Ionic equivalents (cf. the substitution of [ss] and [rs] for [tt] and [rr] in relevant words). His style was perhaps typical of the sophist-trained generation of pre-war days in that nothing in the work, which crucially includes 'speeches' put into the mouths of key figures at critical moments, suggests the direct influence of the highly specific codification of rhetorical practice initiated by Gorgias after his arrival in Athens in 427 BC. This involved what is, to a modern sensibility, a rather unnatural striving for impact through antithesis, formal parallelism, and the routine exploitation of auxiliary rhythmical and phonetic 'special effects'. Thucydides' narrative, in contrast, is relatively linear and straightforward in structure, and even the speeches, though often broadly antithetical in their articulation of material, display none of the precise matching and equalization of clauses espoused by Gorgias, but instead aim for a deliberate variety of phrasing and syntax. What is perhaps most characteristic of Thucydides' speeches is the extreme compression of both thought and diction, which often leads to highly complex structures that demand the most careful reading. This style is therefore in equally marked contrast to the doctrines of Thrasymachus, who advocated logical ordering and clarity of expression as the primary virtues of a good rhetorical style.

In all probability, then, the reputation of Gorgias as the founding father of Attic prose is somewhat exaggerated. It seems more likely that he developed and refined tendencies that were already in train, as seen perhaps in Thucydides' speeches, and attempted to formulate the results as rules of composition. His excessive mannerism, however, though doubtless initially highly effective in what was still a very new domain, fell rapidly out of favour, and it is the work of Thrasymachus that had the more lasting influence. A shift of this kind can perhaps be traced in the work of the orator and speech writer Antiphon (born c.480 BC, executed in 411), whose early speeches are markedly antithetical, with some exploitation of clausal equalization and associated phonetic contrivances, but who later adopted a more expansive sentence structure with fewer Ionic or 'poetic' characteristics (which often amount to the same thing, since much of what was current in early Ionic prose had come to be felt as poetic because of the continued use of the same words and expressions in contemporary archaizing poetry). It is in any case worth noting that there is a clear contrast between Antiphon's rhetorical exercises and his genuine forensic oratory, which makes a much more straightforward appeal to the audience, as appropriate to its real-world context. Lysias (c.459–c.380 BC) also wrote speeches for the Athenian middle class,[1] and again did so in a relatively ordinary Attic with few blatant rhetorical 'tricks'; colloquial

directness and simplicity of diction apparently gave a better impression of honesty in a court of law. By contrast, Demosthenes (384–322 BC) is famous principally for his political oratory, especially in urging decisive action against the growing power of Macedonia. His writing combines passionately held conviction with clarity of structure and great verbal dexterity. He is widely regarded as the greatest of the Attic orators for his ability to deploy his array of rhetorical skills precisely and effectively, according to the needs of the situation.

In terms of long-term influence, however, perhaps the key figure in the field of rhetoric is the great rhetorical theoretician Isocrates (436–338 BC), who, though a pupil of Gorgias in his youth, clearly owed a great deal more to Thrasymachus in his development of a technically refined, though to modern tastes rather bland, prose style, most particularly in his emphasis on precision of diction, the avoidance of 'poetic', i.e. often Ionic, expression (in marked contrast to the earliest prose), the paramount importance of transparency of sentence structure within the context of a complex periodic style, and the need for a restrained approach to the rhythmical reinforcement of the message. The later influence of Isocratean rhetoric on the great Roman statesman and man of letters Cicero, and through him on the subsequent evolution of prose writing in Europe, cannot easily be overestimated.

We should not, however, leave the subject of rhetoric without first observing that a broadly 'rhetorical' style came to characterize other genres besides oratory. The case of Thucydides' history has already been mentioned, but no one can read a play of Euripides or Aristophanes without becoming acutely aware of the impact of a rhetorical education on the construction of dramatic dialogue, particularly in set-piece confrontations. It is quite clear that early rhetoric had the most profound effect not only in the context of the Athenian Assembly and the law courts but much more generally through the education system on the vocabulary and thinking of the educated classes, and ultimately on the lexicon and stylistic conventions of the literary and even official varieties of the Attic dialect.

Alongside the development of rhetoric we see in Athens in the late 5th century the growth of moral philosophy, in marked contrast with the essentially scientific speculations of the earlier Ionian philosophers. This was directly associated with the general intellectual ferment of the period and particularly with the pressing need for a fundamental examination of basic ethical and political issues in the context of the freedoms and responsibilities afforded by democratic government. Some philosophers, among whom Socrates stands out as one who claimed to have nothing to teach but only questions to ask, favoured a dialectic method over exposition of theory, and a new literary genre, the philosophical dialogue, eventually emerged in consequence, with Socrates' pupil Plato (427–348/7 BC) its greatest exponent.

Plato came from the most highly cultured of backgrounds and was steeped in the traditions of Greek poetry. Despite his general distrust of poetry as perpetuating a distortion of reality, it is striking that when his subject matter becomes more abstract and his purpose more overtly didactic, as in the famous 'mythical' passages of the *Republic*, the style and vocabulary begin to exhibit marked similarities with those of Attic tragedy. In the more 'natural' parts of his dialogues, however, we seem to be dealing, as in Aristophanes (and always allowing for differences of genre and intent), with an artful approximation to the conversational style of the educated classes.

With the development of literature of the highest quality in a purely Athenian context during the late 5th and early 4th centuries BC we see the gradual emancipation of Attic prose from the direct influence of Ionic precedent, though it should be emphasized that certain lexical and grammatical features of Ionic prose had by then become permanent fixtures and a hallmark of the 'high' style. The influence and prestige of this variety were enormous, so that, by the time of Plato, Attic prose is the only prose literature of which we have any surviving record. This clearly demonstrates that Attic literature had by then come to dominate Greek culture and that the Attic dialect, as the international language of cultural debate and learned exposition (even, it should be noted, in the field of historiography, where Ionic had earlier reigned supreme), already served as a model for the whole Greek-speaking world. In an earlier age Thucydides had felt obliged to tone down his Attic and to position his history in the Ionian tradition of technical prose writing; but now the 4th-century historian Theopompus, despite the fact that he came from the Ionian island of Chios, had little choice but to write in the literary Attic of his period. The role of classical Attic as the model for literary composition in drama and prose was assured, and its influence was to last for the next two thousand years. See Denniston (1952) and Dover (1997) for classic treatments, and Vessella (2008a) for an up-to-date survey.

By way of illustration, consider now the following three extracts, exemplifying three very different styles of Attic prose writing:

(1)

(a) News has reached Athens of the catastrophic Athenian defeat at Syracuse.

ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἠπίστουν καὶ τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαπεφευγόσι καὶ σαφῶς ἀγγέλλουσι, μὴ οὕτω γε ἂν πανσυδὶ διεφθάρθαι· ἐπειδή τε ἔγνωσαν, χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς ξυμπροθυμηθεῖσι τῶν ῥητόρων τὸν ἔκπλουν, ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτοὶ ψηφισάμενοι, ὠργίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρησμολόγοις τε καὶ μάντεσι καὶ ὁπόσοι τι τότε αὐτοὺς θειάσαντες ἐπήλπισαν ὡς λήψονται Σικελίαν. πάντα δὲ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐλύπει τε καὶ περιειστήκει ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ φόβος τε καὶ κατάπληξις μεγίστη δή. (Thucydides 8.1)

[es de ta:s at^{h}ɛ́:na:s epe:dɛ̀: ɛ:ŋgélt^{h}ɛ:, epi polỳ men ɛ:pístu:n kai tois
to and the Athens when it-was-announced, for much EMP they-disbelieved even those
pány to:n stratio:tô:n eks autû: tu: érgu: diapep^{h}eugósi kai sap^{h}ô:s
very-well of-the soldiers from itself the action having-escaped and clearly
aŋgéllu:si, mɛ̀: hú:to: ge an pansydì diep^{h}t^{h}árt^{h}ai; epe:dɛ́: te
announcing, not thus really would with-the-whole-force to-have-been-destroyed; when and
égno:san, k^{h}alepoì men ɛ̂san tois ksymprot^{h}y:mɛ:t^{h}ê:si to:n
they-came-to-know, harsh EMP they-were with-those having-joined-eagerly-in-promoting of-the
hrɛ:tóro:n ton ékplu:n, hó:sper u:k autoì psɛ:p^{h}isámenoi, o:rgízdonto de kai tois
orators the voyage, as-if not themselves having-voted, they-grew-angry and also with-the
k^{h}rɛ:smológois te kai mántesi kai hopósoi ti tóte autu:s t^{h}e:ásantes
oracle-mongers both and soothsayers and as-many-as in-some-way then them consulting-oracles
epɛ́:lpisan ho:s lɛ́:psontai sikelía:n. pánta de pantak^{h}ót^{h}en autu:s elý:pe: te kai
made-to-hope that they-will-take Sicily. Everything and on-all-sides them distressed both and
perihe:stɛ́:ke: epi to:i gegenɛ:méno:i p^{h}óbos te kai katáplɛ:ksis megístɛ: dɛ:.]
surrounded upon that-thing having-happened fear both and consternation greatest indeed.

'When the news reached Athens, they refused for a long time to believe that the entire force could have been so utterly destroyed in this way, even when those outstanding soldiers who had made their escape from the action itself gave clear reports; and when they finally came to understand, they were bitter towards those orators who had joined eagerly in promoting the expedition, as if they had not voted for it themselves, and they also grew angry with the oracle-mongers and the soothsayers and all those who had in any way led them to hope with their divination that they would take Sicily. Everything on every side distressed them and in the wake of what had happened they were beset with fear and the greatest possible consternation.'

(b) Cephalus tells Socrates that old age is not so bad.

ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων προπηλακίσεις τοῦ γήρως ὀδύρονται, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ γῆρας ὑμνοῦσιν ὅσων κακῶν σφίσιν αἴτιον. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὗτοι οὐ τὸ αἴτιον αἰτιᾶσθαι. εἰ γὰρ ἦν τοῦτ' αἴτιον, κἂν ἐγὼ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐπεπόνθη ἕνεκά γε γήρως καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι ἐνταῦθα ἦλθον ἡλικίας. νῦν δ' ἔγωγε ἤδη ἐντετύχηκα οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσι καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ δὴ καὶ Σοφοκλεῖ ποτὲ τῷ ποιητῇ παρεγενόμην ἐρωτωμένῳ ὑπό τινος Πῶς, ἔφη, ὦ Σοφόκλεις, ἔχεις πρὸς τἀφροδίσια; ἔτι οἷός τε εἶ γυναικὶ συγγίγνεσθαι; καὶ ὅς, Εὐφήμει, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνθρωπε· ἀσμεναίτατα μέντοι αὐτὸ ἀπέφυγον, ὥσπερ λυττῶντά τινα καὶ ἄγριον δεσπότην ἀποφυγών. (Plato *Republic* 329b–c)

[énioi de kaì ta:s to:n oiké:o:n propɛ:lakíse:s tu: gɛ́:ro:s odýrontai, kai
some and also the of-the friends-and-relations indignities of-the old-age bewail, and
epi tú:to:i dɛ: to gɛ́:ras hymnû:sin hóso:n kakô:n sp^{h}isin aítion. emoì
on this indeed the old-age they- curse of-all-the evils for-themselves responsible. To-me
de dokû:sin, ô: só:krates, hû:toi u: to aítion aitiâ:st^{h}ai. e: gar ê:n tû:t
but they-seem, o Socrates, these not the cause to-accuse. If for was this
aìtion, kà:n egò: ta autà taûta epepónt^{h}ɛ: héneká ge gɛ́:ro:s kai hoi
cause, also-would I the same these-things I-had-suffered because-of at-least old-age and the
álloi pántes hósoi entaût^{h}a ɛ̂:lt^{h}on hɛ:likía:s. nŷ:n d égo:ge ɛ́:dɛ:
others all as-many-as here have-come of-age. Now but I-at-least already
entetýk^{h}ɛ:ka u:k^{h} hú:to:s ék^{h}u:si kai állois kai dɛ: kai sop^{h}oklê: pote
I-have-run-into not thus being both others and indeed also Sophocles once
to:i poiɛ:tê:i paregenómɛ:n ero:to:méno:i hypo tinos pô:s, ép^{h}ɛ:, ô:
the poet I-was-present-with being-asked by someone 'How', he said, 'O
sop^{h}ókle:s, ék^{h}e:s pros ta:p^{h}rodísia? éti hoîós-te ei gynaikì
Sophocles, are-you towards the-business-of Aphrodite? still able you-are with-woman
suŋgígnest^{h}ai? kai hos, eup^{h}ɛ́:me:, ép^{h}ɛ:, o: ánt^{h}ro:pe; azmenaítata
to-have-intercourse?' And he, 'Shush', he-said, 'O man; most-gladly
méntoi auto apép^{h}ygon, hó:sper lyttô:ntá tina kaì ágrion despótɛ:n apop^{h}ygó:n.]
of-course it I-escaped, as -if raging some and ferocious master escaping.'

'And some also bewail the indignities of old age experienced by friends and relatives, and on this basis recite a litany of complaint against it as the cause of all their own misfortunes. But it seems to me, Socrates, that they do not blame the true cause. For if this *were* responsible, I too would have experienced the same effects as far as old age is concerned, and all the others who have reached this age too. But on the contrary, I have in the past encountered others who are not like this, and on one particular occasion I was with

Sophocles when someone asked: "How's your sex-life, Sophocles? Can you still get it on with a woman?" And he said: "Shush, my good man. I'm really very glad to have escaped from that. It's just like getting away from a vicious crazy taskmaster."

(c) Demosthenes seeks to galvanize Athenian resolve in the face of the growing Macedonian threat.

πότ' οὖν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πόθ' ἃ χρὴ πράξετε; ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὰν νὴ Δί' ἀνάγκη τις ᾖ; νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμεν' ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθ', εἰπέ μοι, περιιόντες αὑτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι, Λέγεταί τι καινόν; γένοιτ' ἄν τι καινότερον ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; Τέθνηκε Φίλιππος; Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ. καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, τάχεως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἄνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. (Demosthenes *Philippic* I.10–11)

[pót u:n, o: ándres at^{h}ɛ:naîoi, pót^{h} ha k^{h}rè: prá:ksete? epe:dà:n tí
When then, o men Athenians, when what is-necessary you-will-do? When what
génɛ:tai? epe:dà:n nɛ: dí anáŋkɛ: tis ɛ̂:i? nŷ:n de tí k^{h}rè: ta
should-happen? When by Zeus emergency some should-be? Now but what is-it-necessary the
gignómen hɛ:gêst^{h}ai? egò: men gar oîmai tois eleut^{h}érois megístɛ:n
current-events to-think? I EMP for I-think for-the free-men greatest
anáŋkɛ:n tɛ:n hyper to:n pra:gmáto:n aisk^{h}ý:nɛ:n ê:nai. ɛ: bú:lest^{h},
emergency the concerning the affairs disgrace to-be. Or do-you-want,
e:pé moi, periióntes hautô:n pynt^{h}ánest^{h}ai, légetaí ti kainón?
tell me, going-around yourselves to ask: 'Is-said anything new?'
génoit an ti kainóteron ɛ: makedò:n anɛ̀:r at^{h}ɛ:naíu:s katapolemô:n
would-happen would anything newer than Macedonian man Athenians warring-down
kai ta to:n hellɛ́:no:n dioikô:n? tét^{h}nɛ:ke p^{h}ílippos? u: ma dí,
and the-affairs of-the Greeks directing? 'Is-dead Philip?' 'No by Zeus,
all ast^{h}enê: kai gar a:n hû:tós ti pát^{h}ɛ:i, ták^{h}eo:s hy:mê:s héteron
but he-is-ill.' Even for if this-man something should-suffer, quickly you another
p^{h}ílippon poiɛ́:sete, á:mper hú:to: prosék^{h}ɛ:te tòn nû:n. u:de gar
Philip you-will-make, if-indeed thus you-apply the mind. Nor for
hû:tos para tɛ:n hautû: hró:mɛ:n tosû:ton epɛ:úksɛ:tai, hóson
this-man because-of the of-himself strength so-much has-gloried-over, as
para tɛ:n hɛ:metéra:n améle:an.]
because-of the our negligence.

'So when, gentlemen of Athens, when will you do what is required? In what event? When there is some emergency, for God's sake? But how are we to think of the current situation? I for my part believe that the greatest emergency for free men is disgrace in the face of events. Or, tell me, do you just want to go around asking one another: "What's the news?" Could there be anything more newsworthy than a Macedonian beating the Athenians in war and managing the affairs of Greece? "Is Philip dead?" "No, dammit, but he *is* ill." Assuredly, if something does happen to him, you will quickly create another Philip if you attend to things like this. For this man has not gloried over us so much because of his own strength as because of our negligence.'

3.2 'Great Attic' as an Administrative Language

The emerging dominance of Attic as a written medium is all the more remarkable when one reflects that at the beginning of the 5th century this was still the local dialect of a rather backward and isolated region, archaic and conservative in its grammatical structure, with its literary potential undeveloped. In the sharpest contrast, eastern Ionic, as the dialect of a large and burgeoning frontier region with a mixed population, had long been dynamically innovative, and had already been used in a stylized form not only for poetry of different kinds but increasingly as a sophisticated instrument of scientific and historical exegesis (cf. chapter 2). In the course of its development as a spoken medium Ionic had lost many grammatical archaisms and irregularities that Attic retained, and these sometimes quite radical simplifications had automatically found their way into Ionic literary productions. We may note, for example, the following:

(2) (a) The dual number had disappeared.
(b) Certain morphological irregularities were levelled out, such as:
(i) ἴσμεν [íz-men], ἴστε [ís-te], ἴσασι [ís-a:si], the plural forms of οἶδα [oîd-a] 'I know'; replaced by the analogical, and predictable, οἴδαμεν [oíd-amen], οἴδατε [oíd-ate], οἴδασι [oíd-asi].
(ii) ἔθεμεν [é-t^{h}e-men], ἔθετε [é-t^{h}e-te], ἔθεσαν [é-t^{h}e-san], the plural of past perfective (aorist) ἔθηκα [é-t^{h}ɛ:k-a] 'I put' (and other plurals of the aorist of athematic verbs with similar root alternation); levelled to the singular to give ἐθήκαμεν [e-t^{h}ɛ́:k-amen], ἐθήκατε [e-t^{h}ɛ́:k-ate], ἔθηκαν [é-t^{h}ɛ:k-an].
(c) The commonest athematic verbs in -μι [-mi] had begun to be transferred to the thematic paradigm, so ἵστημι [ístɛ:mi] 'I stand' > ἱστῶ [istô:], τίθημι [tít^{h}ɛ:mi] 'I put', > τιθῶ [tit^{h}ô].

Given this background, it should not be surprising that the earliest literary manifestations of Attic, such as tragedy and Thucydides' history, not only rejected the most characteristically 'local' (and unliterary) phonological features like [tt] and [rr] in words like γλῶττα [glô:tta] 'tongue' and θάρρος [t^{h}árros] 'boldness', in favour of the more 'international' and prestigious Ionic forms with -σσ- [ss] and -ρσ- [rs], but also began to adopt Ionic grammatical characteristics, e.g. by restricting the use of the dual number and incorporating 3pl aorist forms of the type seen in (2b)(ii):

(3) (a) 3pl παρῆκαν [par-hɛ̂:k-an] 'they let go/passed over'
Thucydides IV.38.1
(b) 3pl ἀνῆκαν [an-hɛ̂:k-an] 'they sent forth/let go'
Euripides *Bacchae* 448

But despite the dramatic transformation in Athens' fortunes during the course of the 5th century and the advent of a greater readiness to use genuine Attic forms, at least in prose, Ionic prestige still continued to shape the development of Attic as a written medium. Before long, therefore, a number of Ionic characteristics that had first

appeared in Attic literary texts also began to appear in official Athenian inscriptions. To illustrate the point, we may note examples such as those in (4) and (5) (see López-Eire (1986, 1993) for a full discussion):

(4) (a) The verb ἐπαινῶ [epainô:] 'praise' takes the dative in the earliest Attic inscriptions, exactly as in Homer:

ἐπαινέσαι	τοῖς	Σιγειεῦσιν
[epainésai	tois	sige:eûsin]
to-praise	the(dat)	Sigeans(dat)

IG I[3] 17, 6: 451/50 BC

(b) In Herodotus' Ionic, however, we find the accusative used for the object, as with 'regular' transitive verbs, and this Ionic construction is regularly preferred in Athenian literature:

πάντας	ὑμέας	ἐπαινέω
[pántas	hyméas	epainéo:]
all(acc)	you(acc)	I-praise

Sophocles *Ajax* 1381

(c) By the end of the 5th century this usage also begins to compete with the traditional one even in official documents, and eventually supplants it:

(i)

ἐπαινέσαι	τοῖς	Νεαπολίταις
[epainésai	tois	neapolí:tais]
to-praise	the(dat)	Neapolitans(dat)

IG I[2] 101 7: 410/9 BC

(ii)

ἐπαινέσαι	Θρασύβōλον
[epainésai	t^{h}rasýbu:lon]
to-praise	Thrasyboulos(acc)

IG I[2] 102 6: 410/9 BC

(5) As already noted, the extension of the stem of the singular of aorists of athematic verbs to the plural occurs first in Ionic prose (e.g. Herodotus III.128.4) and passes from there, at least in part, into Athenian literature (cf. (3) above). It then begins to appear in official Attic inscriptions in the early part of the 4th century (e.g. IG II[2] 1412 23: 385/4 BC). We may also note that Ionic literature employs the conjunctions ὡς ἄν [ho:s án] or ὅπως [hópo:s] + subjunctive in purpose clauses ('in order that'), while traditional Attic in early 'conservative' inscriptions uses ὅπως ἄν [hópo:s án]. However, ὡς ἄν [ho:s án] and bare ὅπως [hópo:s] appear already in Thucydides' history (cf. VI.91 for the former, I.126 for the latter), and then start to turn up in Attic inscriptions from the mid-5th century onwards (e.g. IG I[3] 156 2: 440–25 BC for ὡς ἄν [ho:s án], IG I[2] 226 40: 343–2 BC for ὅπως [hópo:s]).

The overall picture that emerges, therefore, is of an unequal struggle between a traditional conservative variety of Attic and a more modern Ionicized Attic, a variety

that was already established in literature and intellectual discourse, and which eventually supplants its rival even in administrative documents. Other diagnostic features of this 'modern Attic' style include:

(6) (a) A liking for periphrases consisting of a noun + the verb ποιοῦμαι [poiû:mai] 'I make': e.g. ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦμαι [epiméle:an poiû:mai] lit. 'I make care (for)' in place of the verb ἐπιμελοῦμαι [epimelû:mai] 'I take care of', first in Ionian prose (e.g. Herodotus VI.105.2), then in Attic literature (e.g. Thucydides VII.56.1) and finally in Attic inscriptions (e.g. IG II^{2} 659 10: 287 BC).

(b) 'Short' dative plurals in -οις/-αις [-ois/-ais] in place of -οισι/-αισι [-oisi/-aisi]. (This is a development internal to Attic based on the generalization of the short forms already standardized in the article at the beginning of the 5th century.)

(c) σύν [sýn] for ξύν [ksýn] 'with'.

Interestingly, in IG I^{3} 40 (a treaty of 446 BC between Athens and the city of Chalcis on the island of Euboea) the traditional forms of (6b) and (6c) are used in the formal oath to be sworn by the Athenians and the Chalcidians, but the modern ones appear in the additional clauses proposed by individual Athenians, a distribution which highlights perfectly the contrast between the traditional official style and the more 'normal' educated usage of the period (see López-Eire (1997)).[2]

Unsurprisingly, it is the more modern forms which eventually find their way into the Attic-based Koine, the natural historical continuation of this somewhat simplified and partly Ionicized form of official Attic that is often called 'Great Attic' since the pioneering work of Thumb (1901, 1906). No longer the written dialect of Athens and Attica alone, it was first used for all official written communication within the Athenian empire, and subsequently its use spread still wider, doubtless aided by the prestige of Attic as the principal vehicle of contemporary Greek literary culture. Thus even after Athens had been defeated by the Spartans in 404 BC, the importance of its written language remained intact, and its use for official purposes in territories outside Attica continued and even expanded, particularly with the revival of Athens in the 4th century and the formation of a second Athenian alliance in 377 BC. It is no accident, for example, that a document recording the decision of a federation of all Greek cities (except Sparta) not to assist the semi-autonomous rulers of the territories of Western Asia Minor (the 'satraps') in their revolt against the Persian king (IG IV 556: 362/1 BC) should be composed in Great Attic, with forms like innovative 3pl οἴδασιν [oídasin] 'they know' in place of traditional ἴσασιν [ísa:sin]. If literary Attic in its developed form represented a panhellenic high style for belletristic purposes, Great Attic represented the standard written language of business and administration among the middle and upper classes. It was, we may assume, still quite close to the formal speech of educated Athenians but rather different from the language of the urban masses or the conservative varieties of rural Attica. A fragment of Aristophanes (552/706 K-A) perhaps draws attention to the register of Attic usage that originally underpinned Great Attic:

(7) διάλεκτον ἔχοντα μέσην τῆς πόλεως
οὔτ' ἀστείαν ὑποθηλυτέραν οὔτ' ἀνελεύθερον ὑπαγροικοτέραν.

[diálekton	ék^{h}onta	mésɛ:n	tɛ:s	póleo:s	u:t	asté:a:n	hypot^{h}ɛ:lytéra:n	u:t	
speech	having(acc)	middle	of-the	city	neither	urban	rather-effeminate	nor	
aneleút^{h}eron	hypagroikotéra:n]								
rude	subrustic								

'(a man) with the middle-of-the-road speech of the city, neither the rather effeminate urban variety (*i.e. associated with the aristocracy*) nor the crude rather countrified one'.

The process of Attic-Ionic convergence can be seen from another perspective in Ionic documents of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, in which Attic forms and phrases, first introduced through Athenian administrative and legal documents, begin to infiltrate steadily. Only the most characteristic 'markers' of Ionic are resolutely adhered to, such as the use of -η [ɛ:] after ι/ε/ρ [i/e/r], where Attic had retained or restored the original long -α [a:], e.g. συμμαχίη [symmak^{h}íɛ:] 'alliance' not συμμαχία [symmak^{h}ía:]. There is interesting confirmation of the widespread prestige of Great Attic in the 4th century BC in the fact that the incorporation of Attic characteristics applies not only to the inscriptions of original Ionic-speaking communities but also to those of foreign territories such as Caria (in south-west Asia Minor), where the ruling class had earlier adopted the Greek of the Ionian cities as its official language (cf. Brixhe (1987, 1993b)). In SIG 167 (367–54 BC), for example, which comprises three decrees of the Carian city of Mylasa, we still find a strongly Ionic foundation, but many Attic features already intrude (e.g. ἀτέλεια [atéle:a] 'freedom from taxation' for ἀτελίη [atelí:ɛ:]; οὐσίη [u:síɛ:] 'property' for ἐουσίη [eu:síɛ:], though retaining the Ionic ending in -η [-ɛ:]; genitive singulars of masculine 1st-declension nouns in -ου [-u:] as well as Ionic -εω [-e̯o:] etc.).

A further example of this convergence is provided by a treaty between the cities of the Chalcidian league and the Macedonian king Amyntas III (SIG 135, c.393 BC). Here, since the mother city of Chalcis was on the island of Euboea, we find the expected western Ionic base, including: the general Ionic use of -η- [ɛ:] after ι/ε/ρ [i/e/r], e.g. χώρην [k^{h}ó:rɛ:n], 'country'; the absence of contraction of -εο-/-εα- [eo/ea] in forms such as τελέοντας [tele̯óntas], 'paying (acc pl)' (Attic τελοῦντας [telû:ntas]; the Euboean dative singular of o-stems in -οι [-oi] rather than the Attic (and standard Ionic) -ωι [-o:i], e.g. ἐπὶ πολέμοι [epì polémoi] 'for war'; and the Euboean infinitive of εἰμί [e:mi] 'I am', namely εἶν [ê:n], not Attic/standard Ionic εἶναι [ê:nai], perhaps reflecting an extension of the Ionic trend for irregular athematic verbs to be assimilated to the regular thematic (-ω [-o:]) class, e.g. τιθεῖν [tit^{h}ê:n] not τίθεναι [tít^{h}enai] as the infinitive of τίθημι [tít^{h}ɛ:mi] 'I put').

Alongside this, however, there are clear signs of Attic influence: the conjunctions ἐάν [ea:n]/ἄν [a:n] 'if (ever)' rather than Ionic ἤν [ɛ:n] (though the latter also begins to appear in more colloquial registers of Attic through the convergence process); some o-stem dative singulars in -ωι [-o:i], e.g. κοινῶι [koinô:i] 'community'; the form μιᾶς [miâ:s] 'of one (fem)', with original long -α- [a:] preserved after -i- [i] (contrast Ionic μιῆς [miɛ̂:s]). It is typical of such Attic infiltration that it seems first to have affected

'small' grammatical words, where the process would have been largely subconscious, or to have involved the use of technical terminology in a legal or other institutional context in which earlier Athenian jurisdiction and continuing influence would have standardized the Attic forms.

Similar observations can be made about dialect inscriptions from other areas during the course of the 4th century, as the impact of Great Attic becomes steadily more visible through the encroachment of interference phenomena. We may note, for example, the use of Athenian legal terminology, albeit in dialect guise, such as ὐπόδικον [upódikon] 'liable to trial/forfeit' in IG XII 2 1, a monetary agreement in Lesbian between the city of Mytilene and Ionic-speaking Phocaea dating from the first half of the 4th century, or the appearance of typically Attic phraseology such as τῶν περὶ Πύρρωνα δαμιοργῶν [to:n peri púrrho:na da:miorgô:n] 'the demiurgi (officials) under Pyrrhon', complete with Attic περί [peri] for local πάρ [par], in an Elean inscription of 335 BC (Schwyzer 424). As the dominant position of Athens, politically and culturally, became increasingly apparent, more and more educated people became familiar with written Attic, official and literary, and this growing familiarity translated itself steadily into direct influence on the formal expression of official business in dialect inscriptions from all parts of the Greek-speaking world.

The particularly rapid convergence between Attic and Ionic at the official level must have been complemented by the fact that most of the subject peoples of the Athenian empire in the 5th century BC were Ionic speakers who had to deal routinely with Attic-speaking Athenian officials and with Athenian administrative documents composed in Attic. It was, furthermore, Athenian practice to send out colonies ('cleruchies') to imperial territories, where speakers of Attic and Ionic then mixed freely. Conversely, many Ionic speakers inevitably had to come to Athens on business, and some took up residence there alongside other aliens who had been drawn to what was rapidly emerging as the principal commercial and educational centre of the Greek world. The consequential rapid change in the city vernacular during the 5th century naturally prompted complaints from elderly conservatives about the degenerate state of the contemporary language (cf. The Old Oligarch/(Xenophon) *Athenaion Politeia* 2.7: cf. Cassio (1981)).

It should not, then, be surprising, given the close genetic relationship between Attic and Ionic and the early onset of convergence set in train by Athenian administration of much of Ionic-speaking territory, that Ionic should be the first of the classical dialects to disappear as a distinct variety from the written record before the relentless spread of Great Attic (Ionic is effectively defunct as an official dialect by c.300 BC). We should not, however, forget that this expanded form of Attic had itself incorporated far-reaching Ionic influences in its own developmental phase, and that this was the form of Attic that was shortly to evolve into the Hellenistic Koine.

Notes

1 As the son of a Syracusan metic (resident alien) he was not allowed to speak himself, apart from a brief period in 403 BC when he enjoyed citizen rights.

2 It may be significant, however, that the observation about dative plurals applies specifically to the proper name Ἀθηναίοισ(ι) [at^hɛ:naíois(i)]), in which self-conscious archaism in the

context of a formal oath is perhaps most naturally to be expected (the form πειθόμενοις [pe:tʰómenois] 'obeying (dat)' appears alongside this in the Athenian oath). The fact that individual Athenians propose both the formal text of the oaths and the further clauses is probably less significant, since a formal oath is a formal oath, and as such subject to traditional stylistic conventions (even if not entirely consistently applied). Cf. Méndez Dosuna (2000).

4

Greek in the Hellenistic World

4.1 Introduction

During the latter half of the 4th century BC the kingdom of Macedonia first became the controlling power in mainland Greece, and then, through the spectacular conquests of Alexander III ('the Great', 356–323 BC), acquired control of the whole of the eastern Mediterranean, including Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt, and finally extended its rule throughout the former Persian empire to the borders of India. Great new cities were founded in the conquered territories, most notably Alexandria in Egypt, Pergamum in Asia Minor, and Antioch in Syria, and Greek culture and language were spread as far as the plains of the Punjab.

Curiously there was no consensus in antiquity as to whether the Macedonians were themselves of Greek origin or not, with Herodotus perhaps in favour of the proposition (I.56, VIII.43) and Thucydides against (IV.124–7). But as the growing power of Macedonia under Philip II began to threaten the autonomy of the Greek city states in the 4th century BC, the argument became intensely politicized, and those who advocated a strong military response to the growing threat, such as the Athenian orator Demosthenes, were in no doubt that they were 'barbarians' (i.e. non-Greek speakers, cf. *Olynthiacs* III 24). There is in fact evidence to suggest that Macedonian was not readily understood by most Greeks (e.g. Plutarch, *Alexander* 51 4), and this fact alone would distinguish it from the Greek dialects that were discussed earlier, since we never hear otherwise of Greeks being unable to understand one another (e.g. at panhellenic festivals). We should not, however, discount the possibility that what is being described in such sources as 'Macedonian' is in fact the language of Paeonian, Illyrian or Epirote subjects of the Macedonian king.

For what it is worth, the few fragments we have of what is alleged to be the Macedonian language suggest that it was either a highly aberrant Greek dialect or an Indo-European dialect very closely related to Greek, perhaps representing the speech of a group who had become detached from the majority of the invaders who, further south, eventually became speakers of Greek during the first half of the second millennium BC (cf. chapter 1, and see Kretschmer (1896: 283–8)). It had, for example, apparently failed to undergo certain otherwise 'common' Greek sound changes, such as the de-voicing of the voiced aspirated series of plosives standardly reconstructed for

Indo-European, but to have de-aspirated them instead. We therefore find Macedonian names such as Βερ(ε)νίκη [ber(e)ní:kɛ:] instead of Φερενίκη [pʰerení:kɛ:], 'Bringer-of-victory', where the first element derives from the Indo-European root **bher-*, 'bear/carry' (cf. 1.1, (1a)). For further discussion see Kalléris (1954, 1976), Katičič (1976), Crossland (1982), Sakellaríou (1983) and Sowa (2006).[1]

Whatever the truth of the matter, the Macedonian dialect/language clearly lacked the prestige necessary to serve as the linguistic and cultural concomitant to Macedonian imperial ambition. But Attic, as the dialect of the culturally dominant city of classical Greece, already widely in use outside its region of origin as a literary and administrative language, obviously suited the purpose. It was therefore entirely natural that the Macedonian kings, in search of a 'civilization' to underpin their growing military and political power, should have established the study of classical Greek literature, much of it in literary Attic, as a central plank of their education system and adopted contemporary Great Attic as their own official language of state. Though this formally took place during the reign of Philip II (360/59–336 BC), the introduction of Greek civilization from the south had in fact begun during the late 5th century BC, when the Athenian tragic poet Euripides, along with other famous artists of the period, had spent time at the court of King Archelaus. This Atticization of the Macedonian aristocracy was to be the crucial factor in the future history of the Greek language, since, continued Athenian cultural prestige notwithstanding, the emergence of Great Attic as a true national language (the Koine) would surely have been long delayed, or even prevented altogether, without the substitution of the military and political power of Macedonia for the declining influence of Athens.

Alexander's conquests ushered in the Hellenistic age, which is conventionally dated from his death in 323 BC to the battle of Actium in 31 BC, in which the forces of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII, the last Greco-Macedonian monarch of Egypt, were defeated by Octavian, soon to be the first acknowledged Roman emperor with the title Augustus. It should be noted, however, that Roman involvement in the Greek world had begun very much earlier (see 5.1), and that a clear dividing line between the later Hellenistic and Roman periods cannot easily be drawn.

In the early Hellenistic period the conquered territories were quickly divided among a number of hereditary monarchies, though a few well-established kingdoms in Asia Minor managed to retain their autonomy, notably Bithynia and Pontus on the southern shores of the Black Sea, and Cappadocia in central Anatolia. The major dynasties included the Antigonids of Macedonia, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria and Persia. Since the Macedonian aristocracy had long been Atticized, the study of classical literature remained central to the Hellenistic education system, and the Koine or 'common' written language of the Hellenistic world, employed from the outset as an official language by the new Macedonian rulers of the East, was simply the product of the natural evolution of Great Attic within its extended new environment.

4.2 The Koine as an Extension of Great Attic

Since it has been argued on theoretical grounds (Frösén (1974)) that the Koine was in fact a creolized version of Attic which grew out of a putative Attic 'pidgin' used in the

Athenian empire in the 5th century BC, it is important to stress that, quite apart from the inherent implausibility of such a pidgin in the Attic-Ionic context, where the dialects were not only mutually comprehensible but genetically very closely related, all the empirical evidence points to its being essentially the established language of commerce, diplomacy and officialdom, a variety distinct even from the Attic vernacular of the Athenian lower classes let alone the kind of pidgin put in the mouth of the Scythian archer by Aristophanes in the *Thesmophoriazousae* (cf. Brixhe (1988a, 1990, 1993b), Brixhe and Hodot (1993), López-Eire (1986, 1993)).

Thus the language of the decrees of the Macedonian kings is in practice indistinguishable from the 'evolved' Great Attic/Koine already familiar from the official inscriptions of a number of Greek cities outside Athens in the same period (see, for example, SIG 286, a treaty between Olbia, on the north coast of the Black Sea, and its mother city Miletus in Ionia, dated c.330 BC). This is quite clear from an example such as the decree in (1) below (Nachmanson HGI 52), in which, after his victory over the Persians at the river Granicus in 334 BC, Alexander makes arrangements for the residents of Naulochum (the old port of the Ionian city of Priene in Asia Minor). The stone is fragmentary, though modern editors have supplied likely restorations for at least some of the lacunae:

(1) βασιλέως 'Αλ[εξάνδ]ρου. τῶν ἐν Ναυλόχῳ κ[ατοικούν]των ὅσοι μέν εἰσι [Πριηνεῖ]ς αὐτο[νό]μους εἶναι [καὶ ἐλευθ]έρους, ἔχ[οντ]ας τήν τ[ε γῆν κ]αὶ τὰς οἰκίας τὰς ἐν τ[ῆ π]όλει πά[σας] καὶ τὴγ χώραν· ὅ[σο]ι [δὲ μὴ] Πριηνε[ῖς, οἰκ]εῖ[ν ἐν κώμαις], αἷς ἄν δέω[νται αὐτοί]· ... χώραν [γ]ινώσκω ἐμὴν εἶναι. τοὺς δὲ κατοικοῦντας ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ταύταις φέρειν τοὺς φόρους· τῆς δὲ συντάξεως ἀφίημι τὴμ Πριηνέωμ πόλιν, καὶ τὴμ φρου[ρὰ]ν ...

[basiléo:s aleksándru:. to:n en naulók^{h}o:i katoikú:nto:n hósoi
Of-king Alexander. Of-those in Naulochum living as-many-as
men e:si priɛ:nê:s autonómu:s ê:nai kaì eleut^{h}éru:s, ék^{h}ontas
on-the-one-hand are Prienians autonomous to-be and free, having
tɛ:n te gɛ̂:n kai ta:s oikía:s ta:s en tɛ:i póle: pá:sa:s kai tɛ:ŋ
the both land and the houses those in the city all and the
k^{h}ó:ra:n; hósoi de mɛ̀: priɛ:nê:s, oikê:n eŋ kó:mais, hais an
country-estate; as-many-as but not Prienians, to-live in villages, which ever
déo:ntai autoí; ... k^{h}ó:ra:n gi:nó:sko: emɛ̀:n ê:nai. tu:s de
they-request themselves; ... estate I-determine mine to-be. Those but
katoikû:ntas en tais kó:mais taútais p^{h}ére:n tu:s p^{h}óru:s; tɛ:s de
living in the villages these to-pay the tribute; from-the but
syntákseo:s ap^{h}íɛ:mi tɛ:m priɛ:néo:m pólin, kai tɛ:m p^{h}ru:rá:n ...]
contribution I-release the of-the Prienians city, and the garrison

'(*Decree*) of king Alexander. (*I command that*) all of those living in Naulochum who are Prienian citizens shall be autonomous and free, retaining both their land and all the houses in the city and their country estates; but all those who are not Prienian citizens shall live in whatever villages they themselves request; ... I decree to be my own estate. (*I also command that*) those living in these villages shall pay tribute; but I exempt the city of the Prienians from the contribution, and the garrison ...'

The only clear marker of the Koine here is the use of γινώσκω [gi:nó:sko:] for classical Attic γιγνώσκω [giŋnó:sko:], an originally Ionic form that had passed into the everyday/official written language of the Greek world but not the more literary registers of Attic. Indeed, the documents of Macedonian officialdom are often hard to distinguish linguistically from those of contemporary Athens, displaying such characteristically Attic features as:

(2) (a) The change of *[a:] > [ɛ:] except after ι/ε/ρ [i/e/r] (the change applies across the board in Ionic).
(b) Regular contraction of εα/εο [ea/eo] > η/ου [e:/u:] (often uncontracted in Ionic, or with synizesis).
(c) The conditional conjunction ἐάν/ἄν [ea:n/a:n] 'if' (Ionic has ἤν [ɛ:n]).
(d) The gen sg of masc a-stem (1st declension) nouns in -ου [-u:] (Ionic has -εω [-e̯o]).
(e) The gen sg of i-stem and eu-stem nouns in -εως [-e̯o:s] and -έως [-éo:s] respectively (cf. βασιλέως [basiléo:s] above: Ionic often has -ιος [-ios] and -έος [-éos]).
(f) The participle of the verb 'to be' is ὤν [ó:n] (Ionic has ἐών [eó:n]).
(g) The use of ἤνεγκα [έ:neŋka] as aorist of φέρω [pʰéro:] 'I carry' (Ionic has ἤνεικα [έne:ka]).
(h) The use of μείζων [mé:zdo:n] 'bigger', κοινός [koinós] 'common', ἐκεῖνος [ekê:nos] 'that' (Ionic has μέζων [mézdo:n], ξυνός [ksunós], κεῖνος [kê:nos]).

None the less, a number of 'local' Attic features are either missing or of highly restricted occurrence in the expanded, panhellenic version of administrative Attic used outside Athens/Attica, and Macedonian Attic is no exception. Thus in addition to the use of γινώσκω [gi:nó:sko:] 'I know/judge', and γίνομαι [gí:nomai] 'I become', with the simplification of Attic -γν- [-ŋn-] mentioned above, we may also note:

(3) (a) Preference for -σσ-/-ρσ- [ss/rs] over -ττ-/-ρρ- [tt/rr].
(b) Common avoidance of contraction where it would produce an anomalous paradigm: e.g. ὀστέον [ostéon] 'bone' is often preferred to ὀστοῦν [ostû:n], to maintain conformity with the regular paradigm of 2nd-declension neuters in -ον [-on].
(c) Much regularization of once irregular verbs, by which the stem of the sg is carried over to the pl: e.g. οἴδαμεν [oîdamen] etc. for ἴσμεν [ízmen] 'we know', after οἶδα [oîda] 'I know'; ἐδώκαμεν [edó:kamen] etc. for ἔδομεν [édomen] 'we gave', after ἔδωκα [édo:ka] 'I gave', etc. (cf. 3.2).
(d) More limited use of the optative mood (very widely employed not only to express wishes but also in a range of subordinate clauses in 'past-time' contexts in classical Attic).

Such traits, mainly of Ionic origin, represent simplifications or regularizations of their traditional Attic counterparts, and having passed into Great Attic during the course of the 5th and 4th centuries BC continued straightforwardly into the Koine.

Even Athenian Attic assimilated some of these into its literary registers (partly because of Ionic literary precedent but also because of their progressive naturalization in the educated spoken Attic of the time), and they eventually also began to appear, at first sporadically, in official Athenian documents as the prestige of Great Attic/Koine began to outstrip that of the local form of the dialect (cf. chapter 3).

There is, however, one apparently non-Attic (and non-Ionic) feature of the Koine which calls for special comment. A particular subset of words which had undergone first the Attic-Ionic shift of *[a:] > [ɛ:] and then the Attic change of quantitative metathesis had produced an anomalous paradigm (the so-called 'Attic' declension); thus where most dialects had λαός [la:ós] 'people' and ναός [na:ós] 'temple', normal Attic had λεώς [leó:s] and νεώς [neó:s]. But Great Attic in part, and the Koine quite regularly, employ the former in preference to the 'genuine' Attic variants except when the words appear as the first element of compounds so that no declensional difficulties arise. The reason once again is quite clearly the desire to avoid morphological irregularity (regular 2nd-declension masculine nouns end in -ος [-os]). But while it is doubtless true that this represents the 'natural' selection of the 'majority' Greek forms against the 'parochial' Attic(-Ionic) ones, it does seem strange, given the general dialectal make-up of Great Attic/Koine.

We should note here that a number of other words with original [a:] also find their way into the Koine without there being any parallel morphological justification. Examples include ὀπαδός [opa:dós] 'attendant', still used in Modern Greek, and various compounds involving the root of the verb ἄγω [ágo:] 'lead', such as ποδαγός/ὁδαγός [poda:gós]/[hoda:gós] 'guide', though these latter were employed alongside the corresponding 'Attic' forms with -η- [ɛ:]. It is surely not accidental in this connection that the Attic tragedians also routinely employed the 'common' Greek forms of these particular words with [a:], or that some of them then appear later in Athenian comedy and prose (cf. 2.2.5). The conclusion seems inescapable that this set of items containing [a:], originally characteristic of a particular variety of literary Attic, and perhaps first borrowed from an earlier dramatic tradition of Dorian Sicily, had begun to find their way into ordinary speech and even official documents during the later 5th century BC (just like many of the Ionic-inspired simplifications in (3)), and that these had passed into Great Attic/Koine as being the 'Attic' forms that not only corresponded to majority dialect practice but in crucial cases avoided a parochial morphological anomaly. It is important to note that the Koine cannot have incorporated these words directly from West Greek or Aeolic sources, despite standard views to the contrary, since there is simply no reason why dialects which otherwise made no substantive contribution to the formation of the Koine should have been plundered for just this otherwise random set of words.

4.3 The Impact and Status of the Koine

What has been said so far has concentrated on the Koine as a written standard. It was, however, also increasingly spoken throughout the Greek world, first by the upper and middle classes as a common language of business and social interaction, and then more generally. The uniformity of the written Koine in its higher registers across a vast

geographical area almost certainly implies a corresponding homogeneity in the speech of the Greek elite as far as lexicon, syntax and morphology are concerned, though we may safely assume that there were regional differences at least in pronunciation.

Within 'old' Greece this expansion of the Koine naturally took place at the expense of the ancient dialects, written and spoken, while in the new Hellenistic kingdoms the Koine was from the first the only written standard, and the spoken language of the Greco-Macedonian aristocracy. It was soon learned widely by non-native speakers (though not always perfectly), and it inevitably shaped the development of spoken Greek among the colonists who went out from many different parts of Greece to populate the newly founded cities. It is essential, then, to see the Koine not only as the standard written and spoken language of the upper classes (periodically subject to influences from belletristic classical Attic), but also more abstractly as a superordinate variety standing at the pinnacle of a pyramid comprising an array of lower-register varieties, spoken and occasionally written, which, in rather different ways in the old and the new Greek worlds, evolved under its influence and thereafter derived their identity through their subordinate relationship to it (cf. Cardona (1990), Consani (1991)). These developments will be surveyed in more detail in the next two sections.

4.4 The Fate of the Ancient Greek Dialects

4.4.1 Introduction

In the Hellenistic period the Greek city states lost much of their former autonomy, and what had been 'national' governments became little more than town councils. The Hellenistic monarchs controlled the international affairs of the Greek world and between them imposed a degree of centralized government on most of the old cities and their colonies. In 'old' Greece, therefore, an inevitable consequence of the routine conduct of business in the Koine, backed up by an education system based on the reading of 'classical' authors, including many writers in Attic, was a steady decline in the status of the local dialects, which eventually became purely spoken varieties, characteristic of the uneducated population of remote areas, before finally dying out altogether in late antiquity.

During the transitional period, however, even the middle and upper classes still spoke their local dialects at home, and also continued to write them for a time when dealing with local affairs. But the prevailing diglossia (see Ferguson (1959) for the term) is clearly manifested in the ever-growing Koine interference in dialect inscriptions of the era (cf. Bubeník (1989) for a study of the top-down 'Koineization' of the dialects). By Roman imperial times, written dialect had been largely abandoned apart from 'revivals' (most notably in Laconia, cf. Bourguet (1927), and Lesbos, cf. Cassio (1986), Hodot (1990)) representing temporary elevations of spoken patois, perhaps under the stimulus of Roman imperial policy (essentially 'divide and rule').

4.4.2 Koineization: the case of Boeotian

The general situation is well illustrated by the collection of Boeotian manumission decrees dating from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. These grant freedom to slaves in

return for a payment, the act of manumission often taking the form of a dedication or sale to the divinity of a local shrine who then serves as guarantor. As might be expected in the light of what has been said above, some of these documents are in dialect (as befits documents of purely local significance), some are in the Koine (as the 'standard' administrative language), and some are in a mixture of the two; unfortunately it is still difficult to reconstruct the detailed sociolinguistics of this complex situation, and what is needed, both for Boeotia and elsewhere, is a detailed analysis of the inscriptional corpora in the light of modern sociohistorical studies (see now Vottéro (1996, 2006)).

A good example of the dialectally mixed category of inscription is provided by IG VII 3352 from Chaeronea:

(4) .... Διουκλεῖς κὴ Κωτίλα ἀντίθεντι τὰν Ϝιδίαν θρεπτάν, ἧ ὄνιουμα Ζωπουρίνα, ἱαρ[ὰν] τεῖ Σεράπει, παραμείνασαν αὐτεῖς ἇς κα ζῶνθι ἀνενκλείτως, τὰν ἀνάθεσιν ποιούμενει διὰ τῶ σ[ο]υνεδρίω κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

[... diuklê:s kɛ: ko:tíla: antít^{h}enti ta:n widía:n t^{h}reptán, hɛ: ónjuma
Diocles and Cotila dedicate the their-own slave, to-whom name
zo:purí:na:, hiarà:n te: serápe:, paramé:na:san aute:s hâ:s ka:
Zopurina, holy to-the Serapis, remaining(acc fem sg) with-them until ever
zô:nt^{h}i aneŋklé:to:s, ta:n anát^{h}esin pojú:mene: dia to: sunhedrío:
they-live without-reproach, the offering making(nom pl) through the council
kata ton nómon.]
according-to the law

'Diocles and Cotila dedicate their slave, whose name is Zopurina, to the safe keeping of Serapis, provided that she has remained in service with them blamelessly for as long as they live; they make this dedication through the council according to the law.'

A few words about the orthography of Boeotian inscriptions are in order at this point, since this contrasts sharply with Attic practice. The old Attic orthography had naturally been based on the speech of the Athenian aristocracy, and this remained the case after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet at the end of the 5th century BC (cf. Teodorsson (1974)). Subsequently the existence of a 'classic' literature (regarded as a panhellenic possession), together with the widespread use of Attic outside Attica as a written language (for both creative writing and official business), resulted in an early conservative standardization of the orthography, so that even when sound change began to affect upper-class Athenian speech, the spelling conventions of what had become the panhellenic written standard inevitably remained fixed according to classical precedent; it was clearly impossible, and in the case of classic texts undesirable, for the orthography to be adapted locally to reflect the pronunciation of all who used it.

By contrast, Boeotian, in the absence of any prestigious literary tradition or 'national' status as a written language, seems to have regularly adapted its orthography in line with sound change, both before and especially after the introduction of the Ionic alphabet (Morpurgo Davies (1993)). Accordingly, certain sound changes in Boeotian, some of which probably also characterized the lower registers of local Attic at roughly

the same time (see chapter 6 for details), but for which we have to seek indirect evidence in the form of spelling mistakes in subliterary documents, are directly represented in official as well as private Boeotian inscriptions.

Particularly striking in (4) above are the monophthongization of /ai/ to /ɛ:/, written -η- (e.g. in κή [kɛ:] 'and'), and the associated, chain-effect, raising of original /ɛ:/ to /e:/, written -ει- (e.g. in Διουκλεῖς [diuklê:s]). These are both features in which Boeotian seems to 'anticipate' developments in Attic and the Koine, though in fact it may well be that the apparent time lag has been exaggerated by the camouflaging effects of the standardized Attic orthography. Other typical Boeotian characteristics include:

(5) (a) The preservation of /w/, e.g. in Ϝιδίαν [widían].
(b) The apocopation of prepositions/preverbs (as in ἀν-τίθε-ντι [an-títʰe-nti], where Attic would have ἀνα- [ana-]).
(c) The preservation of original [t] in the 3pl suffix in the same form (where East Greek assibilated to [s], a development often involving further changes, cf. chapter 1), and its occasional aspiration to [-tʰi] (e.g. in ζῶνθι [zô:ntʰi] 'they live' (subjunctive) under the influence of 3pl middle forms -νθι [-ntʰi]/-νθο [-ntʰo], having themselves borrowed the aspiration from 1pl/2pl -μεθα [-metʰa]/-σθε [stʰe]).
(d) The use of the West Greek modal particle κα [ka:] (where East Greek uses ἄν [an]).
(e) The monophthongization of original /oi/ to /e:/, as in masc dat pl αὐτεῖς [aute:s].

The spelling change in (5e) began in the early 2nd century BC and perhaps represents the completion of a series of shifts [oi] > [øi] > [ø:] > [e:]. The letter υ is used to represent the penultimate stage in earlier Boeotian inscriptions; this denotes [y(:)] in Attic, but presumably [ø:] in Boeotian, given that the loss of lip-rounding leads here to [e:] not [i:] (cf. Méndez Dosuna (1988, 1989). The corresponding changes ([oi] > [øi] > [ø:] > [y:] > [i:]) may also have gone through in popular Athenian Attic by the 4th century BC (cf. Teodorsson (1974: 286ff)), but the process took many more centuries to be completed in the Koine, based as it was on more conservative, higher-register varieties (see chapter 6).

Alongside the Boeotian characteristics in (5), however, there are also a number of clear Koine forms:

(6) (a) Non-apocopated preverbs and prepositions are also used (e.g. in παρα-μείνασαν [para-mé:na:san] and κατὰ τὸν νόμον [kata ton nómon]).
(b) Original initial [zd-], written ζ-, had evolved to [z-] in the Koine but to [d-] in Boeotian; the Koine form appears in ζῶνθι [zô:ntʰi].
(c) The original form of the participle ποιούμενει [pojú:mene:] was ποιε-όμενοι [poje-ómenoi]. In Boeotian antevocalic [e] was subject to synizesis, and eventually the non-syllabic [e] became a glide [j], spelled ι, giving ποι(ι)όμεν-υ/-ει [poj(j)ómen-ø:/-e:]; in Attic/Koine, by contrast, [e] and [o] contracted to give [u:]. The form ποιούμενει [pojú:mene:] is a conflation, involving a Boeotian pronunciation of the Koine form.

In general, it is easy to imagine how a higher education system involving the study of Attic authors combined with an ever greater use of the Koine for ordinary business transactions and administration to lead to the progressive adoption of Attic-style detail even in dialect writing and speech among the educated classes. Eventually the borderline between a version of Boeotian heavily influenced by the Koine and a local version of the Koine with residual Boeotian features and a local pronunciation was crossed; and a similar pattern of development can be traced throughout the areas of old dialect speech.

For the first time the notion of 'Greek', which hitherto had unified the dialects only as an abstraction, acquired a more or less concrete instantiation in the form of the standard written, and increasingly spoken, Koine (cf. Morpurgo Davies (1987)). Henceforth the local spoken dialects and their written variants came steadily to be subsumed under this unifying standard, and in their higher registers approximated ever more closely to it. True dialect writing thus disappeared, partly through erosion, but ultimately as a conscious choice in the face of the international prestige of the Koine and the diminished status of the local varieties. At the same time genuine dialect speech (as opposed to dialect-influenced Koine) became increasingly restricted to the illiterate population of country districts, and even there eventually succumbed, though in varying degrees, to the now irresistible influence of the common tongue. But the emergence of a standard should not blind us to the protracted existence of these variably Koineized spoken varieties, and it is clear that many of the (rural) spoken dialects of modern Greek, in so far as these still survive as distinct variants beneath the 'umbrella' of standard Modern Greek, descend ultimately from regional forms of the Koine that first emerged during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

4.4.3 Doric koines: Tsakonian

One particularly strong dialect 'survival' is worthy of mention at this point. In most Doric dialect inscriptions we find evidence of some Attic influence by the late 4th century BC, but there gradually evolved more standardized written Doric varieties, stripped of major local peculiarities and with a non-haphazard (i.e. consciously selected) Attic/Koine admixture, which prevailed in official use in the last three centuries BC, and which can be viewed as temporary Dorian rivals to the Attic-based Koine of the period.

The first such Doric koine (some prefer koina), based on the power of the island of Rhodes as the principal emporium of the eastern Mediterranean and major trading partner of Ptolemaic Egypt, was employed for a time in official documents throughout the southern Aegean islands in which Doric dialects were traditionally spoken (though see Bile (2006) for a sceptical assessment of its alleged distinctiveness and significance). The second Doric koine was associated with the political activity of the Achaean league (c.280–146 BC), a federation of Peloponnesian townships south of the Gulf of Corinth, which had been formed initially to resist the power of Macedonia but eventually found itself appealing for Macedonian help against the Spartans. A similar situation prevailed in north-western Greece, where we find a parallel adaptation and standardization based on the North-West Greek dialects, again with a controlled Attic/Koine mixture. The use of this written variety was again closely associated with the political power of a federation, this time the Aetolian league (c.290–146 BC), whose purpose was also to achieve a degree of political independence from Macedonia, but which found itself

fighting the Achaeans after they had enlisted Macedonian aid against Sparta. It was employed for a time not only in Aetolia and in official decrees of the league, but also in Locris, Phocis, Doris, Malis, and those parts of the Peloponnese that fell temporarily under Aetolian domination. Finally we may note the resistance of West Greek in southern Italy and Sicily to the encroachments of the Koine, in part due to the relative isolation of the area from the Greek mainstream and in part to earlier convergence and consolidation of written varieties based on the power of Syracuse (see Consani (1996), Mimbrera (2006)).

These West Greek written standards are clear testimony to the exceptional underlying tenacity of Doric speech and Dorian identity in the face of the spread of the Attic-based Koine. Indeed, we hear of dialect speakers well into the Christian era, particularly in Rhodes (Suetonius *Tiberius* 56) and the less accessible parts of the Peloponnese (Strabo 8. 1. 2, Dio Chrysostom *Orations* 1. 54, Pausanias 4. 27. 11). Though progressively Koineized as time went on, clear Doric substrate features, particularly lexical items and toponyms preserving the original -ᾱ- [aː] in contexts where Attic/Koine has -η- [ɛː] (modern [i]), persist in the Modern Greek dialects of a number of areas of traditional Doric speech (see Kapsoménos (1958: 26–31)).

The most striking example, however, is that of Tsakonian, spoken (though now exclusively in conjunction with standard Modern Greek) in villages on the north-eastern slopes of Mount Parnon in the Peloponnese. Despite having undergone very considerable influence from the Koine and its later local descendants, this dialect has retained an unusually large number of features of ancient Laconian type (cf. Bourguet (1927), Pernot (1934), Kostákis (1951, 1980), Kapsoménos (1958), Charalambópoulos (1980)), and we can perhaps see here a unique survival of the kind of intermediate phase that all other local dialects went through in antiquity before finally losing their identity to the Koine.

4.5 The Koine in the Hellenistic Kingdoms

The establishment of Greek civilization in vast new territories demanded a high-prestige vehicle for its expression, a role which only Great Attic/Koine and its ‘classical’ literary counterpart could perform. This combination obviously fulfilled an important unifying function, particularly for the Greco-Macedonian elite, by cementing in place the idea of a common Greek culture based on a common intellectual heritage expressed in a common Greek language. Furthermore, in territories without a Greek past or traditional city-state loyalties, the top-down imposition of the Koine by the ruling dynasties and their aristocratic courts very quickly began to shape the development of new forms of Greek among the dialectally heterogeneous immigrant masses from old Greece, most of whom in fact came from areas where dialects other than Attic and Ionic were spoken. Their native speech, uprooted by the simple fact of emigration, had no status in the new communities, and the result was a fairly rapid process of homogenization in which army service, where the Koine was the sole language of command, played a vital role. Thus written documents showing traces of the old dialects are exclusively early (e.g. Egyptian papyri of the 4th century BC, such as UPZ I 1), and it seems that the common language was widely adopted not only as a written but also

as a spoken medium by the immigrant population during the course of the 3rd century BC, though in the latter case almost certainly alongside native varieties for at least a time. Lines 87–95 in Theocritus' poem number XV, for example, strongly imply that a form of Doric was still used by the Dorian immigrants of Alexandria in the 3rd century (see Ruijgh (1984) for an assessment of Theocritus' Doric).

Already spoken by the Greco-Macedonian elite and increasingly by the immigrant Greek population as a whole, the Koine soon came to be used (with varying levels of competence and interference) by sectors of the indigenous populations too, especially, but by no means exclusively, in the heavily Hellenized cities. A knowledge of Greek was clearly essential for employment in the army or the civil service at any level, and doing any kind of business with Greek speakers presupposed at least a minimal command of the language. In this regard, we are very fortunate that ancient papyri from Egypt (see below) provide us with a wide cross-section of text-types reflecting both formal and informal styles of composition by both Greeks/Macedonians and native Egyptians. While some are clearly the work of barely literate authors of non-Greek origin, the majority of the informal documents composed by and for Egyptians in Greek, despite the fact that they come from areas outside the capital, in fact display a surprisingly competent knowledge of the language. This suggests that the process of Hellenization, including some exposure to traditional education at a basic level, had progressed quite quickly and efficiently. Thus even those who have difficulties with the orthography, reflecting the widening gulf between classical spelling and contemporary speech in later periods, almost always control morphology, syntax and lexicon with some facility, and the differences between official and more informal private documents do not generally stem from imperfect knowledge, but simply reflect differences of stylistic level that are paralleled in other areas, and so provide us with valuable insights into the evolution of popular forms of Greek in the period.

Thus the Great Attic/Koine employed by the Greco-Macedonian aristocracy for both speaking and writing quickly shaped the development of a broad spectrum of subordinate spoken and written varieties. As the only official variety of Greek, it was for all practical purposes the only form of the language worth learning, and all local vernaculars, whether reflecting regional dialects of Greek still spoken by incoming soldiers and tradesmen, or the product of interference between the Koine and native languages, were increasingly perceived as no more than substandard variants of the superordinate Koine. And once the Koine had become firmly established in the new territories, it naturally began to develop independently of the local Attic of Attica, which, in accordance with the loss of political power under Macedonian hegemony, and eventually even of cultural prestige in the face of the rise of the major new centres of learning such as Alexandria and Pergamum, itself came eventually to accept the 'common' forms involved.

4.6 The Koine as an Official Language

4.6.1 Introduction

While it is true that the education system, based on the study of classical literature, encouraged classicizing tendencies in even official documents, particularly when these

were designed to impress upon the world the achievements of an imperial dynasty or dealt in a public way with issues of national or international importance, the vast majority of official documents concern more routine matters, and display a clear pattern of linguistic evolution in their own right, involving a continuous compromise between natural developments in the educated spoken language and a certain conservativism of usage characterized by traditional 'markers' of the official style, and permitting formulaic variants determined by 'genre' (e.g. imperial edicts, public proclamations, reports of official inquiries, judicial proceedings and petitions, contracts and tenders, official correspondence, etc.). Good examples of the official/business Greek of the Hellenistic period are provided by the collections of inscriptions from the great cities of Asia Minor, specifically Magnesia (Nachmanson (1903), Thieme (1906)), Priene (Dienstbach (1910), Stein (1915)), Pergamum (Schweizer (1898)) and Miletus (Scherer (1934)). There is also Dittenberger's *Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae* (1903), while for Egypt we have a wealth of Ptolemaic, and later Roman imperial, papyri (Grenfell et al. (1898–1994); a representative selection of the public documents is conveniently compiled in Hunt and Edgar (1934)).

Since the upper classes spoke a conservative variety of the Koine and the classical orthography in any case remained unchanged, the spelling of these documents is much less revealing of phonological developments than is that of the more heterogeneous private documents (cf. 4.8 and 4.9). None the less, the beginnings of a real gap between (classical) Attic and the official Koine in terms of grammar and lexicon can still be discerned from as early as the end of the 3rd century BC, and this gap widens steadily as we pass into the later Hellenistic and Roman periods.

4.6.2 Macedonian Koine: the development of infinitival constructions

We may consider first the extracts in (7) from two letters of the Macedonian king Philip V, dated 219 and 214 BC respectively, to the city of Lárisa in Thessaly, and included in the text of a decree of that city (IG IX.ii.517):

(7) (a) ἐνεφάνιζόν μοι ὅτι καὶ ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις … προσδεῖται πλεόνων οἰκητῶν· … ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος κρίνω ψηφίσασθαι ὑμᾶς ὅπως τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν παρ' ὑμῖν Θεσσαλῶν … δοθῆι πολιτεία.

(b) πυνθάνομαι τοὺς πολιτογραφηθέντας κατὰ τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιστολὴν … ἐκκεκολάφθαι· εἴπερ οὖν ἐγεγόνει τοῦτο, ἠστοχήκεισαν οἱ συνβουλεύσαντες ὑμῖν … τοῦ συμφέροντος τῆι πατρίδι … ὅτι γὰρ πάντων κάλλιστόν ἐστιν … τήν τε πόλιν ἰσχύειν … , νομίζω μὲν οὐδ' ὑμῶν οὐθένα ἂν ἀντειπεῖν … πλ[ὴ]ν ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς ἀφιλοτίμως προσελθεῖν [πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τοὺς μὲν κεκριμένους … ἀποκαταστῆσαι εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν, εἰ δέ [τινες] … μὴ ἄξιοί εἰσιν, περὶ τούτων τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν ποιήσασθαι … · τοῖς μέντον κατηγορεῖν τούτων μέλλουσιν προείπατε ὅπως μὴ φανῶσιν διὰ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦτο ποιοῦντες.

[The following transcription is an attempted reconstruction of the standard educated pronunciation of the period; full details of the phonological developments involved are given in chapter 6.]

(a) [enep^{h}ánizón moi hoti kai he: hymetéra: pólis ... prozdî:tai
They-revealed to-me that also the your city ... needs
pleóno:n oike:tô:n; ... epi tu: paróntos krí:no: pse:p^{h}ísast^{h}ai hymâ:s hopo:s
more inhabitants; ... for the present I-judge vote(inf) you that
tois katoikû:sin par hymî:n t^{h}essalô:n ... dot^{h}ê: polité:a]
to-the living among you Thessalians ... be-given(subjunctive) citizenship.

'They revealed to me that your city too needs more inhabitants; for the present I decree that citizenship be granted to those of the Thessalians living among you.'

(b) [pynt^{h}ánomai tu:s poli:tograp^{h}e:t^{h}éntas kata te:m par
I-discover the having-been-enrolled-as-citizens according-to the from
emû: epistolè:n ... ekkekoláp^{h}t^{h}ai; é:per u:n egegóni: tû:to,
me letter ... to-have-been-erased; if-indeed then had-happened this,
e:stok^{h}é:ki:san hoi symbu:leúsantes hymîn ... tu: symp^{h}érontos te:
had-missed the having-advised you ... the best-interests for-the
patrídi ... hoti gar pánto:n kállistón estin ... te:n te pólin isk^{h}ýi:n ... ,
country ... That for of-all best is ... (for) the both city to-be-strong ... ,
nomízo: men u:d hymôn u:t^{h}éna an anti:pî:n ... plè:n éti de
I-think on-the-one-hand not-even of-you anyone would deny ... so still and
kaí nŷ:n parakaló: hy:mâ:s ap^{h}ilotí:mo:s proselt^{h} î:n pros to
even now I-call-upon you without-ambition to-approach to the
prâ:ŋma kai tu:s men kekriménu:s ... apokatastê:sai i:s te:m polité:an,
matter and the on-the-one-hand selected ... to-reinstate to the citizenship,
i: de tines ... mè: áksioí i:sin, peri tú:to:n te:n hypért^{h}esin
if but any ... not worthy are, concerning these the postponement
pojé:sast^{h}ai ... ; tois ménton kate:gorî:n tú:to:n méllu:sin proí:pate
make ... ; to-those however to-condemn these intending tell
hopo:s mè: p^{h}anô:sin dia p^{h}iloti:mía:n tû:to pojû:ntes.]
that not they-be-revealed for personal-ambition this doing.

'I discover that those who had been enrolled as citizens in accordance with my letter have been erased from the register. If indeed this is the case, those who advised you failed to promote the best interests of your country. For I do not think any one of you would deny that it is best of all for the city to be strong. So I persist even now in calling upon you to approach the matter without personal ambition and to restore their citizenship to those who had been selected, while postponing judgement on those who are unworthy; warn those about to condemn these people, however, not to be found to be acting in this way for reasons of personal ambition.'

The sometimes unexpected use of past-tense forms in letters (of the type: *I was well*; *I hope you are well too*, cf. the pluperfects in the conditional sentence at the beginning of (7b)) is due to the convention of taking the time of writing as a reference point for the temporal anchoring of 'background' events and circumstances peripheral to the 'core' information communicated: 'if (at the time I wrote my letter) this had (already) happened, then those who advised you had (already) missed the mark'. The perfect, however, is also often used in place of the expected aorist (past perfective) to denote events central to the narrative when their continuing relevance at the envisaged time of reading by the recipient is highlighted: thus 'I told X to do Y' becomes 'I have told

X to do Y' if this is not simply a piece of background information, and the writer wishes somehow to involve the recipient in the outcome.

Turning to specifics, a number of 'post-classical' features are already in evidence here. The following are perhaps most worthy of comment:

(8) (a) The use of a prepositional phrase in place of a possessive adjective or the genitive of a personal pronoun, as in τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιστολήν [te:m par emû: epistolè:n], lit. 'the from me letter', at the beginning of (6b); although the original source sense is clearly still appropriate here, expressions of this kind lie behind the later 'simple possessive' use that is highly characteristic of the official Koine.

(b) The use of οὐθείς [u:t^{h}î:s] 'no one' in (6b) in place of classical οὐδείς [u:dî:s], the latter representing the product of the prehistoric compounding of οὐδὲ and εἷς [u:dè + hê:s] 'not-even + one': [u:dè hê:s] > [u:de(h)é:s] > [u:dé:s] > [u:dí:s]. The innovative form probably originates with semantic weakening leading to a fresh composition of οὔτε εἷς 'neither/nor one': [ú:te hê:s] > [u:t^{h} hê:s] > [u:t^{h}hé:s] > [u:t^{h}í:s].[2] This replaces the classical form in Athenian inscriptions after 378 BC as a marker of 'Athenian' Attic, whence it passed for a time into Great Attic/Koine texts in recognition of the continuing prestige of Athens. Thereafter, Athenian Attic lost ground with the growth of the importance of the new Hellenistic cities and the classical form eventually superseded it as the written standard in the Koine. After c.60 BC this form was reintroduced into Athenian inscriptions too, in conformity with the now standard practice of the Koine.

(c) The form μέντον [ménton] has replaced classical μέντοι [méntoi] in the last sentence of (7b); this is usually explained as due to the influence of adverbs such as πρῶτον [prô:ton] 'first', λοιπόν [loipón] 'furthermore', etc.

(d) The suffix of the verb ἠστοχήκεισαν [e:stok^{h}é:ki:san], the 3pl pluperfect of ἀστοχῶ [astok^{h}ô:] 'miss the mark', contrasts with the classical ending -εσαν [-esan], and derives from the by now familiar generalization of singular patterns to the plural in paradigms showing allomorphy. In this case all the sg forms had a long e-vowel in classical Greek (1/2/3 = -η [-ɛ:]/-ης [-ɛ:s]/-ει [-e:]); in the Koine the -ει [-e:] of 3sg was generalized throughout the singular, and the plural fell into line.

(e) This last verb, along with πολιτογραφῶ [poli:tograp^{h}ô:] 'I enrol as a citizen' and the noun ὑπέρθεσις [hypért^{h}esis] 'postponement', are not attested classically; indeed the phrase ὑπέρθεσιν ποιεῖσθαι [hypért^{h}esin pojî:st^{h}ai] is expressly criticized by the later Atticist Julius Polydeuces (Pollux) as a Koine cliché (9. 137). Evidently official business quickly spawned a jargon of its own.

(f) The occasional replacement of the classical accusative and participle construction after 'factive' verbs of knowledge and perception (i.e. those whose complements necessarily express facts, e.g. lit. I know [him being in trouble] = 'I know that he is in trouble') with the more common accusative and infinitive construction, as in the first sentence of (7b), though

the latter is itself already under some pressure from alternative markers of complementation.

Indeed, from the point of view of the later history of Greek, the most important issue here concerns the spread of complement structures with finite verbs. In (7a), for example, the verb 'vote' is followed by a clause introduced by ὅπως [hópo:s] 'that', lit. 'how', + subjunctive. In classical Greek this construction was used to introduce a 'final' (purpose) clause, though the same conjunction could also be used with a future indicative after verbs of 'planning/organizing the future' (e.g. 'see to it [that/how X will happen]'). Though we might, by a simple extension, have expected the latter option after a verb such as 'vote', the classical language in fact used an infinitive, either alone ('vote [to X]') or with an accusative subject if this was distinct from the subject of the main verb ('vote [(for) X to do Y]').

A striking feature of the official Koine (and *a fortiori* of lower-level compositions) is the decline in the use of such accusative + infinitive constructions, which were employed classically both to complement verbs of 'saying' etc. (still used, for example, in the first sentence of (7b)) and, as in the example under discussion, to express intended future outcomes after potential 'control' verbs (i.e. those whose subjects or objects may 'control' the interpretation of the unexpressed subject of a future-referring infinitival complement: e.g. *I intend to leave* means 'I intend that I leave', etc.). In the former type the alternative, and syntactically simpler, classical construction of ὅτι [hóti] 'that' + indicative eventually superseded the infinitival option, while in the latter type, as here, it was the 'final' construction that predominated.

For the latter development, we may compare the very similar constructional overlap in English (*I voted [for him to go]/I voted [that he should go]*), and note that *that* may also serve as a final conjunction (albeit in rather archaic styles, and allowing a different choice of modal auxiliary: *He resigned, that his family should/might be spared more distress*). Such overlaps are very common, and a further familar example is provided by the uses of *ut* + subjunctive in Latin, *inter alia* a conjunction introducing final clauses and future-referring complements after control verbs such as *impero* 'order', etc. The last sentence in (7b) contains a similar subjunctive substitute for the classical infinitive after a verb of 'telling/warning'.

This particular development should be seen primarily as an internal simplification of the language by which a particular type of subordinate complement clause (the accusative and infinitive construction) was gradually replaced in its two different functions (complementing verbs of 'saying' etc., and expressing intended future outcomes after 'control' verbs) by two distinct, but crucially already existing, constructions. As a result of this replacement, all subjects could be nominative, and the verbs of all subordinate clauses with an expressed subject could be finite, the choice between indicative and subjunctive being determined by the 'type' of main verb involved. Later contact with Latin, however, doubtless did something to accelerate the advance of subjunctive clauses introduced by originally 'final' conjunctions at the expense of the infinitive across a range of semantically overlapping complement functions (cf. 5.3 below).

Infinitives remained standard, none the less, in cases involving true control relations (i.e. in which main and subordinate subjects were semantically identical, and no subject

was expressed overtly in the subordinate clause), and also to express purpose (a non-classical usage, based on the semantic overlaps discussed above). There was, however, a gradual advance even here of clauses with subjunctive verbs, beginning in late antiquity and continuing through the middle ages, with the result that in standard Modern Greek the infinitive has disappeared altogether. The tracing of this process, which has its origins in the Hellenistic period, will be a major theme of the chapters that follow (cf. Joseph (1983) for a survey of the data and issues).

We might also note in passing the rather restricted use of participles in comparison with classical literary Attic. There the participle might well be described as the instrument of subordination *par excellence*, with virtually every type of clausal adjunct and even certain types of complement permitting, or in some cases requiring, a participial realization. Even the longest sentences therefore regularly contain relatively few finite verb forms in comparison with their English translations. While there was no resistance to subordination as such in the official Koine (routine parataxis is characteristic of lower-level styles, see 4.7.6, 4.7.7 and 4.7.8 below), the use of participles in this function was considerably reduced in favour of clauses containing finite verbs introduced by conjunctions.[3] Thus for the most part the participles in (7) are used with the article to form substantives (e.g. lit. 'the having X-ed' = 'those who had X-ed' etc.), and increasingly participles with a subordinating function are confined to 'circumstantial' roles (though there are no examples in this particular extract). This could again be seen as a simplification of the grammar in favour of forms of subordination with properties analogous to those of main clauses (nominative subjects and finite verbs), i.e. structures which avoided the frequently rather complex long-distance agreement requirements of participial adjuncts. Wider use of explicit conjunctions (meaning 'since', 'because', 'when', 'although', 'if' etc.) also promoted precision and clarity of expression in legal, technical and official documents.

4.6.3 The articular infinitive

There was, however, one particular non-finite alternative to classical participial syntax which combined much of the flexibility of the latter with the formal precision of finite alternatives, but also crucially avoided complex agreement patterns. This was the substantivized infinitive functioning as a gerund (lit. 'the to-do X' = 'doing X'), typically governed by a preposition to impart a determinate sense to the expression, but also used alone in the genitive to express purpose (a usage perhaps derived from an adnominal origin, e.g. lit. 'intention/plan/desire [of-the to-do X]'). This latter construction, in line with the weakening of the sense of the original final conjunctions in subjunctive clauses, was then employed simply as a 'strengthened' infinitive, used loosely as an exegetical adjunct or even as a complement after control-type verbs in rivalry with the ὅπως [hópo:s] + subjunctive construction.

In sharp contrast with the fate of the accusative and infinitive as a complement structure, the nominalized infinitival quickly became a stock feature of the Koine and, though based on a classical construction, soon acquired a frequency and range of usage that went well beyond the practice of classical prose writers. This may seem surprising in view of the decline of the 'bare' infinitive in subordinating functions, but it is a rather common phenomenon that a category under pressure is first confined to a

restricted range of contexts and functions and then undergoes a period of extended usage in that limited context before finally disappearing.

By way of illustration, consider the following extract from a letter of King Attalus II of Pergamum (Dittenberger (1903), no. 315 IV S.486), dated 159 BC and addressed to Attis, a priest of Cybele at Pessinus:

(9) Μηνόδωρος, ὃν ἀπεστάλκεις, τήν τε παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν ἀπέδωκέμ μοι, οὖσαν ἐκτενῆ καὶ φιλικήν, καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔφησεν ἔχειν τὰς ἐντολὰς διὰ πλεόνων ἀπελογίσατο. ἀποδεξάμενος οὖν τὴν παρὰ σοῦ αἵρεσιν διὰ τὸ θεωρεῖν ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι σε πρόθυμον ὄντα πρὸς τὰ ἡμέτερα πράγματα καὶ αὐτὸς τούτωι ἅπερ ἐνόμιζον ἀναγκαῖον εἰδέναι σε κεκοινολογημένος εἴρηκα ἀναγγέλλειν.

[me:nódo:ros, hon apestálki:s, te:n te para sû: epistolè:n apédo:kém
Menodoros, whom you-had-sent, the both from you letter gave
moi, û:san ektenê: kai p^hiliké:n, kai autòs hyper ho:n ép^he:sen ék^hi:n
to-me, being long and friendly, and himself concerning what he-said to-have
ta:s entolá:s dia ple:óno:n apelogísato. apodeksámenos u:n te:n para
the orders through more-things he-gave-an-account. Having-accepted then the from
sû: haíresin dia to t^heorí:n em pantì kairô:i se prót^{h}y:mon ónta
you purpose because-of the to-consider on every occasion you well-disposed being
pros ta he:métera prá:ŋmata kai autòs tú:to:i háper enómizon
towards the our affairs and myself to-this-man what I-thought (it)
anaŋkaîon i:dénai se kekoinologe:ménos í:re:ka anaŋgél(l)i:n.]
necessary to-know (for) you having-discussed I-have-told to-announce

'Menodoros, whom you sent, gave your long and friendly letter to me, and himself gave an account at length of the matters about which he said he had instructions. I accepted your proposal because I consider you to be well-disposed towards our affairs on all occasions, and I myself then discussed with him what I thought it necessary for you to know and told him to announce this to you.'

Apart from the prepositional-phrase possessives and the prepositional strengthening of the dative of time (ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι [em pantì kairô:i] 'on every occasion'), an increasingly common feature of the Koine at a time when the dative was coming under pressure as a result of sound change and functional overlap with other cases (see below), the key feature here is the long infinitival structure in the final sentence introduced by the preposition διά [dia] 'because of'. A writer of classical Greek would probably have used the participle θεωρῶν [t^heo:rô:n] 'considering', agreeing with the subject of the sentence and preceded by the particle ὡς [ho:s], 'as', to show that a reason was being given. Here this has been replaced by a substantivized infinitive (involving the neuter definite article τό [to]) governed by a causal preposition. The result is a verbal noun analogous in use to the English gerund (cf. *because of considering …*), which avoids the need for agreement, and conveniently retains the complement structure that the corresponding participle would have required.

This construction became a favourite form of subordinate adverbial clause in the Hellenistic chancelleries, and was frequently used, by reason of its inherent flexibility, compactness and precision, in preference even to finite alternatives. Thus accusative

subjects could be included as necessary (the one area where the accusative and infinitive enjoyed a reprieve), and the infinitive itself readily tolerated even the most complex complement and modificational structures, as in the following example taken from a petition to a village scribe (BGU 1256, 2nd century BC):

(10) χάριν τοῦ μὴ ἔχειν με μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν μηδὲ περίστασιν πρὸς τὸ χορηγῆσαι τὰ τῆς λαμπαδαρχίας

[kʰárin	tu:	mè:	ékʰi:n	me	me:demía:n	apʰormè:n	me:de	perístasin
on-account	of-the	not	to-have	me	no	means	nor	substance

pros	to	kʰore:gê:sai	ta	te:s	lampadarkʰía:s]
towards	the	to-provide	the-things	of-the	lampadarchy.

‘on account of my having neither the means nor the substance for the provision of resources for the lampadarchy (*the office of presiding over a torch race, the cost of which had to be borne by the incumbent*).’

Here we have both an expressed subject and an extended complement structure in which the direct object of the first infinitive governs a prepositional phrase containing a second nominalized infinitive together with its own object complement. But it was the sheer convenience of having a form of subordinate clause that could be used after prepositions that presumably lay behind the dramatic growth in its popularity, since its capacity to turn a complex proposition into an inflectable nominal expression was indispensable not only in legal/administrative contexts but also in abstract philosophical discourse (on which see 4.7 below). The construction thus became a stock feature of the official Koine, and its popularity persisted well into the middle ages.

4.7 Language and Literature in the Hellenistic World: The Koine as a Literary Dialect

4.7.1 Introduction

Some scholars deny the existence of a ‘literary’ variety of the Koine, and reserve the term for the continuum of non-literary varieties of Greek ranging from ‘higher’ written forms (attested in public and private documents of various kinds and at the highest levels subject to the standardizing effects of Attic literature and higher education) to ‘lower’, essentially spoken, forms (used e.g. by traders and soldiers and, because freed from the normalizing effects of literacy, more prone to the influence of foreign languages and regional substrates). However, many prose authors of both Hellenistic and Roman imperial times, with the historian Polybius (c.200–120 BC) and the essayist and biographer Plutarch (c. AD 46–120) among the best-known examples, used a literary language distinct from the ‘classical’ Attic of Athenian authors of the 5th and 4th centuries BC which might fairly be regarded as an artistically ‘developed’ version of the Koine employed by the Hellenistic/Roman bureaucracies. Whether we choose to see this as a diluted variety of classical Attic or refer to it rather as a ‘literary’ version of the Koine is ultimately no more than a terminological issue.

4.7.2 Historiography: Polybius

To illustrate, we may take the example of the historian Polybius, who came from Megalopolis in Arcadia, a prominent member city of the Achaean league. When the Romans under the younger Scipio broke the power of Macedonia at the battle of Pydna in 169 BC (see 5.1), a number of prominent Achaeans, including Polybius, were taken to Rome. Initially a prisoner, Polybius soon became a friend of Scipio's, and wrote an account of Rome's imperial expansion in the conviction that this was to prove decisive for the future history of the world. His grammatical usage loosely follows that of the classical historians, with the optative, for example, still employed in ways which would already be unusual in contemporary official documents. Nevertheless its occurrence is clearly limited in comparison with classical practice, and we can see here the emergence of a distinction between Attic (studied in school as a central part of the higher education system) and even belletristic forms of the contemporary Koine. Typically the latter are characterized by a conservative compromise which preserves certain classical features as a mark of the literary style, but employs them in a more limited way that obliquely reflects their diminished status in contemporary speech and in writing of a more practical nature.

Such mild classicism apart, however, Polybius is in general very much a man of his own times, both in his choice of vocabulary, which manifests a liking for the innovative abstract nominal formations characteristic of Hellenistic technical writing (on which see immediately below), and in his overall style, which exhibits the typical verbosity of the Hellenistic chancellery, most particularly in the complex sentence constructions which make characteristically heavy use of nominalized infinitives as an instrument of subordination (cf. 4.6.3, one of the clearest 'markers' of the Koine in its middle-to-high registers).

We can also draw attention to a number of other non-classical features which are typical of the general evolution of the language at this time (see Foucault (1972)):

(11) (a) Extensive use of deictic pronouns to control discourse structure and to link complex sentences (cf. 4.7.6 on Menander and 4.7.7 on the Septuagint).
(b) Some blurring of the formal distinction between the comparative and superlative degrees (with the article + comparative sometimes substituting for the latter).
(c) A more restricted use of the dative case and a corresponding increase in prepositional phrase replacements, particularly in certain adverbial functions (such as temporal, comitative, causal and instrumental).
(d) A more restricted use of certain participles, most particularly the future.

These traits all reflect developments in the contemporary spoken and written languages of educated discourse, and *a fortiori* in lower-level spoken varieties too, where they had doubtless already gone further. They are highly significant for the evolution of the language in later times, and we shall have occasion to mention them frequently in other contexts below.

Alongside Polybius' many lexical and grammatical innovations, however, we also find words which from the point of view of classical Attic prose were 'old Ionic' or

'poetic', i.e. associated with poetry of an archaizing type such as tragedy, but which in reality had remained in current use in many spoken idioms outside Athens and now made their first appearance in prose writing. Many survive in Modern Greek (albeit with modifications in their phonetic and sometimes their morphological form). Examples include:

(12) ἀσυλία [asylía:] 'inviolability'
δόλιος [dólios] 'crafty/deceitful'
ζόφος [zópʰos] 'darkness'
λαίλαψ [laílaps] 'storm/hurricane'
ψαύω [psaúo:] 'touch'

4.7.3 The Koine as the language of technical prose

Apart from its use in historiography the written Koine, having evolved as an administrative language by combining an expanding abstract vocabulary with a formal precision of style, proved to be a particularly good vehicle for philosophy, science and scholarship across a whole range of technical subjects. The great philosophical systems of Cynicism, Stoicism and Epicureanism all have their roots in the Hellenistic age, and the founding of the great library at Alexandria promoted vital editorial work on the manuscripts of ancient Greek authors and led to wide-ranging study of earlier manifestations of the Greek language, including the collection of information about its ancient dialects and the 'sources' and meanings of rare and unusual words in classical texts. Significant progress was also made in astronomy, geography, medicine and mechanics, much of this built on the brilliant mathematical foundations provided by figures such as Euclid (late 4th/early 3rd centuries BC, origins unknown) and Archimedes (287–212 BC, from Dorian Syracuse in Sicily, who perhaps used the Koine in some of his early work, though he also wrote a standardized literary Doric based on Sicilian regional varieties, and it is possible that the works in the Koine are in fact 'translations'). A scientific and philosophical vocabulary of some range and precision was already available from the earlier Ionic-Attic tradition, and this furnished the verbal resources and above all the precedents of word formation necessary for the coining of new terms for new concepts and technical innovations. It is not perhaps widely appreciated that much of the technical, scientific and abstract vocabulary of modern European languages in fact goes back ultimately (often via Latin calques) to the lexical inventiveness of the Hellenistic philosophers, mathematicians and scientists who used the Koine in their ground-breaking work.

4.7.4 Reaction against the Koine: Hellenistic poetry

But a universal prose language devoid of local roots and specifically adapted for administrative and scholarly purposes soon proved to be seriously lacking in literary vitality and emotional resonance. In the context of a growing scholarly interest in the ancient literary dialects, the Hellenistic poets, among whom the 3rd-century BC contemporaries Callimachus, Apollonius and Theocritus are the greatest, rejected the Koine, and themselves turned to the past, to the dialects and genres of early Greek

literature, in search of the inspiration and the 'character' that the Koine could not provide. This concrete expression of the artistic links between the old and the new Greek worlds reflects the beginnings of the problem of the 'burden of the past' created by the existence of a canonized corpus of classical literature and resulted, for example, in Hellenistic epic in the language of Homer, Hellenistic epigrams in the language of early Ionian poetry, and even Hellenistic imitations of the Lesbian poets Sappho and Alcaeus, though always with subtle variations of phraseology and imaginative innovations in content and approach as well as in lexicon and style.

A particularly striking example of Alexandrian inventiveness is provided by Theocritus, who, *inter alia*, elevated the traditional singing of shepherds into a sophisticated literary genre of pastoral poetry through the striking juxtaposition of epic metre with rustic subject matter, and employed for the purpose a Doric dialect (recall the tenacity of Doric in many rural areas) which was based partly on literary precedent and incorporated certain epicisms but which also reflected, albeit in the oblique fashion of the literary dialects of the classical period, aspects of contemporary spoken varieties (including perhaps that of the Doric-speaking community of Alexandria, drawn largely from the old city of Cyrene to the West, cf. Ruijgh (1984), Molinos Tejada (1990) for discussion of the complex issues involved).

As noted, this approach was made possible because such literature was written by and for an urban elite which, largely excluded from political activity, had turned instead to the great libraries and the study of the roots of their culture. Creative literature soon became immensely learned and allusive, with its practitioners seeking novelty and strangeness in hitherto underexplored subject matter, in arcane mythology and in the examination of personal relationships. But perhaps most importantly from our point of view, the careful editing and preservation of classical texts, in prose as well as verse, raised for the first time serious questions to do with the determination of linguistic 'correctness' in the context of an awareness of earlier linguistic diversity and subsequent language change, and thus prompted serious consideration of issues of grammar and lexicography from a non-philosophical and non-rhetorical point of view (see Matthews (1994) for a thorough survey). The essentially retrospective approach of the tradition of prescriptive grammar, with rules based on the usage of the 'best' authors of earlier 'classical' periods, derives ultimately from the philological work of this era, and the resultant prioritizing of traditional forms of the written language was soon to have enormous consequences for the history of the Greek language (see 5.5).

4.7.5 Reaction against the Koine: Asianism and Atticism

The role of rhetoric also changed somewhat in post-classical times. Although a well-crafted appeal to the autocratic rulers of the Hellenistic world might still make an impact on the ultimate course of events, few people were in a position to take advantage of such opportunities, and the cultivation of eloquence became primarily an educational objective. The relevant techniques were learned and practised in the classroom through the study of classical Attic models as part of the process of familiarizing the elite with the tradition that gave the Hellenistic world its cultural cohesion.

During the course of the 3rd century BC, however, there was a reaction in the schools against the symmetrical periods and easy intelligibility of the classical Isocratean style,

motivated in part by a desire for something fresh in the face of the growing uniformity of usage engendered by an increasingly rigid approach to the teaching of composition and the strict conventions of official discourse. As with poetry so with rhetoric, this reaction against the perceived banality of the linguistic practice of the present took the form of a creative revival of the past, and the Asianic school (so called because it began in Asia Minor) was characterized by the abandonment of the traditional period and a return to Gorgianic precepts (cf. chapter 3), involving the emotive accumulation of vocabulary and rapid successions of short antithetical clauses with a heavy emphasis on metaphor, word-play, 'poetic' vocabulary, and contrived rhythmic and phonetic effects. Asianism blossomed, and naturally influenced other forms of literary composition and eventually even official writing, with the long inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene (Dittenberger (1903), I. 383) standing as a major example in the latter category of the 'lofty' pretensions of the Asianic style.

The inevitable counter-reaction to the often overwrought vacuousness of much Asianically inspired composition set in during the 1st century BC in the form of a return to the classical models that Asianism had supplanted. This new Atticist movement was dedicated to the re-establishment of the practice, and above all the language, of the 'best' classical Attic writers, and its impact was to be both profound and lasting, not only in the field of rhetoric but in all literary composition thereafter. Where earlier historians like Polybius had settled for a practical compromise between the classical Attic of the writers studied in the classroom and the usage of the contemporary written Koine, the ideologues and devotees of revivalist Atticism modelled their style and usage directly on that of the authors of ancient Athens. This crucial development in the history of written Greek, which represents the origins of the diglossia that plagued the attempts to develop a standard form of Modern Greek in the 19th and 20th centuries, will be taken up in chapter 5.

4.7.6 Popular literature: romances

The Hellenistic world was not, however, exclusively a locus of advanced scientific inquiry, academic scholarship and elitist literary experimentation. Other, more popular, literary forms also flourished, most notably the prose romance. Its two stock themes are travelling adventures, usually with a fabulous dimension, and the passion of love. The former element, of course, belongs to a tradition that goes back at least to the *Odyssey*, but the interest in far-away places, real and imaginary, was fuelled to an unprecedented degree by Alexander's expedition. Indeed, the *Alexander Romance*, an imaginative recreation of the great man's exploits somewhat inexpertly compiled in perhaps the 3rd century AD from a variety of earlier historical and fictional sources, is testimony to the legendary character which Alexander's conquests had already assumed in the popular imagination of late Hellenistic times. An interest in love as a motivating force can also be traced back to the classical period (cf., for example, the exploration of its destructive power in Euripides' *Hippolytus*), but again it was in the Hellenistic period, particularly in poetry of the 3rd century BC, that erotic themes were developed with fresh vigour, though now with an emphasis on fidelity at the expense of pleasure.

The appearance of a new genre binding these two thematic elements together was in many ways a natural reaction to the times. Just as the new philosophical systems

of Stoicism and Epicureanism emerged as ways of coping intellectually with individual powerlessness in a world where the scope for political action lay exclusively in the hands of autocrats, so the romance, by focusing on foreign/imaginary lands and idealized images of constancy in the face of the arbitrariness of fate, emerged as a response to the need for escapism and as a reflection of the renewed importance of personal loyalty.

Though substantial fragments of a number of Hellenistic romances, most notably the *Ninus Romance* (dating probably from the 2nd century BC), are now known to us thanks to the relatively recent discovery of large quantities of ancient papyri, preserved in the desert sand by the dry Egyptian climate, the best-known examples (Chariton's *Chaireas and Callirhoe*, Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, and Xenophon of Ephesus' *Ephesiaca*) belong to the period of the Roman empire. There is, however, a clear linguistic distinction between Chariton's polished literary Koine and the increasingly elaborate artificiality of the language of the other romances, and on the basis of this evidence it seems that, 'popular' content notwithstanding, they were designed primarily for the entertainment of a highly educated audience fully familiar with the classical language and equipped with a rhetorical higher education (see chapter 5 for a full account of the impact of Atticism on the Greek literature of the Roman empire).

4.7.7 Drama: the 'new' Attic comedy and the mime

A great deal of other, previously unknown, material of a broadly 'popular' character, and composed in a more natural form of language, has also become known from papyrus discoveries. The importance of the non-literary documents will be discussed below. Of particular interest here for the historian of the Greek language are Athenian New Comedy and the fragments of genuinely popular work that seem to have belonged to a kind of urban music-hall tradition involving the development of the traditional mime, a realistic and dramatic portrayal of some aspect of daily life, associated originally with the Greek west, and first developed into a distinct literary form in the 5th century BC by Sophron of Syracuse (who employed his native Doric and a semi-rhythmical prose that might equally fairly be described as metrically irregular verse). These will be considered briefly in turn.

In the wake of Alexander's conquests the city of Athens, remote from the new economic and commercial centres, soon lost its former preeminence. Political decisions were now taken by a Macedonian governor, and, with the abandonment of the democratic practice of public payment for attendance at the assembly and law courts, social divisions increased dramatically. The drift of power to the east also diminished the opportunities for enterprise and the acquisition of capital, and what wealth remained was increasingly invested in land and property as the best guarantee of steady value. The rentier class therefore came to control the residual public life of the city, and the social and political ties that had bound the classical polis together were replaced by a culture of individualism.

Thus whereas the Old Comedy of Aristophanes had been intensely political, and targeted at prominent individuals, the New Comedy of Menander (c.342–292 BC) focused on the 'dramas' of middle-class family life, revealing little of the external chaos

of the times, and we move from a world of political satire to a form of situation comedy that portrays human foolishness with an acute but sympathetic irony.

Menander's language closely reflects the contemporary development of spoken Greek in Attica, with the style carefully adapted to the age, social status and gender of the speaker (a feature much admired in antiquity, cf. Quintilian 10. 1. 69 and 71). But the fact that he could not be regarded as a reliable example of 'pure' (i.e. classical) Attic was damaging to the preservation of his plays once the Atticist revival came to dominate attitudes to language in the schools, and our knowledge of them therefore depends exclusively on papyrus discoveries. A comparison with the (non-parodic) dialogue of Aristophanes provides a good measure of the extent of the changes over two centuries, and what we find is a 'local' form of Attic that reflects the contemporary state of the educated spoken language in Attica quite closely and which is rather more conservative than the 'international' Attic/Koine of the Hellenistic world at large.

Features of Menander's language (ultimately, mainly of Ionic origin, cf. chapter 3) that reflect the contemporary development of the Koine include those in (13):[4]

(13) (a) Absence of the dual number (used routinely in Aristophanes).
(b) The parallel use of οὐδείς [u:dí:s] and οὐθείς [u:tʰí:s] 'no one', perhaps reflecting the use of both as spoken forms in the period (cf. 4.6.2, (8b)), the former traditional, the latter an Athenian innovation.
(c) A tendency for declensionally anomalous nouns to be replaced with regular synonyms, e.g. 2nd-declension neuter πρόβατον [próbaton] 'sheep' for irregular 3rd-declension οἶς [oîs], etc.
(d) The routine use of regularized (sub)paradigms of many irregular verbs in -μι [-mi], a sporadic feature already apparent in 5th-century literary works under the impact of Ionic, but now standard: e.g. ἔθηκαν [étʰe:kan] 'they put (aorist)' for ἔθεσαν [étʰesan], δεικνύω [di:knýo:] 'I show' for δείκνυμι [dí:kny:-mi], etc.
(e) The replacement of the old Attic γίγνομαι [gíŋnomai] 'I become', γιγνώσκω [giŋnó:sko:] 'I (get to) know', with forms beginning γιν- [gi:n-].
(f) The beginnings of the breakdown of the functional distinction between the aorist (past perfective) and perfect (originally expressing the present relevance of a past action, especially a resultant state).

On the other hand many features in Menander's Greek reflect a slightly 'retarded' process of development in comparison with contemporary Koine:

(14) (a) The optative disappeared quite quickly in non-literary registers of the Koine, except in its 'core' meaning of expressing a wish, because its classical use in various kinds of subordinate clause in past time contexts was often semantically opaque, as in reported speech, or already subject to replacement by subjunctives, as in final clauses; various modal auxiliaries were also available to take on the sense of possibility which, in conjunction with the particle ἄν [an], it conveyed in main clauses. Menander, however, despite the colloquial character of his dialogue,

still employs the optative quite regularly in all its traditional functions, though overlaps with the subjunctive are more common than in classical Attic (see, for example, *Epitrepontes* 446 ff., where first a subjunctive and then an optative appear in a final clause after aorist προσεποιησάμην [prosepoje:sáme:n] 'I pretended').

(b) Where the Koine fully regularized the paradigm of οἶδα [oîda] 'I know', Menander has 2nd sg οἶσθας [oîst^{h}as] rather than οἶδας [oîdas] for original οἶσθα [oîst^{h}a]; this semi-regularizing 2nd sg -ς [-s] is also added to ἦσθα [ê:st^{h}a] 'you were', where the Koine increasingly favoured the fully regularized ἦς [ê:s].

(c) In classical Attic the middle and passive voices were morphologically distinguished only in the aorist and the future. In the Koine, however, the endings of the aorist middle (-(σ)άμην [-(s)áme:n], -όμην [-óme:n], etc.) were increasingly replaced by those of the aorist passive (-(θ)ην [-(t^h)e:n], etc.). The original forms are, however, routinely retained by Menander (e.g. ἐγενόμην [egenóme:n] 'I became', ἀπεκρινάμην [apekrináme:n] 'I answered').

As an example of Menander's style we may consider the following extract from the *Dyscolus* (370–82), involving an interchange between Sostratos (a wealthy young man in love), Gorgias (a young peasant farmer) and Daos (Gorgias' slave):

(15) SO: ἕτοιμος πάντα πειθαρχεῖν· ἄγε.
GO: τί κακοπαθεῖν σαυτὸν βιάζῃ;
DA: βούλομαι
ὡς πλεῖστον ἡμᾶς ἐργάσασθαι τήμερον,
τοῦτόν τε τὴν ὀσφῦν ἀπορρήξανθ' ἅμα
παύσασθ' ἐνοχλοῦνθ' ἡμῖν προσιόντα τ' ἐνθάδε.
SO: ἔκφερε δίκελλαν.
DA: τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβὼν ἴθι.
τὴν αἱμασιὰν ἐποικοδομήσω γὰρ τέως
ἐγώ· ποητέον δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστί.
SO: δός.
ἀπέσωσας.
DA: ὑπάγω, τρόφιμ'· ἐκεῖ διώκετε.
SO: οὕτως ἔχω γάρ· ἀποθανεῖν ἤδη με δεῖ
ἢ ζῆν ἔχοντα τὴν κόρην.
GO: εἴπερ λέγεις
ἃ φρονεῖς, ἐπιτύχοις.

[*So:* hétoimos pánta pi:t^{h}ark^h î:n; áge. / *Go:* tí kakopat^h î:n sautòn
Ready in-all-things to-obey; come-on. Why to-suffer yourself
biázde:? /*Da:* bú:lomai ho:s plí:ston he:mâ:s ergásast^{h}ai té:meron,
you-force? I-wish as most us to-work today,
tû:tón te te:n osp^{h}ŷ:n aporré:ksant^h háma paúsast^h enok^{h}lû:nt^h
him and the back having-sprained at-the-same-time to-stop pestering
he:mî:n prosiónta t ent^{h}áde. / *So:* ékp^{h}ere díkellan. / *Da:* te:n
us coming and here. Bring-out mattock The

par emû: labò:n ít^{h}i. te:n haimasjàn epoikodomé:so: gar
from me having-taken go The dry-stone wall I-shall-build-up for
téo:s egó: ; poe:téon de kaì tû:t esti. / *So:* dós. apéso:sas. /
meanwhile I; to-be-done and also this is. Give. You-saved.
Da: hypágo:, tróp^{h}im; ekî: dió:kete. / *So:* hú:to:s ék^{h}o: gar.
I-go, master; there follow. Thus I-am for.
apot^{h}anî:n é:de: me dî: e: zdê:n ék^{h}onta te:n kóre:n. / *Go:* i:per
to-die now me it-is necessary or to-live having the girl. If-indeed
légi:s ha p^{h}ron î:s, epitýk^{h}ois.]
you-say what you-mean, may-you-succeed.

'*So:* I'm ready to do all I'm told. Come on. *Go:* Why force yourself to suffer? *Da:* (*aside*) I want us to do as much work as possible today and for him to sprain his back while he's at it so he stops coming here and pestering us. *So:* Bring out a mattock. *Da:* Take mine and go ahead. Meanwhile I'll build up the dry-stone wall. That needs doing too. *So:* Hand it over. You've saved my life – *Da:* I'm off, young master. Follow me on there. *So:* – for this is my position. I must now die in the attempt or win the girl and live. *Go:* If you mean what you say, good luck to you.'

General features worthy of comment here include the widespread use of personal and demonstrative pronouns, in conformity with the naturally deictic/vivid character of dialogue, and the comparative rarity and frequently odd placement (cf. γάρ [gar] as fourth word in l. 376) of the 'second position' connective and discourse particles so typical of elaborated classical Attic (even, we may note, in the 'naturalistic' dialogue of Plato or Aristophanes). While we may safely assume that tone of voice and context could do much in a dramatic interchange to supply the information provided explicitly by particles in a more discursive style, it is surely no accident that the later history of Greek in its lower-level spoken and written forms provides eloquent testimony to the decline of these elements. Sentences involving the delayed placement of γάρ [gar] (ll. 376 and 379) can perhaps best be explained on the assumption that the initial constituent in each case functions as a displaced 'focus', with the particle appearing in second position within the residue of the sentence (the comment on the focus), and that this was a feature of casual conversational styles rather than of formal writing.

Other features of the colloquial style perhaps include the frequent elision of final -αι [-ai] (cf. παύσασθ(αι) [paúsast^{h}(ai)] in l. 374), the use of prepositional phrases to express possession in place of possessive adjectives or the genitives of personal pronouns (cf. τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ [te:n par emû:] l. 375, cf. 4.6.2, (8a)), and the use of ὑπάγω [hypágo:] and διώκω [dió:ko:] to mean simply 'go' and 'follow' respectively rather than 'advance/withdraw slowly' and 'pursue'. This use of the former is already attested in Aristophanes (cf. *Birds* 1017), and is the source of Modern Greek πάω ['pao] 'go'; the use of 'expressive' words in 'simple' meanings is, of course, typical of colloquial speech.

The local Attic character of the language is also well illustrated by the use of τήμερον [té:meron] in l. 372 rather than σήμερον [sé:meron] 'today'; -ττ- [-tt-] is also routinely preferred to -σσ- [-ss-] in words such as τέτταρα [téttara] 'four', where the penultimate a-vowel is also local Attic, the Koine normally employing Ionic τέσσερα [téssera]. Note

also the use of ποητέον [poe:téon] in l. 377 in place of ποιητέον [poje:téon]; the loss of intervocalic [-j-] in this word is a typical feature of 4th-century Attic, and one which passed for a time into the Koine as a rival to the fuller form, only to be eventually eliminated as a parochialism following the decline of Athenian prestige (cf. οὐθείς [u:tʰi:s] in (8b) above).

Turning finally to the later Hellenistic period and the mime, one particular adaptation of the genre is now familiar from the work of the 3rd-century poet Herodas, who, in characteristic Alexandrian fashion, combined its low-life subject matter with the dialect (Ionic) and metre ('limping' iambics, i.e. with a final spondee) of Hipponax, the vitriolic poet of the 6th century BC (see chapter 2).

But there seems to have been a great diversity of such mimetic presentations, reflecting a wide variety of folkloric traditions and involving both songs and spoken pieces, prose and verse, monologue and scenic performance. One of the more famous pieces is the 2nd-century BC *Alexandrian Erotic Fragment* or *Maiden's Complaint* (Powell (1933: 177–80)), a lyric song for solo performance in which a girl laments her lover's faithlessness in front of his door. Though the dialect is superficially Ionic and occasionally archaic (perhaps reflecting some particular tradition), the structure is extremely simple and direct, and contains little that could not be readily followed by any speaker of Greek in the period.

We also have part of a farce (Page (1950: no. 76)), written in vaguely rhythmical prose with verse interludes, which is contained in a papyrus of the 2nd century AD, but perhaps belongs in origin to a somewhat earlier period (the original editors, Grenfell and Hunt, placed it not much later than the *Maiden's Lament* (1903: 41 ff)). It appears to be a parody of Euripides' play *Iphigenia in Tauris* in which a Greek girl, Charition, is living against her will amongst Indians. Her friends eventually succeed in rescuing her after various ludicrous complications, the whole being punctuated (somewhat incomprehensibly) by the persistent farting of a clown. The language is of a vernacular character and is characterized by the presence of a number of decidedly 'modern-looking' features, including:

(16) (a) The vocative adjective μωρέ [mo're],[5] lit. 'idiot', but verging here on the modern use (sometimes abbreviated to (β)ρε [(v)re] < μ'ρέ [mre]) as a familiar/friendly form of address (ll. 4 and 58), and already 'bleached' of much of its offensiveness.

(b) The use of θέλω ['tʰelo] 'I want' with a 'bare' subjunctive complement when the subject of the complement clause is distinct from that of the main clause (ll. 21–2), alongside the classical infinitival construction when like subjects are involved (l. 57). As noted in 4.6.2 for the official Koine, this development (with or, as here, without a conjunction) marks the beginning of the replacement of the infinitive as a complement to 'control' verbs like 'want/expect', initially involving cases where a distinct (accusative) subject had to be specified.

(c) The use of λοιπόν [ly'pon] (l. 59) as a sentence connective meaning 'so/well then' (literally and originally 'as for the rest') in very much the Modern Greek way.

4.7.8 Jewish literature: the Septuagint

This Greek translation of the Old Testament made in the 3rd–2nd centuries BC constitutes one of our most important examples of surviving 'vernacular' literature of the period. By the 3rd century the majority of the Jews of Ptolemaic Egypt (perhaps as many as one million, cf. Philo *In Flacc.* 43)) had Greek as their mother tongue, and it was judged essential that they should have a translation of their holy scriptures if knowledge of them was not to be confined to an increasingly narrow circle. The work was supposedly entrusted to a team of 72 scholars summoned from Jerusalem and is accordingly known as the Septuagint (*septuaginta* is Latin for '70').

Given the nature of the material, the translation in general reflects neither the Greek literary tradition nor the preoccupations of the rhetoricians, and to that extent is a valuable source of information about the ordinary written Greek of the period. It was once thought that the very considerable differences between the Greek of the Septuagint and the literary Greek of the mainstream tradition were due to Semitic substrate and translation effects. But while it is undeniable that, as a close translation of a sacred text, it embodies Hebraisms (especially where the obscurity or formulaic language of the original led to literalness), the analysis of the ordinary language of contemporary private papyrus documents from Egypt has now demonstrated conclusively that the Septuagint's general grammatical and lexical make-up is that of the ordinary, everyday written Greek of the times, and that it therefore constitutes an important source of information for the development of the language in the Hellenistic period. The translation of the Pentateuch, for example, seems to be in a very natural contemporary Koine (Thackeray (1909: 13)), though certain other books display a rather mechanical literalness (e.g. Lamentations), while others exemplify a spread of styles ranging from near-vernacular (e.g. Tobit, from the Apocrypha) to consciously 'literary' (e.g. Esther, with 4 Maccabees being positively Atticizing).

The following extracts from the Second Book of Kings (18. 17–21) provide a good example of the middle style:

(17) 17. καὶ ἀπέστειλεν βασιλεὺς Ἀσσυρίων ... τὸν Ῥαψάκην ... πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ἑζεκίαν ἐν δυνάμει βαρείᾳ ἐπὶ Ἰερουσαλήμ ... 18. καὶ ἐβόησαν πρὸς Ἑζεκίαν, καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἐλιακείμ ... καὶ Σόμνας ... 19. καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ῥαψάκης, Εἴπατε δὴ πρὸς Ἑζεκίαν, τάδε λέγει ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, "Τί ἡ πεποίθησις αὕτη ἣν πέποιθας;" 20. εἶπας ... "Βουλὴ καὶ δύναμις εἰς πόλεμον·" νῦν οὖν τίνι πεποιθὼς ἠθέτησας ἐν ἐμοί; 21. νῦν ἰδοὺ πέποιθας σαυτῷ ἐπὶ τὴν ῥάβδον τὴν καλαμίνην τὴν τεθλασμένην ταύτην, ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ὃς ἂν στηριχθῇ ἀνὴρ ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τρήσει αὐτήν· οὕτως Φαραὼ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου πᾶσιν τοῖς πεποιθόσιν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

[17. ke a'pestilen basi'leɸ^{w}s asy'rion ... ton hra'psake̩n ... pros ton basi'lea
And sent king of-Assyrians ... the Rab-shakeh ... to the king
heze'kian en dy'nami ba're̩a epi jerusa'le̩m ... 18. k(e) e'boe̩san pros
Hezekiah in force heavy against Jerusalem ... and they- shouted to
heze'kian, k(e) 'e̩lt^{h}on pros aɸ^{w}'ton elia'kim ... ke 'somnas ... 19. ke
Hezekiah, and came to him Eliakim ... and Shebna ... and
'ipen pros aɸ^{w}'tus hra'psake̩s: "ipate de̩ pros heze'kian, 'tade 'leji o
said to them Rab-shakeh 'tell indeed to Hezekiah, these-things says the

basi'leϕ^{w}s o 'meɣas basi'leϕ^{w}s asy'rion, 'ti hẹ pe'pøt^{h}ẹsis 'haϕ^{w}tẹ
king the great king of-Assyrians: "what the confidence this
hẹn 'pepøt^{h}as?" 20. 'ipas ..., "bu'lẹ ke 'dynamis is 'polemon;" nyn un 'tini
which you-trust?" You-said "counsel and strength for war;" Now then in-whom
pepø't^{h}os ẹ't^{h}etẹsas en e'mø? 21. Nyn i'du 'pepøt^{h}as saϕ^{w}'to epi tẹn
trusting you-refused-assent in me? now look you-trust for-yourself on the
'hrabdon tẹn kala'minẹn tẹn tet^{h}laz'menẹn 'taϕ^{w}tẹn, ep 'ejypton; hos
staff the of-reed the bruised this, on Egypt; who
an stẹri'k^{h}t^{h}ẹ a'nẹr ep aϕ^{w}'tẹn, ke ise'leϕ^{w}sete is tẹn 'k^{h}ira aϕ^{w}tu ke
ever leans man on it, and it-will-enter into the hand of-him and
trẹsi aϕ^{w}tẹn; 'hutos p^{h}ara'o basi'leϕ^{w}s e'jyptu 'pasin tøs pepø't^{h}osin
it-will-pierce it; thus Pharaoh king of-Egypt for-all the trusting
ep aϕ^{w}'ton.']
on him.'

'17. And the king of Assyria sent ... Rab-shakeh ... to king Hezekiah with a heavy force against Jerusalem ... 18. And they shouted to Hezekiah, and Eliakim ... and Shebna ... came to him (*Rab-shakeh*). 19. And Rab-shakeh said to them: "Tell Hezekiah (*that*) the king the great king of Assyria speaks thus, 'what is this confidence in which you trust?' 20. You say ... , 'Counsel and strength for war'; in whom then do you place your trust in refusing to accede to my will? 21. Look, you trust now on your own behalf in this staff of bruised reed, in Egypt; if any man leans on it, it will enter his hand and pierce it through; such is Pharaoh king of Egypt for all those who place their trust in him." '

The phonetic transcription (which is in some ways reminiscent, allowing for the loss here of vowel length distinctions, of that of the earlier Boeotian document discussed in 4.4.2), is an attempt to represent the likely majority pronunciation, i.e. neither aristocratic/conservative nor vulgar, of the Koine in Egypt in the 2nd century BC (cf. Teodorsson (1977) for a full analysis of the data). Since a comprehensive treatment of phonological developments in the Koine is provided in chapter 6, the following observations are confined to points of grammar and lexicon.

The simple paratactic style is at once apparent; although this certainly reflects the organization of the original text, it is also characteristic in some degree of all mid- to low-level writing in the Koine, and in fact constitutes a feature of unsophisticated non-literary language throughout the history of Greek. The only probable Semitism here (i.e. feature of Hebrew wholly alien to Greek) is the 'redundant' use of καί [ke] 'and' to introduce the main clause of the conditional sentence in para. 21 (cf. also the discussion of New Testament Greek in chapter 5).

Compared with classical Greek, there is once again a marked increase in the use of pronouns in positions where the literary language would permit, indeed almost require, an ellipsis, the sense being the obvious one in context. We may note, for example, the penultimate sentence of 21, which contains the possessive αὐτοῦ [aϕ^{w}'tu], referring as a bound variable to any man who leans on the staff, and the direct object αὐτήν [aϕ^{w}'tẹn], referring to such a man's hand, introduced as the object of a preceding verb. Already apparent in Menander (cf. 4.7.7, discussion of (15)), this becomes the normal usage of colloquial Greek henceforth.

Also noteworthy is the decline in the range of the dative (cf. Polybius' usage at even the highest levels, 4.7.2, (11c)), a development most apparent here in the use of

prepositional phrase replacements after verbs of 'saying', 'trusting' and 'disobeying'. Note in this connection that a particular feature of the ordinary Koine in this, and the immediately following, period is the widespread use of ἐν [en] + dative as a semantically 'empty' means of strengthening the flagging dative in a variety of functions (e.g. comitative in para. 17, simple verbal complement to ἠθέτησας [ẹ'tʰetẹsas] in para. 20). Despite this rearguard action, however, the accusative is already advancing as the primary prepositional case at the expense of the dative: cf. verbs of 'saying' and 'shouting' with πρός [pros] + accusative in paras. 18 and 19, and πέποιθα ἐπί ['pepøtʰa epi] and στηρίζομαι ἐπί [stẹ'rizome epi] + accusative in para. 21.

We might also take note of the semantically idiosyncratic Homeric and Ionic perfect πέποιθα ['pepøtʰa] 'I trust' (in paras. 19, 20 and 21: from πείθω ['pitʰo] 'I persuade'), which is strongly disfavoured in classical Attic prose, but resurfaces here in the popular written Koine as another form with a continuous history in the (Ionicized) spoken vernacular.

4.8 Clitic Pronouns and the Shift Towards VS Word Order

We should also note in this last extract the dramatic increase in the frequency of verb–subject order compared with classical Greek, a feature which is again typical of the ordinary Koine in general. The reasons for this shift are complex, but seem to have been connected with the problems presented by clitic pronouns (cf. Horrocks (1990) for a full discussion).

Originally these typically collocated with sentence connectives in second position in a sentence (cf. Wackernagel (1892), a proposal which has since spawned a vast descriptive and theoretical literature):

(18) ἐν δέ **οἱ** ἐλάσσονι χρόνῳ ... ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τίκτει ... (Herodotus 6.63.2)

[en de oi elássoni kʰróno:i ... ɛ: gynɛ̀: aútɛ: tíkte: ...]
in and for-him less time ... the woman this gives-birth-to ...

'and in less time this woman bears for him ...'

The frequently wide separation of such pronouns from their natural governors soon led, however, to a tendency for them to appear instead immediately after the relevant head in a syntactic phrase:

(19) πυρετοὶ δὲ παρηκολούθουν **μοι** συνεχεῖς (Demosthenes 54.11)

[pyretoì de parɛ:kolú:tʰu:n moi synekʰê:s]
fevers and followed me continuous

'and continual fevers hounded me'

But as we move into the Hellenistic period, the tension between these two options began to be resolved by placing the verb initially before clitic pronouns in second position, thus combining the traditional distribution of the latter, as in (18), with the

semantically transparent head–complement order seen in (19). The result was an increasingly standard V(erb)–clitic–S(ubject)–O(bject) order, with VSO then becoming routine even in the absence of a motivating clitic, as in (17).

This distribution was typically disrupted only under certain circumstances, e.g. when some clausal element, including a subject, was preposed as an emphatic/ contrastive ‘focus’, or when some sentential ‘operator’ (e.g. expressing negation, interrogation, or modality over the clause as a whole) occupied the initial slot. In these cases we find instead the order F(ocus)/Op(erator)–clitic–V, i.e. with V as near to initial position as possible, but still adjacent to its dependent pronoun; all other constituents follow.

Verb-final thus ceased to be a ‘natural’ order in popular Greek, and typically arose only when an object was preposed for emphasis. Furthermore, the dual distribution of clitics (i.e. V–cl in most cases, cl–V in the presence of initial F/Op) continued into Medieval Greek, and even into some modern dialects (e.g. Cypriot). In standard Modern Greek, however, the order clitic–verb has now been generalized except in the case of imperatives and gerunds.

As an example of both types together, consider the following sentence from an early Ptolemaic will (P. Eleph. 2. ii. 10–11, 284 BC):

(20) ἐὰν δέ **τι** ἐξαπορῶνται ... Διονύσιος ἢ Καλλίστα ζῶντες, τρεφέτωσαν **αὐτοὺς** οἱ υἱεῖς πάντες ...

[ea:n	de	ti	eksaporô:ntai	... dionýsios	ẹ	kallísta	zô:ntes,
if	but	anything	are-in-need-of(subjunctive)	... Dionysios	or	Kallista	living,

trep^{h}éto:san	a(u)tu:s	hoi	hyjê:s	pántes]	
let-support	them	the	sons	all	

‘if Dionysios or Kallista should be in need during their lifetimes, their sons collectively shall support them.’

In the subordinate clause there is the conditional conjunction in initial position, setting up a timeless/generic proposition, and controlling the subjunctive mood of the following verb; since initial position is filled by an operator, the clitic pronoun appears second and the verb follows immediately, with subject and other elements in its train.

With respect to the main clause, recall that the classical 3rd-person anaphoric pronouns, αὐτόν [autón] ‘him’ etc., function effectively as clitics (cf. Dover (1960)), despite their written accent, in that they never occur sentence-initially in this role; they are, of course, the source of the modern clitic pronouns τον [ton] etc., via the reduced forms ἀτόν [a'ton] etc. that are sometimes attested in low-level texts of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[6] Since there is here neither a focus nor a semantic operator, the verb naturally comes first, with its dependent clitic following immediately in second position and the subject once again coming last.

4.9 Analogical Pressure on the Strong Aorist Paradigm

Returning to (17), we may note finally the beginnings of the levelling of the distinction between the irregular ‘strong’ aorist paradigm (with 1/2/3 sg forms ending in -ον [-on],

-ες [-es], -ε [-e]) and the regular 'weak' aorists (with 1/2/3 sg forms in -(σ)α [-(s)a], -(σ)ας [-(s)as], (σ)ε [-(s)e]). Thus alongside 'classical' ἦλθον ['ẹlt^h-on] (in para. 18) we find εἶπας ['ip-as] (in para. 20), in which the classical εἶπες ['ip-es] has been replaced by a form with the weak suffix.

For certain verbs (including εἶπον ['ipon]) this paradigm shift was already characteristic of classical Ionic. It affected the Attic equivalents only in part, but passed into the Ionicized Koine, and with time spread to become an increasingly common feature of its middle-to-low registers; the final product of this interference will be considered in chapter 5 and again in Part II (Byzantine Greek).

4.10 The Spoken Koine: Regional Diversity

4.10.1 Introduction

The examination of the linguistic usage of 'vernacular' literature leads the way to a general consideration of the lower registers of the Koine, in particular of the written evidence available for reconstructing aspects of its structure and history as a popular spoken language.

The issue of regional variety in old Greece has already been considered above in connection with Boeotian/Koine and Doric/Koine interference (4.4.2, 4.4.3). Significant progress has been made in recent years in getting to grips with the sociolinguistics of dialect choice and dialect mixture in different regions and a general picture has emerged of growing diglossia and two-way dialect/Koine interference, followed by the progressive marginalization of the local varieties and the corresponding emergence of regionally differentiated versions of the Koine (see, in particular, Brixhe (1993a, 1996, 1998)).

Outside the territories in which it had been long established, however, Greek in the early 3rd century BC was essentially the native language of the educated elite of the new urban centres and of the relatively impoverished colonists who had gone out to populate them. It was not the native language of the Hellenistic world as a whole, and only in Asia Minor did Greek eventually, after many centuries, come anywhere close to eliminating the indigenous languages as a universal medium of communication (cf. 8.2).

None the less a great many people of non-Greek origin inevitably acquired a knowledge of Greek as a second language, and any who looked for employment in government service had to have a high-level command of the language, both spoken and written. Thus although the Greco-Macedonian elite remained determinedly monolingual for the most part, many low-ranking local officials of native origin became fully competent in Greek, in part as a result of a rigorous training to judge from the very high grammatical and orthographic standards of many quite ordinary papyrus documents from Egypt.

Again, though the upper classes very largely kept themselves to themselves, intermarriage and daily contact between Greeks and non-Greeks in the lower strata of society inevitably promoted bilingualism on a considerable scale, and it is above all in private documents composed by the (more or less) literate members of this sector of

the population that the interference phenomena of daily speech are best reflected and evidence of regional variety within the lingua franca of ordinary Greeks, Egyptians, Arabs, Syrians, Jews, and Persians can most clearly be discerned.

We should recall, however, that the category of private documents is a broad one, and we should not expect that they will all be equally revealing of interference or substandard phenomena, or that statistical analyses of different usages will necessarily be informative; some composers of private documents were highly educated, and others could always hire the services of a professional scribe who was likely to be fully literate and reasonably well-trained in the conventions of the relevant document-type. None the less, where the Koine was superimposed on indigenous languages other than Greek, we do find evidence for diatopic variation in at least lower-level documents (cf. Bubeník (1989: ch. 5), Consani (1993)), and we may take as illustrative examples the Koine of Egypt and Asia Minor.

4.10.2 Egypt

As with many alleged Semitic phenomena in the Septuagint (and also the New Testament, see 5.10.2), a large number of features once thought to be 'Egyptian' have now been shown, through both their recurrence in contemporary Greek elsewhere and their continuation in Medieval and Modern Greek, to belong to the regular internal history of the language.

In the case of Egypt, however, the work of Mayser and Schmoll (1970), Gignac (1976, 1981) and Teodorsson (1977) has provided a solid philological base for the identification of true markers of Egyptian Greek, at least some of which are due to the impact of Coptic (the final form of the old Egyptian language prior to its demise). Most bilingual regionalisms, of course, tell us more about the substrate language than about Greek, and these obviously had no lasting effect on the subsequent development of the language as a whole. Occasionally they coincide with general patterns of evolution in the language, but in this case there is no reason to interpret them as the direct result of substrate interference, even if the substrate may have reinforced the development locally.

As an example, Coptic regularly used voiced allophones of its plosives after nasal consonants, and this is also attested in Greek documents from Egypt, rarely at first, but with growing frequency as we move into the Roman period: e.g. παθεῖν δι [pa'tʰin di], with δι for τι [ti], 'to suffer something'. But there is evidence for voicing in this context from elsewhere (most strikingly in Pamphylia, because of its very early attestation there in the 4th century BC), and voicing is now the rule in standard Modern Greek. In such cases, then, we must be dealing with sporadic 'phonetic' spellings reflecting a current pronunciation even among monoglot Greek speakers, and not only in Egypt but in many other areas of the Greek-speaking world.

Concentrating here on phonology, which is arguably the most important area of differentiation in standard languages, the following characteristics of Egyptian Koine emerge most clearly (cf. Consani (1993), and see the relevant sections of Teodorsson (1977) and, for the Roman period, Gignac (1976), where full documentation is provided):

(21) (a) The graphic interchange of both voiceless aspirated and voiced plosives with their voiceless counterparts.

(i) The aspirated/voiceless overlaps are contextually conditioned in the main (after [s], before another aspirate, and in the context of liquids and nasals) and reflect an internal development of Egyptian Greek that is paralleled in part in some ancient dialects; the cases that fall outside the usual patterns are perhaps due to the fact that only one Coptic dialect (Bohairic, spoken in the Delta area) had aspirated stop phonemes.

(ii) With respect to the unconditioned voiced/voiceless interchanges, we should note that the number of spelling mistakes involving the labials is fewer than those for the dentals and velars. Since Coptic lacked contrasts in its plosive system based on [± voice] but did have a phonologically significant opposition between the voiceless labial plosive /p/ and the voiced fricative /β/, the explanation seems straightforward; errors decrease in number in the articulatory area where a voicing opposition existed in the 'native' language (see Worrell (1934), Till (1961), Vergote (1973), Loprieno (1995)).

(b) Spelling interchange between σ and ζ also reflects the absence of a phonemic contrast between /s/ and /z/ in Coptic.

(c) The common graphic interchange of ο/ω and ου implies some confusion of /o/ and /u/ in the speech of some writers; this is also probably a Coptic substrate effect since the contrast between /o/ and /u/ was neutralized after [m] and [n], and frequently in final position when the vowel was unstressed.

(d) Similarly, interchanges between α and ϵ/αι, α and ο/ω, and ο/ω and ϵ/αι in unaccented (i.e. by now unstressed) syllables imply some assimilation of the low/mid unstressed vowels [a], [e] and [o] to the /ə/ of Coptic.

Certain other features, however, seem to be internal developments of Egyptian Greek itself. We may note, for example, the sporadic omission of the liquids [l] and [r] in the context of occlusives, and the frequent interchange of αι and α in Ptolemaic papyri, implying a lower than usual articulation for the former (i.e. as [æ] rather than [e], with consequential αι/α, as well as the more usual αι/ϵ interchanges).

The weakness of word-final [n] is also often reflected directly by its omission in spelling, but this particular feature seems to have been quite common in vernacular Greek generally to judge from the evidence, say, of Attic inscriptions (cf. Teodorsson (1974, 1978), Threatte (1980, 1996)). We may compare here the Modern Greek situation in which, certain dialects such as Cypriot apart, final [n] survives in only a handful of words, and under specific contextual conditions (cf. Parts II and III for this development, which is distinct from the sporadic and unconditioned dropping of final [-n] attested in the papyri). Similar remarks apply to final [s], though in this case Medieval and Modern Greek provide clear evidence of early resistance to any potential loss, presumably for grammatical reasons ([-s] being a major morpho-syntactic marker in a large number of inflectional paradigms).

The more general weakness of syllable-final nasals before plosives, however, as evidenced by frequent omission and hypercorrect insertion, though occasionally paralleled in Asia Minor Koine and classical dialects, including even Attic (cf. Teodorsson (1978: 89), Brixhe (1987: 33)), seems to have been specially characteristic of Egyptian Greek from Ptolemaic times onwards. Both medially and word-finally this process sometimes involved not simply the loss of the nasal, with or without nasalization of the preceding vowel, but complete assimilation to the following consonant: cf. spellings like προσήνεκκεν [prosé:nekken] 's/he brought', for προσήνεγκεν, 3rd century BC.

On the other hand evidence for the retention of the medial nasal and for its voicing effect on a following voiceless plosive increases steadily in the Roman period, as noted above, and this seems to have been the general situation elsewhere, to judge from the evidence of Modern Greek. Thus even those modern dialects that have now eliminated nasals in this context show evidence of their former presence through the retention of voiced plosives (in some areas still geminated, as a consequence of assimilation to the already voiced plosive, cf. Newton (1972: 93–9)): e.g. ['pente] > ['pende] > ['pedde] (> ['pede]) 'five'.

4.10.3 Asia Minor

Turning briefly to Asia Minor, the pioneering work of Brixhe (1987) has provided important new insights and a comprehensive bibliography (cf. also Consani (1993)). Here the coastal regions had undergone a very early Hellenization, as already noted, and the indigenous populations of the interior were, unlike in Egypt, extremely heterogeneous both ethnically and linguistically, with Phrygian and Pisidian in particular surviving alongside Greek into the Christian era. The impact of the Koine was therefore variable according to region, but certain features are also well-attested in other areas and as such represent part of the general development of the language.

We may note, for example, the steady increase in instances of aphaeresis (loss of initial unaccented vowels) and syncope, the co-occurrence of standard αυ/ευ [af/ef] and substandard α/ε spellings (the latter reflecting allegro pronunciations) in words such as α(ὐ)τόν [a[f]ton] 'him', and the synizesis of [i] and [e] in the context of a following vowel (e.g. [-ia]/[-ea] > [-ja], with accent shift to the final vowel if the [i] or [e] was originally stressed).

On the other hand, evidence for the weakness of word-final nasals, otherwise widely attested, is notably sparse in this region, and it is interesting to observe that the systematic retention of final [-n] was already a characteristic of Cypriot Koine (despite Ptolemaic rule, cf. Consani (1986, 1990)), and that this remains a feature of the contemporary dialect. It is also a marked feature of the modern dialects of Chios and the Dodecanese, and was typical of those Greek dialects (Cappadocian, Bithynian and Pontic) widely spoken in Asia Minor up until the exchange of populations with Turkey in 1923 (see Part III).

Here, then, there seems to be modern dialect evidence for a specifically eastern type of Koine spoken in Asia Minor, Cyprus and other adjacent islands (cf. Thumb (1901: ch. 5, 1906, 1912), Dawkins (1916: 213–14)). Other features shared by some or all of these modern dialects, at least until recently, include the continued use of the article as a relative (Cyprus, Rhodes, Cos, Cappadocia; an old Asiatic Ionic characteristic,

common in Homer and Herodotus, and also shared by ancient Lesbian), the continued use of possessive adjectives (Chios, Cappadocia, Pontus; replaced elsewhere by prepositional expressions, now defunct, or the simple genitive of personal pronouns), and a pool of common vocabulary items and/or special senses of otherwise familiar words.

Other features, however, seem once again to be potentially attributable to substrate effects, for example the frequency of prothetic vowels in Phrygia and the contextually conditioned closure of unaccented [e] > [i] and [o] > [u]. The latter phenomenon is familiar from some ancient dialects, but the regularity of these changes and their general restriction to unstressed final syllables in the Asia Minor Koine suggest quite strongly that they reflect the paralel properties of the /e/~/i/ and /o/~/u/ neutralizations of Phrygian. Such vowel raising remained, incidentally, a characteristic of many varieties of modern Cappadocian, Bithynian and Pontic, in which, unlike in the northern dialects of Modern Greek (cf. Part III), the process was again largely confined to post-tonic, particularly final, syllables.

Similarly, the frequent graphic interchange of voiceless and aspirated plosives, though again partially paralleled elsewhere, seems to have a randomness right across Asia Minor (examples from Mysia, Lydia, Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Galatia, Lycaonia) that points to the general absence of such a contrast in the relevant native languages.

Such 'local' features could readily be compiled for the Koine of Palestine and Syria (cf. Bubeník (1989: 4.6, 5.2), where Aramaic, including Syriac, continued in use after the Arab conquest of the 7th century AD. Unfortunately relatively little work has been done on the Hellenistic inscriptions of this region, with most effort concentrated on the supposed Semitisms of the Septuagint (cf. 4.7.8) and the New Testament (see 5.7 and 5.8). But enough has been said to illustrate the point that the Koine was, in its more popular registers, very far from being a uniform language; its considerable heterogeneity, both in old Greece and in the new kingdoms, is already clearly apparent from documents of the later Hellenistic period, with local differences deriving from both ancient dialectal/foreign-language substrate effects and language-internal developments within particular regions. Both categories naturally include features which are important for an understanding of the later dialect geography of Greek as well as dead-end traits which eventually wither away in their region of origin leaving no significant trace on later history.

This diversity should not, however, blind us to changes which, in the light of Medieval and Modern Greek, anticipate or reflect the general development of the language as a whole. The private inscriptions and papyri provide invaluable evidence for a number of such innovations in the more popular varieties of Greek, and the particular value of these documents in this connection must now be illustrated.

4.11 Private Inscriptions and Papyri: Some Major Trends

4.11.1 Introduction: datives, future periphrases, the nom-acc plural of consonant-stems

We have already seen that literary texts written in a language subject to the conservative influence of literary, cultural and grammatical tradition reveal relatively little of

the development of spoken Greek, and that even more popular productions, though reflecting certain grammatical and lexical changes more directly, show almost nothing by way of phonological change because written in the standard orthography.

By contrast, even though all who had learned to write had, by the very nature of the exercise, come into contact with the grammatical/literary tradition, the private documents of the less well-educated sometimes provide vital additional insights, through their numerous spelling mistakes and relatively unselfconscious grammatical structures, into changes at all linguistic levels in the everyday language of the majority of the Greek-speaking population.

We may begin with the following extracts from a papyrus letter written by one Apollonios to his elder brother ('father' in the piece is a conventional form of address to a man older than oneself), dated c.152 BC (P. Par. 47/UPZ 70):

(22) Ἀπολλώνιος Πτολεμαίῳ τῶι πατρὶ χαίρειν. ὀμνύο τὸν Σάραπιν, ἶ μὴ μικρόν τι ἐντρέπομαι, οὐκ ἄν με ἶδες τὸ πόρσωπόν μου πόποτε, ὅτι ψεύδηι πάντα καὶ οἱ παρὰ σε θεοὶ ὁμοίως, ὅτι ἐνβέβληκαν ὑμᾶς εἰς ὕλην μεγάλην καὶ οὗ δυνάμεθα ἀποθανεῖν κἂν ἴδης ὅτι μέλλομεν σωθῆναι, τότε βαπτιζώμεθα. γίνωσκε ὅτι πιράσεται ὁ δραπέτης μὴ ἀφῖναι ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων ἶναι· ... οὐκ ἔστι ἀνακύψαι με πόποτε ἐν τῇ Τρικομίαι ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης, ἶ καὶ αὑτοὺς δεδώκαμεν ... πρὸς τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγοντες.

[apo'lonios ptole'mæo to pa'tri 'k^{h}ærin. om'nyo to(n) 'sarapin, i me̯
Apollonios to-Ptolemy the father (I-bid) to-rejoice. I-swear (by-)the Serapis, if not
mi'kron di en'drepomæ, uk an me 'ides to 'porso'pom mu 'popote,
little something I-feel-shame, not would me you-have-seen the face of-me ever,
hoti 'pseβ^{w}di 'panda kæ hø para se t^{h}e'ø ho'møos, hoti em'beβle̯kan
because you-lie always and the with you gods likewise, because they-had-cast
hi'mas is 'hyle̯n me'ɣale̯n kæ hu dy'namet^{h}a apot^{h}a'nin kan 'ide̯s
us into matter great and where we-may to-die and-if you see
hoti 'melomen so't^{h}e̯næ, 'tote βapti'zomet^{h}a. 'jinoske hoti pi'rasetæ
that we-shall to-be-saved, then we-are-sunk. Know that will-try
ho dra'pete̯s me̯ a'p^{h}inæ he̯'mas epi ton 'dopon 'inæ ... uk 'esti
the runaway not to-let us on the places to-be ... Not it-is-possible
ana'kypsæ me 'popote en di triko'mia hypo te̯s æ'sk^{h}yne̯s, i kæ
to-lift-the-head me ever in the Trikomia becuase-of the shame, if indeed
haɸ^{w}'tus de'dokamen ... pros tus te̯n a'le̯t^{h}e̯an 'leɣondes.]
selves we-have-given ... (A reply) to those the truth saying

'Apollonios to Ptolemaios his father (*i.e. older brother*) greetings. I swear by Serapis that if I did not have a little compunction you would never have seen my face again, because you lie all the time and your gods likewise, because they dropped us (*the letter reads* you, *but this is an error*) into a grand business in which we may well die and if ever you see (*in a vision*) that we are about to be saved we are sunk at once. Know that the 'runaway' (*a term of abuse for an enemy*) will try to stop us being in the place … It is impossible for me to hold up my head in Trikomia ever again for shame that we have given ourselves away … A reply to the purveyors of truth.'

Particularly striking is the author's reluctance to use the dative outside the formulaic greeting at the beginning. Thus in the main clause of the conditional sentence that follows we would perhaps have expected a so-called 'ethic' dative of oblique involvement, but instead we find the accusative με [me]. The often 'goal-orientated' sense of the indirect object (cf. 'give to/send to' etc.), together with the use of two accusatives rather than an accusative and a dative with verbs like 'teach', encouraged such overlaps between the dative and the accusative, and a tendency to replace datives with accusatives spread to other uses too, most particularly in the case of the clitic pronouns, as here.

We might also note, incidentally, the rather later but wholly parallel overlap between such oblique datives and possessive genitives. This begins with cases like (23) (P. Flor. 127):

(23) λαμβάνεις μου τὰ γράμματα

[lam'banis mu ta 'ɣramata]
you-receive of-me the letters

where the genitive pronoun is undoubtedly a marker of possession, but the possibility of placing it, as a clitic, in the classic 'second position' in the sentence (rather than after the head within the relevant noun phrase) encourages comparison with the dative pronouns that also naturally appear there. In this particular case, since the dative could also be used to express possession (cf. 'the letter to-me' etc.), we would most naturally still assume a possessive sense. But from here it was a small step, given an appropriate context, to interpret such a displaced genitive pronoun as overlapping more widely with the dative, first in the ethic/oblique involvement function ('s/he seized to/for-me the cloak') and finally as an indirect object ('s/he gave to-me the reward'). We should not be surprised, then, to see many examples in the later papyri of both accusative and genitive pronouns functioning as indirect objects in place of the classical dative.

Once firmly established in the pronoun system these usages also began to extend to full noun phrases, most particularly in the case of the genitive (though in general prepositional phrases are preferred). In Modern Greek the northern dialects have now generalized the accusative as the case for indirect object pronouns, the southern dialects the genitive.

As is often the case, such functional overlaps coincided with the destructive effects of sound change in undermining the dative case. With the loss of the final i-element of the long diphthongs and the equalization of vowel length the dative singular of many classes of noun became virtually homophonous with the accusative singular (given the weakness of final -ν [-n]). Thus 1st-declension χώραν ['kʰora(n)]/χώρᾳ ['kʰora] 'country', 2nd-declension λόγον ['loɣo(n)]/λόγῳ ['loɣo] 'word', etc. This inevitably led to further overlapping usages even where the accusative and dative forms were clearly distinguished, as in 1st/2nd-declension plural and in the 3rd declension. The problem was further exacerbated in Egypt by the frequent neutralization of /o/ and /u/ in unstressed final syllables (cf. (21c)), so that singular 2nd-declension genitives and datives were also often homophonous in casual varieties: cf. λόγου ['loɣu]/λόγῳ ['loɣu].

As further evidence of the decline of the dative we should note that the accusative σε [se] in the prepositional possessive οἱ παρά σε θεοί [hø para se tʰe'ø], lit. 'the beside you gods', is in fact an authorial correction for dative σοι [sø] (an 'ablatival' genitive being manifestly inappropriate here); only after the preposition ἐν [en] 'in' does Apollonios feel comfortable with the dative case, and we have already noted above how this particular preposition came to be used widely as a virtually meaningless support for the dative in a variety of adverbial functions.

Similar remarks apply to the use of accusative με [me] after οὐκ ἔστι [uk 'esti] 'it is impossible', where the classical language would ordinarily have employed a dative; this could also be interpreted as a shift to an accusative and infinitive construction (*it is impossible for-me [to X] > it is impossible [(for) me to X]*), but the general trend was away from such structures (James (2007)).

Other features of interest here include the avoidance of the future passive in favour of a periphrasis with μέλλω ['melo] + aorist passive infinitive, μέλλομεν σωθῆνα ['melome(n) so'tʰe̹næ] 'we-are-about to-be-saved'; such periphrases gradually spread throughout the future system with the passage of time, particularly after sound change had effectively destroyed the distinction between the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative in the active paradigm of many verbs (cf. chapter 5).

The use of the classical optative (in conjunction with the particle ἄν [an]) in the 'root' sense of possibility has similarly been replaced by the use of modal auxiliaries, both personal (δυνάμεθα [dy'nametʰa], = 'we may' rather than 'we are able', and in the sense 'it is possible that we ...' rather than 'we are allowed to ...') and impersonal (ἔστι ['esti] 'it is possible'), both in conjunction with infinitival complements.

Finally, we should note the use of the 3rd-declension nominative in -ες [-es] for the accusative in -ας [-as] in the participle λέγοντες ['leɣondes] at the very end of the document (in fact on the reverse). This is paralleled in some dialect inscriptions from as early as the 6th century BC (most notably in Elean), and appears to be the product of various analogies with 3rd-declension forms in which no distinction was made between these two cases in the plural.[7] In Attic, and subsequently in the Koine, the use of -εις [-is] as both nominative and accusative plural in the i- and u-stems (cf. i-stem πόλεις ['polis] 'cities (nom/acc pl)' etc.) seems to have affected first the eu-stems, where the innovative nominative plural -εῖς [-'is] (as in βασιλεῖς [βasi'lis] 'kings', replacing earlier -ῆς [-'e̹s]) came to have both functions at the expense of the original accusative -έας [-'eas]. From here the pattern (if not the actual endings) started to spread to consonant-stem forms of the 3rd declension, as here. The longer-term effect was to undermine the distinction between the nominative and the accusative plural even in the 1st (a-stem) declension, as a result of further changes to be discussed below. In Modern Greek masculine and feminine nouns of the 3rd declension have very largely assimilated to the 1st declension, and all have nominative and accusative plurals in [-es].

4.11.2 Phonological developments

Full details of the phonological development of the Koine in Egypt and elsewhere in the Hellenistic and Roman periods are provided in chapter 6. The major points to be discussed here are therefore mainly methodological, though particular details have been selected to illustrate the issues involved.

First, we should note that many private letters written at much later times than (22) employ a more 'correct' orthography, and that level of education is therefore at least as important a factor as date in determining the extent to which spelling reflects sound change directly. Here, for example, there is a frequent substitution of ι for ει (cf. ἰ [i] for εἰ 'if', ἶδες ['ides] for εἶδες 'you saw' and several other examples), which clearly demonstrates the raising of at least some allophones (especially in pre-consonantal and word-final positions) of 'classical' /e(:)/ (written ει) to [i], and correlates with what we see both in earlier official Boeotian inscriptions and more sporadically in low-level Attic documents from the 5th century onwards (cf. Teodorsson (1974: 175–8, 251, 254 ff). The change was completed in the later Roman period and the resultant merger is a feature of Modern Greek.

Similarly, the regular confusion of ο and ω (cf. ὀμνύο [om'nyo] for ὀμνύω, βαπτιζώμεθα [βapti'zometʰa] for βαπτιζόμεθα, etc.) shows that vowel-length oppositions had already disappeared, a change that is directly correlated with the shift from the classical pitch accent to an accent characterized primarily by greater loudness. There are in fact a few indirect signs of this shift even in classical dialect inscriptions (see chapter 1, 1.4.3 (b)). Here we should simply note that the phonological contrast between the acute accent (rise on the accented vowel, fall on the following syllable) and the circumflex accent (rise-fall on the accented long vowel or diphthong) could not be sustained when there ceased to be inherently long vowels and diphthongs capable of bearing the accentual contonation alone. On the assumption that the equalization of vowel length resulted in a neutralization in favour of the acute accent, and that the rise in pitch had always been associated secondarily with at least some increase in amplitude, the final result would have been a single type of word accent characterized by both a rise in pitch and an increase in volume, but with the latter now placed in sharper focus by the loss of contrastiveness in the former. In due course, and doubtless with the help of substrate languages with primary stress accents such as Coptic, the rise in pitch came to be interpreted increasingly as a secondary concomitant of greater loudness.

On the other hand, though 'classical' /oi/ eventually merged with /y/, οι and υ are never confused in (22), implying that for this speaker at least the former still represented an intermediate stage in the development from [oi], namely [ø]. On the other hand, the word for 'us' (normally ἡμᾶς) is spelled ὑμᾶς, the word for 'you'. Since this is a not uncommon error in the papyri of the period, it seems that in certain circumstances (e.g. in initial pretonic syllables, particularly where a labial context would encourage dissimilation of a rounded front vowel) and/or in certain words of high frequency (e.g. personal pronouns) changes had already gone through that otherwise took effect much later. Thus despite the absence of confusion between υ and η elsewhere, it seems that in these words at least both letters represented the same sound, namely [i], and that the two pronouns were therefore homophonous. This naturally led to the eventual replacement of the classical forms (see chapter 6 and Part II).

Apparently, then, [ẹ] and [y] had shifted to [i] under certain conditions. But the fact that contemporary /ẹ/ (written η, the product of the raising of 'classical' /ɛ:/ to fill the 'gap' created by the partial merger of original /e:/ with /i(:)/) had not itself yet raised to merge with /i/ across the board (as in Modern Greek) is strongly implied by the absence of any interchanges between η and ει/ι. The parallel absence of interchanges

between υ and ει/ι similarly shows that /y/, represented by υ, had not yet generally lost its lip-rounding (cf. Modern Greek once again for confirmation of this development), despite the isolated use here of υ to represent [i] in ὑμεῖς. Similarly, the absence of ε/αι confusion implies a value [æ] for the latter, intermediate between classical [ai] and its final realization as [e] (cf. 4.10.2 on Egyptian Koine).

Notice throughout that the attempt to interpret the evidence of the spellings has been based on both graphic interchanges (or the lack of them) internal to the document and the general picture that can be built up by a comparison with other documentary evidence, both contemporary and from other periods, and drawn not only from the same region but also from elsewhere. The whole exercise is subject to overall interpretation in the light of the final outcomes known from Modern Greek and its dialects. In this way odd mistakes and purely local developments can be distinguished fairly reliably from phenomena of genuine significance for the history of the language.

This is not to say, however, that the issues are always clear cut. We may compare, for example, the following extracts from a letter of 154 BC (P. Par. 43/UPZ 66) written by one Sarapion to his brothers Ptolemaios and Apollonios (the same individuals as are involved in (22)). Though all the brothers presumably had a very similar education, and enjoyed similar social standing, the spelling in this letter is in some respects indicative of a more 'advanced' state of phonological development than that of the preceding one:

(24) συγγέγραμμαι τῆι Ἑσπέρου θυγατρί, μέλλω δὲ ἰσάγειν ἐν τῷ Μεσορὴ μηνί. καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀποστεῖλαί μοι ἱμίχουν ἐλαίου. γέγραφ' ἱμεῖν ἵνα εἰδῆται … παραγενοῦ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν.

[syŋ'geɣrame ti he'speru t^{h}yɣa'tri, 'melo de i'sajin en do
I-have-made-a-contract with-the of-Hesperos daughter, I-will and to-marry in the
meso'ri mi'ni. ka'los po'je̝sis apo'stil'e mø hi'mik^{h}un e'leu. 'jeɣrap^{h}
Mesore month. well you-will-do to-send to-me half-chous of-oil. I-have-written
hi'min hina i'dite …
to-you that you-may-know …
paraje'nu de is te̝n he̝'meran.]
be-present and on the day.

'I have made a contract with the daughter of Hesperos, and I shall marry her in the month of Mesore. Please send half a chous (*a liquid measure*) of oil. I have written to you so that you may know … Come for the (*wedding*) day.'

Certain features argued for above are here confirmed; for example, the supposition that η and υ signify [i] in initial pretonic syllables in a labial environment (cf. ἱμίχουν [hi'mik^{h}un] for ἡμίχουν, ἱμεῖν, [hi'min] for ὑμῖν). On the other hand, the αι/ε confusion evidenced in εἰδῆται [i'de̝te] for εἰδῆτε strongly suggests that /æ/ has already merged with /e/ for this speaker.

Obviously the minutiae of different documents (even from the same period and from members of the same family) can be extremely confusing. It is crucial, therefore, despite the obvious difficulties, to stand back and to look for the broader trends, because these documents provide our best, and often our only, direct evidence for the

details and the chronology of sound change. Many of the changes first attested in the private documents of the moderately educated eventually begin to make a sporadic appearance in official documents too. But if they do appear in such texts, there is often a very considerable time lag in matters of grammar and lexicon, and as far as spelling is concerned we should never forget that the aim of all who composed official texts throughout the history of Greek was to use the classical orthography correctly.

It is important also to recognize that the same sets of changes may have gone through at slightly different times in different areas, or even at different times in the same area, the variation being determined by factors such as social class (the aristocracy being generally very conservative, the urban masses more innovative, and the majority of the literate population occupying a middle position).

Nor should we forget that in Athenian Attic innovation seems to have begun from the bottom up, while in the new Greek territories, such as Egypt, it seems to have been the emergent middle-register norm, based on the old Attic language of business and administration, that crucially shaped both the originally mixed dialectal speech of the lower classes and the second-language Greek of the native populations. We should not, then, be surprised to discover that evidence for a given set of changes in Egyptian or other varieties of the Hellenistic Koine is generally later than that for Athenian Attic/Koine.

4.11.3 Other morphological developments: partial merger of the 1st and 3rd declensions

A fuller account of the relevant changes in this domain will be presented in chapter 11, once the further developments of the Roman and Byzantine eras have been examined. Here, to effect the transition to the later period, we may add just one final example of a private document, an inscription on a statue base from Magnesia on the Meander (Kern (1900: 145)), dating from the 1st century BC:

(25) Σοφήιαν θυγατέρα τὴν Λευκίου Σοφήιου, γυναῖκαν δὲ Λευκίου Οὐαλερίου Λευκίου ὑοῦ Φλάκκου τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου.

[sop^{h}'e̞an t^{h}yga'tera te̞n lu:'kiu sop^{h}'e̞u, jy'nekan de lu:'kiu wale'riu
Sophea daughter the of-Lucius Sopheus, wife and of-Lucius Valerius
lu:'kiu hy'u 'flaku tu ant^{h}y'patu.]
of-Lucius son Flaccus the proconsul

'Sophea, daughter of Lucius Sopheus, and wife of Lucius Valerius Flaccus, son of Lucius, the proconsul.'

The kingdom of Pergamum, which included the city of Magnesia, had been bequeathed to the Roman state by King Attalus III in 134 BC, probably to avoid an imminent social revolution. The document is testimony to Roman pragmatism in adopting the established language of their new province of Asia not only for official but also for private purposes (see also chapter 5).

Here we may note the preference for -ϵυ- rather than -ου- as a transcription of the long Latin /u:/, perhaps because the former spelling, despite the tendency to a fricative pronunciation for the second element in the diphthong /eu/, still retained a 'long' pronunciation, while the latter now represented only [u]. The use of ϕ to represent Latin /f/ is also interesting, though in view of the consistent Roman preference for *ph* as a transcription of ϕ into the late imperial period, this is presumably a matter of using the best available representation for an alien sound rather than evidence for the routine frication of /p^h/ in this period.

The really important point here, however, is the addition of final -ν [-n] to the accusative singular γυναῖκα-ν [jy'neka-n] 'wife'. The accusative singular marker in all declensions in which the final element of the stem was vocalic was -ν [-n]: -αν [-an], -ον [-on], -ιν [-in], -υν [-yn]. In the consonant stems, however, the classical ending was -α [-a], the prehistoric product of a syllabic *[n̩] conditioned by the consonantal context. It was only a matter of time before an analogical -ν [-n] was added to the consonant-stem accusative ending, and sporadic examples duly appear in classical Cypriot, Thessalian and Elean inscriptions (Buck (1955: 89)), in the later inscriptions of many other dialects, and in the Ptolemaic papyri from the 3rd century BC onwards (Mayser and Schmoll (1970: I2.1.172)). There are also occasional examples in some manuscripts of the Septuagint (where they may, of course, be due to later copyists).

The example here is one of the earliest inscriptional examples in the Koine, and is testimony to the steady spread of the phenomenon from local and substandard varieties of spoken Greek into somewhat higher written registers. It is of crucial importance for the later history of Greek because it marks the beginning of the breakdown of the distinction between the consonant-stems of the 3rd declension and the a-stems (1st declension). Eventually new nominatives in -α [-a] (feminine) and -ας [-as] (masculine) were built to these accusatives in -αν [-an], and the whole class of masculine/feminine nouns was finally absorbed into the a-stem paradigm (as in standard Modern Greek). The process, however, took many centuries to approach completion, because of the normative influence of the literary and official written languages. Indeed, some modern dialects still retain the old consonant-stem genitive singular suffix -ος [-os], while written forms such as Ελλάς [e'las] 'Greece', genitive Ελλάδος [e'laðos], also persist, e.g. on the T-shirts of national sports teams and in the names of banks, alongside the more colloquial Ελλάδα [e'laða], genitive Ελλάδας [e'laðas].

This paradigmatic interference was not unidirectional, however. The nominative plural (and, in the popular vernacular, increasingly the accusative plural) of consonant-stems ended in -ϵς [-es] (cf. above). When the pronunciation of classical /ai/ shifted to [e], and so merged with /e/, the a-stem nominative plural -αι [-e] began in Byzantine times to acquire a final -ς [-s] in popular speech, doubtless as a consequence of the great frequency of nominative plurals ending in [-s] in the masculine and feminine nouns and adjectives of the 3rd declension (consonant-stems, i-stems, u-stems, eu-stems). Once again, the influence of the archaizing literary and official languages long delayed the appearance of such innovative nominative plural forms in higher-register writing, though they do start to occur sporadically in mid- to low-level popular literature from the early Byzantine period onwards (spelled -ϵς and, later, -αις, the latter becoming available, as a compromise with the classical orthography, after the demise of the homophonous dative plural).

4.12 Conclusion

It should be clear from this rather selective survey of the development of the Koine in the Hellenistic period that quite a few of the changes characteristic of Modern Greek were already beginning to take effect in the more popular spoken and written varieties of the language in the last centuries of the pre-Christian era. These are best reflected in the private documents of the less well-educated, but grammatical and lexical innovations also have some impact on popular literary styles, and even some official writing, though the influence of the classical language increases steadily as we move towards the highest-level official and self-consciously belletristic styles. (See the chapters on Ancient Greek in Georgakopoúlou and Silk (2009) for some interesting discussion of issues relating to the notion of a standard language in antiquity.)

To a great extent this pattern of development continues throughout the Roman and Byzantine periods, with the important difference that the Koine ceases for a time to be a genuinely literary language under the impact of the Atticist movement. Henceforth high-level literary productions (i.e. those that fall into the genres of the classical tradition) aim more consistently at an Attic or Atticizing style, while the language of the official Koine and more popular forms of literature (e.g. novel genres such as chronicles and hagiography) continues to compromise, in varying degrees according to the genre/level of the text in question, between its own highly conservative practice and the usage of the contemporary spoken language. These issues are taken up and developed in chapters 5 and 6.

Notes

1 The proposal of Brixhe and Panayótou (1994), developed in Brixhe (1997), that a curse tablet found at the Macedonian capital of Pella in 1986, perhaps dating from the 4th century BC and written in a variety of West Greek, represents the 'true' Macedonian dialect has not won universal support. There are still too many uncertainties of interpretation in what is a very vernacular text, and the population of the city was in any case quite heterogeneous, including speakers of the North-West Greek dialects to the south.

2 Méndez Dosuna (2000) suggests the feminine οὐδεμία [u:demía:] remained unchanged because of its morphological transparency.

3 Note, however, that the 'classical' use of participles as complements to verbs of knowledge and perception was relatively well maintained, and these resisted replacement by finite alternatives for longer than infinitives (see James (2007)).

4 The phonetic transcriptions in what follows are an attempt to reconstruct the likely conservative/upper-class pronunciation of Attic in Attica in the late 4th century (cf. Teodorsson (1974, 1978) for details, and see chapter 6).

5 There is evidence that a number of major sound changes had gone through in the speech of the majority of Greek speakers by c.150 BC, and these are reflected in the phonetic transcription here and in subsequent sections: these include loss of distinctive vowel length, the related shift from a pitch to a stress accent, the monophthongization of all diphthongs with [-i] as their second component, and the development of a fricative articulation [ϕ^w/β^w], later [f/v],

for the second element of diphthongs originally ending in [-u]; double consonants tend to be simplified, and voiced plosives are beginning to develop fricative articulations, but fricativization seems not yet to have affected the voiceless aspirates widely. See chapter 6 for a full summary.

6 It is assumed here that tonic forms were used after proclitic prepositions, however, and this remains the case in Modern Greek.

7 In Elean numerals appear to have played a major role, with τρεῖς [três] 'three (nom/acc)' leading to the use of τέτορες [tétores] 'four' as both nominative and accusative, with this leading on to parallel use of all plurals in -ες [-es].

5

Greek in the Roman Empire

5.1 Roman Domination

The Seleucids lost control of Alexander's far eastern conquests, Persia and Bactria, during the mid-3rd century. Though the latter remained under the control of a Greek dynasty, the former came to be ruled by an Iranian (Parthian) monarchy with the revival of Persia as the dominant regional power. But the heartlands of Hellenistic civilization, in Greece and Macedonia, in Asia Minor, in the middle East (Syria and Palestine) and in North Africa (Egypt and Cyrenaica) progressively fell first under the influence and then under the direct control of Rome during the course of the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, as Republican Rome began its dramatic period of imperial expansion.

Southern Italy and Sicily were already very largely in Roman hands by the end of the 3rd century, the latter as a direct result of Rome's first war with Carthage (264–241 BC). But the Romans' deadly struggle with the Carthaginians was far from resolved; by 215 BC the Carthaginians under Hannibal had attained an apparently dominant position, and in Greece the squabbling Aetolian and Achaean leagues, the latter in alliance with Philip V of Macedon, had quickly sought to close ranks when brought face to face with the dire implications of an imminent resolution to this conflict. Philip, however, made a treaty with Hannibal with a view to securing his own position in neighbouring Illyria, and the Romans replied swiftly by concluding their own treaty with the Aetolians and waging war first on Philip and the Achaeans together (211–205 BC), and then, after their victory over Hannibal, on Philip alone (200–197 BC), whose aggression along the coasts of Asia Minor had provoked the Pergamenes, Rhodians and Egyptians to appeal for help. Although the Romans proclaimed 'Greek freedom' (i.e. from Macedonia) as their motive, the real consequence of their military successes against Macedonia was in fact a considerable tightening of the constraints on the freedom of action left to the cities of the Greek mainland. Roman victory thus left the Aetolians, who had aided their Roman allies against Philip, seriously disgruntled.

At this time Antiochus III, the Seleucid monarch of Syria, was seeking to extend his own control over the cities of the Asia Minor seaboard, and the Aetolians therefore rashly invited him to 'liberate Greece' and settle their grievances with Rome. In the ensuing war (192–188 BC) the Romans won another decisive victory, with the result

not only that Aetolian power was further diminished in Greece but also that the Seleucids were effectively banished from Asia Minor west of the Taurus mountains. This left the friendly Attalid kings of Pergamum, who had already established their independence from the Seleucids in the first half of the 3rd century BC, as the dominant power in Asia Minor.

Though Philip had fought as a Roman ally against Antiochus, he received little in return, and after a series of subsequent territorial disputes had been resolved in Rome's favour, his successor Perseus tried to recover Macedonian influence in Greece. When he was further alleged to have hostile intentions towards Rome's ally Pergamum, the Romans initiated a third Macedonian war (171–168 BC) in which Perseus was finally subjected to a crushing defeat. After a short period organized as four 'independent' tribute-paying republics, Macedonia was made into a Roman province in 149 BC. Shortly afterwards the continued intransigence of the Achaean league led in 146 BC to the destruction of Corinth, the dissolution of the league and the final subjection of the Greek city states to the direct control of the Roman governor of Macedonia.

A little later, in 133 BC, Attalus III, king of Pergamum, fearing revolution, bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, and this fabulously rich territory was henceforth administered as the new province of Asia. Alarmed by this seemingly irresistible spread of Roman power, Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, sought, soon after his accession to the throne in c.120 BC, to consolidate his position by seizing control of the neighbouring, and previously independent, kingdoms of Bithynia and Cappadocia. Though Mithridates was eventually driven out of his Asian 'empire', Nicomedes IV of Bithynia decided to follow Attalus' example, and to leave his kingdom too to the protection of Roman government (74 BC). His concern was understandable, since in 88 BC Mithridates had sought to take advantage of Roman preoccupations in Italy (a rebellion of Italian states) by invading Macedonia and Greece, where a number of states supported his cause. Though Mithridates was also forced out of Europe by Sulla, his final defeat took place only in 66 BC. The victorious general Pompey then organized Bithynia and Pontus together into another new province (63 BC), and at the same time converted the much-reduced Seleucid kingdom, long racked by internal disunity and economic decline, into the province of Syria.

Now only Ptolemaic Egypt remained formally independent of Rome, but though the country's last monarch, Cleopatra VII, sought to preserve and even revive her empire through her association first with Julius Caesar and then with Mark Antony, Egypt too was finally annexed when in 31 BC Antony's Romano-Egyptian fleet was defeated at Actium off north-west Greece by his enemy and arch-rival Octavian (soon to be known as Augustus, the first emperor of imperial Rome).

5.2 The Fate of Greek

Though these conquered and inherited territories were administered as Roman provinces, Greek remained routinely in use alongside Latin, knowledge of which remained rather limited among the Greek-speaking population as a whole despite its imposition in the legal profession and the army, and the obvious need for bilingualism in the bureaucracy. As the vehicle of the widely admired ancient Hellenic civilization and the

long-established official language and universal lingua franca of the east, Greek was simply too prestigious and too well entrenched over too much territory for any more far-reaching programme of Latinization to seem either desirable or practicable (see e.g. Cicero *Pro Archia* 23), and the Romans were by and large content to come to terms with the status quo.

Indeed, it became a matter of routine for the Roman elite, in recognition of the status of Greek as the primary cultural and international language of the age, both to learn a 'practical' everyday Koine and to acquire at least a reading knowledge of literary Attic (cf. Kaimio (1979), Biville (1992, 1993), Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 6.2)). The extent to which Greek was appropriated is tellingly revealed by the biographer Suetonius, who has the emperor Claudius remark in surprise at a 'barbarian's' command of both Latin and Greek (*Claudius* 42.2): 'you know both *our* languages' (*utroque sermone nostro*). Even the Atticist/Asianist controversy (cf. 4.7.5 and see below) was reflected directly in the theory and practice of Roman orators (cf., for example, Cicero *Orator* 226, *Brutus* 325), and one of the leading ideologues of the early Atticist movement, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, came to Rome in 30 BC and taught there for the next 22 years. We may also compare the case of Plutarch, who was able to lecture in Rome between c. AD 75 and 90 in his own language, and never felt it necessary to master Latin, while the whole of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* provides eloquent testimony to the pervasiveness of Greek language and culture among the Roman aristocracy.

The combined effect, unsurprisingly, of direct Roman administration of the east, the partial politico-economic assimilation of the Greek aristocracy, and the cultural Hellenization of its Roman counterpart was a great deal of reciprocal lexical borrowing/calquing (cf. Quintilian I. 5. 58) and a certain amount of phonological and grammatical convergence between Greek and Latin in their higher registers, particularly literary and official Latin (cf. Coleman (1977)) and official Greek (the Latinisms of the latter having a limited 'trickle-down' effect in more popular registers, cf. García Domingo (1979)).

The long-established presence of major colonial cities in southern Italy, followed by a major influx of slaves and freedmen from the east, likewise ensured a parallel impact of popular Greek on popular Latin, most obviously revealed by the wholesale replacement of native Latin words by Greek equivalents (Coleman (1977)). Compare, for example, classical Latin *crus* 'leg', *ictus* 'blow', *lapis* 'stone', *gladius* 'sword', with Italian *gamba*, *colpo*, *pietra*, *spada*, all derived from Vulgar Latin words borrowed and adapted from Greek: καμπή [kam'bi], κόλαφος ['kolap^{h}os], πέτρα ['petra], σπάθη ['spat^{h}i]. At a slightly higher level, the generally very ordinary Koine of the New Testament (see 5.10.2 below) had a marked impact on the development of Christian Latin through close translations of the original (the so-called *Vetus Latina*) and the establishment by St Jerome of a standard text (the Vulgate) based on these versions.

5.3 The Impact of Bilingualism: Greek and Latin in Contact

The most that can be attempted here is a brief examination of a number of apparently parallel developments in the two languages that took place in the period up to the

4th/5th centuries AD. The Greek influence on Latin, as noted, became increasingly pervasive as the latter took on the role of a world language. The Latin influence on Greek, by contrast, was more restricted. General interaction with the Roman administration and exposure to Roman institutions quickly led to the standard use of borrowed/calqued vocabulary items and phraseology, and their spread in the language, together with the later and more gradual adoption of certain grammatical characteristics, was supported by the long-term presence of Latin-speaking officials, traders and soldiers, whose native Latin may eventually have assimilated certain Hellenisms and whose acquired Greek, with its Latin substrate effects, may in turn have come to influence native practice.

In general, such developments involved extensions of usage based on loan translation effects and/or the natural selection and subsequent evolution in parallel of constructional options which were already available in both languages. Much direct grammatical influence, however, was effectively limited to the official Koine, and reflected the cumulative impact on bureaucratic Greek of the large-scale translation of administrative documents composed originally in Latin; such features (including, for example, a liking for verb-final word order and the general use of the accusative and infinitive construction, cf. 5.9 below for some further discussion), were often rather alien to the natural direction of development in Greek, and so tended not to affect its subsequent evolution very significantly.

We may begin, uncontroversially, with the administrative, military, commercial and other vocabulary that was borrowed directly into spoken and 'business' Greek, but rarely if ever used in the literary language, in the period up to the end of the 5th century AD (cf. Viscidi (1944), Zilliacus (1935)). Typical examples include (the pronunciation is that assumed for educated speakers in the 4th/5th centuries AD, see chapter 6 for a summary):

(1) (a) Names of the months:
Ἰανουάριος [janu'arios] – *Ianuarius* 'January' etc.
(b) Officials, legal/administrative terms etc.:
δικτάτωρ [ðik'tator] – *dictator*
κολωνία [kolo'nia] – *colonia* 'colony' (city with privileges)
λίμιτον ['limiton] – *limes* 'boundary'
μαγίστωρ/μάγιστρος [ma'jistor/'majistros] – *magister*
πραίτωρ/πραιτώριον ['pretor/pre'torion] – *praetor/praetorium*
τίτλος ['titlos] – *tit(u)lus* 'official notice/inscription'
(c) Military terms:
ἀκτουάριος [aktu'arios] – *actuarius* 'paymaster'
ἄρμα/ἀρμάριον ['arma/ar'marion] – *arma/armarium* 'arms/armoury'
βενεφικιάριος [venefikʲ'arios] – *beneficiarius* 'a soldier with privileged status'
βιγλεύω/βίγλα [vi'ɣlevo/'viɣla] – *vig(i)lo* 'keep watch'
κεντυρίων/κεντυρία [kendy'rion/kendy'ria] – *centurio/centuria* 'centurion/century'
κόρτη ['korti] – *co(h)ors*, 'cohort'
κουστωδία [kusto'ðia] – *custodia* 'military guard'

λεγεών [leji'on] – *legio* 'legion'
πραιδεύω/πραῖδα [pre'ðevo/'preða] – *praeda* 'booty'
φοσσᾶτον [fo'saton] – *fossa/fossatum* 'ditch/trench'

(d) Money, finance etc.:
ἀσσάριον [as'arion] – *assarium* (a coin)
δηνάριον [ði'narion] – *denarius* (a coin)
ἰνδικτίων [indik'tion] – *indictio* '15-year cycle for fiscal purposes'
κῆνσος ['kinsos] – *census* 'tax'
κοδράντης [ko'ðrandis] – *quadrans* (a coin)

(e) General:
καμαλάριος [kama'larios] – *camerarius* 'domestic servant'
κιβάριον [ki'varion] – *cibarium* 'granary'
ὁσπίτιον [os'pition] – *(h)ospitium* '(guest-)house'
σέλλα ['sela] – *sella* '(official) seat'
σκάλα ['skala] – *scala* 'steps/stair'
φοῦρνος ['furnos] – *furnus* 'oven'
φραγέλλιον/φραγελλῶ [fra'jelion/fraje'lo] – *flagellum* 'whip'

Where possible syntactic convergence is concerned, however, things become very much more controversial, and even where influence is likely, the crucial question of its direction is often uncertain; in many cases we may simply be dealing with shared developments based on a pre-existing structural similarity or parallel developmental trend.

To take a simple example of the highly complex interactions that may be at work, we may consider the case of αὐτός [af'tos]. The demonstrative use of αὐτός [af'tos] in pre-articular position is a regular option in Modern Greek (cf. αυτό το βιβλίο [af'to to vi'vlio], lit. 'this the book', etc.), and sporadic examples can already be found in the papyri of the Roman period. But in the classical language αὐτός [af'tos] before the definite article meant only 'self' (in the intensifying sense, e.g. *the general himself* etc.), while after the article it meant '(the) same' (for the connection, cf. English expressions such as *the self same man* etc.). In the absence of any co-occurring nominal, the oblique cases were also used as 'weak' (effectively enclitic) anaphoric pronouns.

Modern Greek, however, has two sets of pronouns derived from this element; independent 'strong' forms, related to the demonstrative use of αὐτός [af'tos], and clitic forms, with concomitant loss of the first syllable, derived from the weak pronominal αὐτόν [afton] etc.

The shift of meaning from 'the same' to 'this' can readily be explained in terms of overlapping discourse functions, since 'the same X' can be used to refer back anaphorically to some previously mentioned entity in much the same way as the true demonstrative 'this X'; it is then simply a matter of extending the discourse-internal use of 'the same' to parallel the genuinely exophoric (deictic) use of the demonstrative.

Once this true deictic use was established, αὐτός [af'tos] began to appear in the regular pre-articular position of other demonstratives: e.g. τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ [to af'to 'xrono] '(in) the same year/(in) this year', > αὐτῷ τῷ χρόνῳ [af'to to 'xrono] '(in) this the year'. And once established as a demonstrative, αὐτός [af'tos] quickly acquired the related use as a 'strong' anaphoric pronoun.

In the same period, however, i.e. from around the end of the 2nd century AD, Latin *ipse* (or in its more 'vulgar' form *ipsus*), meaning 'self', came to be used in combination with other demonstratives (e.g. *hic ipse* 'this self', *iste/ille ipse* 'that self', cf. Italian *stesso* < *iste ipse*) in the sense of 'the same', replacing the original form *idem.* A little later, *ipse* also came to be used alone as a demonstrative/anaphoric pronoun (cf. Italian *esso*) in competition with *iste/ille*; and examples are common in texts from around AD 400 (see Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 278–9).

Clearly, the Greek and Latin developments are very similar. But was the development of *hic ipse* as a replacement for *idem* modelled on the classical Greek construction ὁ αὐτός [o af'tos]? We might equally well ask whether the anaphoric/demonstrative use of ὁ αὐτός [o af'tos] was connected with the comparable use of *idem* and its replacements; or whether the development of a demonstrative ('strong' pronominal) use of hitherto 'weak' αὐτόν [afton] etc. derived not only from partial identification with the newly demonstrative αὐτός [af'tos] but also from the fact that Latin demonstratives (*hic/ille/iste*) doubled as anaphoric pronouns; or indeed whether the demonstrative/anaphoric use of the hitherto intensive *ipse* was acquired through association with the new demonstrative/'strong' anaphoric uses of the intensive αὐτός [af'tos]. These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered at the present time, and we may simply observe here that (a) the changes are semantically 'natural' and so could in principle be independent, but that (b) the very close parallelism of development in exactly the same period is at least highly suggestive.

To complete this survey of possible areas of convergence in the popular spoken registers of Greek and Latin it may be useful to append a few further parallels, this time involving the development of the verb system:

(2) The extension of finite (subjunctive) clauses introduced by ἵνα ['ina] at the expense of infinitival structures: this was possibly connected with the historically wider range of uses of Latin *ut*, e.g. in final and consecutive clauses, indirect commands, and various 'future-referring' complement and adjunct structures.

Since this process began in the Hellenistic period (cf. 4.4.1), however, the most we can say is that contact with Latin may have reinforced and/or accelerated an established trend. Thus in classical Greek the present and future indicative were very largely distinguished from the present and aorist subjunctive respectively by distinctions of vowel quality and vowel length that were subsequently lost (quite widely by the middle of the 2nd century BC): e.g. παύ-εις [paú-e:s] 'you stop', παύ-ῃς [paú-ɛ:is] 'you may stop', both > ['paβʷis]; παύ-σ-ομεν [paú-s-omen] 'we shall stop', παύ-σ-ωμεν [paú-s-o:men] 'we may stop', both > ['paɸʷsomen]. The damaging effects of sound change therefore led to a growing need to 'mark' subjunctives as such, and ἵνα ['ina] therefore began to develop language-internally as a lexically 'empty' mood marker, first in subordinate, but eventually also in main clauses that required a modal verb form (a process that was finally completed in the early middle ages).

(3) The popularity in the written Koine of articular infinitives governed by prepositions: this might have been influenced by the comparable use of Latin gerunds.

Again, the fact that this was already characteristic of the style of Hellenistic officialdom (cf. 4.6.3) means that Latin can have done no more than encourage a development that was already in place. Similar observations apply both to the progressive loss of distinctive middle morphology (outside the future and aorist paradigms, middle and passive forms were always identical, and some middle verbs already employed passive suffixes in the aorist even in classical Greek), and to the disappearance of the optative mood, which was steadily replaced, according to its function, by subjunctives (e.g. in past-time final clauses), indicatives (e.g. in past-time indirect speech after ὅτι ['oti], 'that'), or modal periphrases (e.g. in speculative future conditionals, and generally in the potential sense of what 'could happen'). These processes can also be traced back to developments in classical and Hellenistic Greek, and were largely motivated by a desire for greater semantic transparency (the optative contributing very little that was clearly definable in the majority of its uses outside the basic sense of expressing a wish). Thus the fact that Latin has only one set of medio-passive endings (e.g. *uertor* = 'I turn (myself) round/I am turned round', etc.) and a single subjunctive mood that fulfilled the combined functions of the Greek subjunctive and optative (in part) seems once again to have been no more than an external reinforcement for an internally motivated evolution.

(4) The formal renewal of the future by means of periphrases involving a modal verb + infinitive (at first replacing the future passive, but later more generally, following the changes in the vowel system discussed in 6.2). Initially ὀφείλω [o'pʰilo] 'I owe/ought', and μέλλω ['melo] 'I intend/am about to', were more common, but later ἔχω ['ekʰo] 'I have/am able/must', and then θέλω ['tʰelo] 'I wish', became the preferred variants. This in principle allowed the marking of aspect in the future for the first time, by providing a choice between the aorist (perfective) and present (imperfective) infinitives. Although this was not reflected in Latin, where time reference always took precedence over aspect, the general pattern of development may be connected with the parallel replacement of the future in Vulgar Latin by infinitival periphrases with *debeo* 'I owe', *uolo* 'I wish', and above all *habeo* 'I have/am able/must': cf. French *donner-ai/donner-as* < *donare habeo/donare habes* (cf. Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 279–80)).

Although Balkan Romance forms its futures with *uolo* 'wish' rather than *habeo,* we should note that the Romanian forms are not attested until relatively recently, by which time periphrases with θέλω ['θelo] 'wish' had replaced those with ἔχω ['exo] in Greek. This may therefore represent one of the convergent features of the famous Balkan *Sprachbund* (see 8.6). In earlier periods, however, when the Roman/Byzantine empire still extended over much of the eastern Mediterranean, there is no reason to expect Greek in general to have anticipated such specifically Balkan developments of the later middle ages.

Thus even though the use of periphrases to replace the future passive began in Hellenistic times, the subsequent parallelism of development in late antiquity is particularly striking, and surely reflects a mutual reinforcement of already partly convergent constructional innovations. We may also note the parallel use of the past

tenses of ἔχω ['ekʰo]/*habeo* (and the other future auxiliaries) + infinitive to supply a 'conditional' (or future-in-the-past) to express 'unreal' or 'hypothetical' consequences in the sense of 'would/would have' (see Part II for further discussion of this important issue).

(5) The falling together of perfect and aorist, functionally and then formally (cf. 6.5.2), may have been influenced by the dual use of the Latin perfect as a past perfective and a present stative. The renewal of the 'true' (stative) perfect by periphrases with ἔχω ['ekʰo] 'have' and εἰμί [imi] 'be' + perfect (or functionally equivalent aorist) passive participle, the former in an active sense, the latter in a passive one, may also reflect the influence of the parallel (Vulgar) Latin constructions: cf. *hoc habeo factum*, 'this I-have in-a-having-been-done-state' = 'I have done this', *hoc factum est*, 'this in-a-having-been-done-state is' = 'this is done'.

We should note, however, that the functional merger of aorist and perfect had begun in Hellenistic times (there is possible evidence of overlapping use already in Menander, for example, cf. 4.7.7). Furthermore, the passive construction with εἰμί [imi] 'be' was already an option in classical Greek (alongside a much more limited use of the active equivalent, i.e. with a perfect or aorist active participle). Originally used primarily to form active and passive 'modal' perfects (subjunctive and optative) and the morphologically difficult 3pl perfect indicative passive (where the final consonant of a verb stem could not readily be combined with the suffix -νται [-ntai]), the periphrastic constructions gradually spread through the paradigm in the popular Koine, presumably because of their semantic transparency and the fact that the paradigms of the verb 'to be' and the relevant participles had in any case to be mastered independently.

But as the use of the inflected participles of the 3rd declension (i.e. present/future/aorist active, and aorist passive) began to wither away, in part because of their morphological complexity (cf. 6.5.3), the periphrasis with the perfect passive participle, which deployed a combination of 'regular' 2nd- and 1st-declension endings, -μένος (masc)/-μένη (fem)/-μένον (neut) [-'menos/-'meni/-'menon], emerged as the major survivor in popular Greek of the medieval period. None the less, the use of the past tense of 'be' with an aorist active participle, originally fully inflected in -σας (masc)/-σασα (fem)/-σαν (neut) [-sas/-sasa/-san], but later reduced to the invariant -σαντα [-sanda] and remodelled on the pattern of the indeclinable present participle in -οντα [-onda], is also well attested as a pluperfect substitute (cf. chapter 11).

There is, then, little reason to see here any particular impact of the Latin perfect in general or of the Latin perfect passive periphrasis in particular, other than as providing a general external stimulus to the Greek trends already under way.

The situation is rather different, however, in the case of ἔχω ['ekʰo] + perfect passive participle used in an active, transitive sense. This is a wholly unclassical construction, which begins to appear in the more polished 'literary' registers of the Koine in the Roman period (e.g. in the writings of the historian Diodorus Siculus or the biographer and essayist Plutarch). It is not used by the Atticists (cf. 5.5 and 5.6), and it does not appear in low-level literary or subliterary texts. Furthermore, with the advent of a more stringent Atticist approach in the 2nd century AD, it quickly disappeared even

from stylistically middle-brow compositions, and eventually reappears in popular varieties of Greek only after the 'Latin' conquest of much of the Byzantine empire after the capture of Constantinople by the fourth crusade in 1204 (see chapters 7 and 11).

This construction is therefore a very strong candidate for classification as a 'Latinism' in the Koine, though not one which made much impact at the time, being alien to the general structure of a still prestigious world language. It was, however, later reintroduced with more lasting effect, following the collapse of the Byzantine state and the abandonment of classical models in the areas under western control, as a product of long-term Greek/Romance bilingualism in the later middle ages and early modern period.

Looking at all these developments together, therefore, it seems that those which had a long-term impact on Greek typically represent no more than the carrying through of changes which had already begun in the classical or early post-classical language. Although many can be paralleled in imperial Vulgar Latin, it is probably safe to conclude that the majority are simply a by-product of the transition of both (Attic) Greek and Latin from the status of local dialects to world languages, with the well-known drift towards greater grammatical analyticity that such a role almost invariably entails, at least in more popular registers. Given that the changes in question are for the most part structurally and semantically 'natural' (and as such, well-attested elsewhere), and given that the two languages were in any case members of the same 'family', with many partial structural correspondences already in place, a certain parallelism of evolution under similar external conditions of expansion and use by non-native speakers was only to be expected. Against this background, the fact of extensive Greek/Latin bilingualism in the six centuries prior to the collapse of the Roman empire in the west can have been only a contributory factor in the promotion of the attested structural convergence.

5.4 Roman Attitudes to Greek Culture

The pervasive influence of Greek language and culture remained a highly problematical issue for many Romans throughout the imperial period. Conversely, despite the political and economic advantages that Roman rule eventually brought with it, many Greeks felt a profound sense of alienation; continuity with the past was correspondingly highlighted, and Roman literature and education largely ignored. Thus, even though some aspects of Roman culture (e.g. architectural style/technique, bath houses and gladiatorial combat) did begin to make an impact, the overall outcome of Greco-Roman cohabitation, even after several centuries, could hardly be called harmonious. In late antiquity east and west eventually went their separate ways, with the eastern empire evolving into the distinctive Orthodox Christian civilization of Byzantium (see Part II).

The reasons for this state of affairs are not hard to find. For the Romans civilization was defined primarily in terms of long-standing customs (urban life, the rule of law, ethical ideals, etc.) which were never regarded as their exclusive property. Rather, the Roman aristocracy felt proud, having adopted these values and mores themselves, to have imposed them upon their subject peoples and 'Romanized' them. Since Roman identity so conceived was not underwritten by ethnic origin or a common native lan-

guage, the incorporation of outsiders was widely seen as a demonstration of Rome's success in its civilizing mission.

But although this view worked well enough for the 'barbarian' west, the incorporation of the Hellenistic world presented serious difficulties. The Greeks had not only reached a high level of civilization without Roman help, but had also, initially through contacts between Rome and the Greek colonies in Italy but then more widely, directly contributed to the development of the very customs and practices of which the Romans were so proud. This bred a respect for the Greeks which the Romans did not feel for other subject peoples. But when the vast and superior cultural resources of alien Hellenism began to make a wider impact on Roman life, the changes seemed to many to threaten their Roman identity. This led to a more selective approach to Greek culture based on a sharp distinction between the Greeks of old, who were believed to have had 'true' civilization, and the Greeks of the contemporary world, who were increasingly seen as frivolous, self-indulgent and insincere, and so just as much in need of the firm hand of Roman rule as western provincials, albeit for different reasons.

By contrast, the Greeks themselves had always adopted a highly exclusive definition of their own identity, built largely upon notions of common religion, common descent from mythical ancestors and the use of a common language. Thus 'barbarians', including Romans, could never become Greek, however far their adopted Hellenism went, while the participation of Greeks in the economic and social advantages of the empire in no way undermined their Greekness. None the less, the Roman view of the Greeks as a people with a great past readily reinforced the Greeks' own increasing obsession with former glories. Nostalgia therefore became an increasingly central characteristic of the Greek world view in the early empire, though it should be stressed that this reverence for the past was not wholly divorced from contemporary considerations, since, as we shall see in 5.5, (qualified) Roman respect for earlier Greek achievement offered enterprising Greeks of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD an important resource to exploit in jockeying for support and patronage (see, for example, Woolf (1994), Swain (1996)).

5.5 Atticism and the Second Sophistic

As we have already seen, the role of rhetoric had changed considerably in post-classical times, since neither the Hellenistic monarchies nor the Roman empire provided a context in which public speeches by individuals could be expected to have a major impact in the wider world of politics and international affairs.

Nevertheless, the demand in aristocratic circles for a rhetorical education remained consistently high in the Roman period, and the *rhetors* (or 'sophists'), i.e. public speakers offering rhetorical training, enjoyed a correspondingly high social status. The reasons are not hard to find. Administration and civic life still demanded rhetorical skills, since formal speeches, often with some political content, were routinely given on major public occasions. A successful performance could lead directly to imperial patronage and the channelling of resources towards a particular city or project, while a reputation for eloquence could readily lead to significant personal advancement. Eulogies of the emperor naturally constituted an important genre, but speeches were

also given to commemorate visits by imperial officials, appointments to imperial consulships, the construction of monumental buildings and, after the adoption of Christianity by Constantine I (reigned 306–37), the dedication of major churches.

The school curriculum, however, in line with the retrospective mood of the times, remained strictly based on a canon of already ancient texts that were felt to embody 'the glory that was Greece', and students' exercises revolved around themes taken exclusively from the period between the Persian Wars and the reign of Alexander the Great.

Although there had been some cultural nationalism (marked in particular by an efflorescence of rhetoric) as early as the late Republic, it is perhaps from the reign of Augustus (27 BC–AD 14) onwards that we see the beginnings of a true revival in Greek self-confidence, based at least in part on Roman willingness to allow the major Greek cities to retain a degree of autonomy within which a continuing Hellenic identity could foster the illusion of the survival of past glories.

During the 2nd century AD in particular, a series of positively philhellenic emperors (Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) ushered in a period of real economic resurgence distinguished by monumental building and civic benefactions on the one hand and increasing Greek membership of the equestrian and senatorial orders on the other. The Greeks were quick to appreciate that linking their past to the Roman present offered a fast route to money and privilege, and the 2nd century marks the beginning of a period of strikingly flamboyant Hellenism generally known as the 'Second Sophistic' (the term was coined by the Athenian sophist Philostratus in the early 3rd century AD, the 'First Sophistic' having occurred in the 5th century BC, cf. chapter 3). A wealthy aristocracy was now only too pleased to pay distinguished sophists to teach its sons, while citizen bodies, increasingly culturally aware, looked forward to regular public entertainments by renowned speakers in the newly built *odeia*. Against this background, the leading sophists quickly evolved into an intellectual and social elite, offering ostentatious displays of competitive disputation and enjoying high-ranking connections and popular adulation on a scale reserved today for rock stars and Hollywood heroes.

While those looking for a higher education had had, since the time of Plato and Isocrates, a choice between rhetoric and philosophy, the greater accessibility and sheer entertainment value of the former now led to the temporary eclipse of the latter. The sophists soon became the primary symbol of the resilience of the Greek urban aristocracy, and the central component of a literary and cultural renaissance founded in nostalgia for a lost but glorious past. Indeed, Christianity notwithstanding, the long-term influence of these guardians of the Hellenic heritage, whose knowledge and learning seemed to allow them to commune directly with the ancient classics, was so profound that they effectively determined the linguistic and literary mind-set of the educated Greek elite for the next eighteen hundred years.

It is against this background that the phenomenon of 'Atticism' must be assessed. The perception of the written Koine as a 'technical' or 'bureaucratic' language had always militated against its unadorned use as a vehicle for 'higher' literary purposes (cf. 4.7.4, 4.7.5), and the Hellenistic education system therefore required the study and imitation of classical authors. Thus an initial preference for the Isocratean 'periodic' style was soon replaced, with the advent of the Asianic reaction in the 3rd century BC, by a striving for a quirky Gorgianic restlessness that quickly became fashionable and

never ceased to attract adherents. This movement enjoyed something of a revival in Nero's time (reigned AD 54–68), and again in the 2nd century in the age of Hadrian (reigned AD 117–38).

As already noted, the 'Atticist' response, which set in during the 1st century BC, was dedicated to re-establishing the style and ultimately the language of the 'best' Attic writers. Though both Asianism and Atticism can be seen initially as the product of dissatisfaction among writers of literary prose with the perceived sterility of the Koine, the eventual triumph and long-term success of Atticism can ultimately be attributed to the fact that it found its natural milieu in the context of the antiquarianism of the Second Sophistic. The precious link with the classical past could, it seemed, best be secured by addressing the ancient masters in their own Attic dialect, thereby obtaining their tacit endorsement for the products of the present. While the written Koine could be accepted as the language of business, the expression of the highest forms of Greek culture demanded better, and only Attic, the embodiment of the 'purest' and 'noblest' form of the language, could possibly serve as its vehicle (cf. Aelius Aristides *Panathenaic Oration* 322–30).

This development had the further advantage that it 'solved' the problem of the steadily widening gap between the language of the classical texts studied in school and the different varieties of contemporary Greek. Educated Greeks soon came to feel that their contemporary language fundamentally *was* Attic, if only it had not been allowed to decline through vulgarity and ignorance, and an ability to use the classical language (rather like the use of 'BBC English' until very recently) came to be regarded as a conspicuous and exclusive badge of class membership.

The resultant dichotomy between an unchanging Attic ideal (resembling nothing so much as a Platonic form) and the Koine in all its heterogeneity (ranging from the standardized written language of official documents at the highest level down to the speech of bilingual peasants) quickly established a formal state of diglossia that became steadily more problematical with the passage of time, and which was not to be finally abandoned until the late 20th century (see Part III).

It should be stressed, however, that the notion of a clear-cut dichotomy, though ideologically vital to the educated classes, was in reality largely theoretical. In the first place, there was no consensus as to which 'classical' authors could legitimately be appealed to, nor was there any overall consistency of usage in even the subset of authors who were generally acknowledged as suitable models. Thucydides, for example, used a rather Ionicized and 'old-fashioned' Attic compared with, say, Plato, whose usage in turn did not fully conform to that of orators such as Lysias or Demosthenes, while the Attic tragedians employed a distinctively 'marked' and archaizing style all of their own (cf. 2.2.5 and 3.1). Thus few, if any, writers were in practice able to sustain a consistent 'Attic' style, and many simply fell back on the expedient of decorating a grammatically antiqued Koine (key 'rules' were learned at school, see 5.6. below) with vocabulary and phraseology randomly excerpted to meet the needs of the moment. Self-doubt and confusion were rife, and what had begun as a mildly 'classical' corrective to Asianic excess soon evolved into an increasingly problematical obstacle to clear and confident self-expression (cf. Schmid (1887–97) for detailed statistics about the usage of particular authors, and Anderson (1993: ch. 4) for bibliography and a general survey of the issues).

At the same time the highest registers of the written and spoken Koine, employed by people who had been educated to think of Attic as the 'correct' form of the language (at least for the most refined forms of writing and public address), inevitably absorbed an increasing number of Attic traits with the passage of time. The educated/standard Koine thus found itself uneasily poised between the cultural imperative of unchanging Attic perfection and the practical need for a 'working' written language that recognized and represented (at least some of) the changes in spoken Greek which, education in the classics notwithstanding, eventually penetrated even the most conservative circles. In the Roman imperial and Byzantine periods, therefore, the official language of administration at the highest levels became somewhat more detached from even educated spoken Greek than had previously been the case.

Since the all-important distinction between classical Attic and the Koine was in practice far from absolute, even the most learned devotees of Atticism routinely left themselves open to attack for their 'solecisms' (cf. Fabricius (1962: 20)), and Atticism might best be thought of not as a well-defined body of doctrine but as a state of mind inculcated by the education system and reinforced by the practice and prejudices of the aristocracy. Well-known practitioners of this 'puristic' Attic revivalism in the period of the Second Sophistic include: the orators Aelius Aristides (c. AD 129–c.189) and Herodes Atticus (AD 101–77, the multimillionaire benefactor of Roman Athens); the writer of 'philosophical' medleys Claudius Aelianus (Aelian: c. AD 172–c.235); the historians Flavius Arrianus (Arrian: c. AD 95–175) and Appian (2nd century AD); the sophists' biographer Philostratus (born c. AD 160/170); the antiquarian/geographer Pausanias (2nd century AD); and the romance writers Achilles Tatius (c. 2nd century AD) and Longus (c. late 2nd/early 3rd century AD).

From a modern perspective, however, Lucian, born in Syrian Commagene c. AD 120, and a native speaker of Syriac who 'learned his Greek at school' (*Bis Accusatus* 27), is perhaps one of the more successful practitioners. By adopting a relatively relaxed attitude to classical precedent, he managed to impart an unusual degree of 'vitality' to a language already 'dead' for some five centuries, while his attitude (amused scepticism) and subject matter (essays, treatises and dialogues on a wide range of issues of intellectual interest) are more immediately congenial than those of many other contemporary writers.

Yet as early as the first century AD the essayist and biographer Plutarch (c. AD 46–120) was complaining about the banality of thought and clichéd verbiage that the doctrine of Atticism was tending to produce in its less talented practitioners (*Moralia* 42 DE), and even Lucian himself, despite having begun his career as a successful, if rapidly disillusioned, orator, repeatedly satirizes the excesses of Atticist pedantry (*Lexiphanes, Pseudologista, Pseudosophista*).

Plutarch, however, was among the last exponents of the Hellenistic tradition, exemplified by writers such as Polybius (cf. 4.7.2) and the historian/geographer Strabo (c.64 BC–AD 19), a tradition which was increasingly out of tune with the mood of the times. Despite the fact that Atticism tended to smother natural invention by encouraging a preoccupation with linguistic form and institutionalizing a state of mind that equated a surface dressing of 'hallmarked' items with learning and good taste, the hold of the movement in educated circles was such that those who failed to display the expected knowledge of approved grammar and diction forfeited all prospect of serious consid-

eration by their peers. Only writers of scientific prose, such as the Pergamene physician Galen (AD 129–99), were in a position to reject its demands (in part) in the interests of clarity and precision.

Following the excesses of the 2nd century, however, a more realistic Atticism, well exemplified by the historian Cassius Dio (Cocceianus) (c. AD 155–235), eventually began to prevail. This shift perhaps partly reflects the diminution of scholarly activity and enthusiasm in the midst of the very real political and economic difficulties of the period, which enjoyed no fewer than 23 emperors, or would-be emperors, between AD 238 and 284 (see 7.1). The gradual recognition of the practical unattainability of the Attic ideal and the new atmosphere of relative linguistic tolerance led to the near-universal acceptance of certain non-classical constructions alongside strictly Attic usage, and to the development of a generally 'Atticizing' style, in which Attic grammatical and lexical elements were combined with certain well-established features of the higher-level Koine (cf. Fabricius (1962)). This standard prose language was soon used by virtually all literary writers, whose styles now differed principally in the degree to which they incorporated specifically Attic markers into their writing. This literary standard remained, subject to greater or lesser degrees of Atticizing, the basis for belletristic writing throughout late antiquity and the middle ages down into the modern period (cf. 8.4.2 and chapter 9), its relationship with spoken Greek becoming ever more tenuous.

A more practical, non-Atticizing Koine was, however, retained for everyday purposes in the Chancery, although even this 'simple' administrative style, despite making concessions to change in the interests of communicative efficiency, became increasingly conservative, irrespective of sporadic Atticist infiltration, through the rigorous training of clerical officials (and indeed all who learned to read and write at a basic level) in the conventions of traditional 'business Greek'.

But one particular version of this basic style of written Greek eventually evolved, under the influence of the relatively unpretentious language of the New Testament (cf. 5.10.2), into a rival 'middle-brow' literary language that permitted aspects of contemporary speech to be directly represented, and which was widely employed in biographies and works of reference aimed at the edification of a wider, more popular audience (cf. 5.10, 8.5.5, 8.5.6, 10.2, 10.3). But the spoken language itself was not to become a primary basis for the development of a written form of Greek until the later middle ages (and even then was subject to strict genre-conditioned restrictions on its use, cf. 8.4.3–8.4.6 and chapter 11).

In the following sections a sample of varieties of Greek from the Roman period (ranging from the 1st to the 5th centuries AD) will be presented and discussed, beginning with the Atticizing style of belles lettres, and passing on to official and (semi-)literary versions of the Koine. The evidence for spoken Greek provided by the private documents of the barely literate is considered separately in chapter 6.

5.6 Atticist Grammars and Lexica: Aelius Aristides

Those who wanted to write the best Attic, or at least to avoid writing what the guardians of the language most despised, clearly needed help. And since no one had spoken

the prescribed model Attic for centuries, grammatical handbooks and lexica became indispensable for the would-be author. Important hallmarks of correct Attic usage included the following:[1]

(6) (a) -ττ- [tt] and -ρρ- [-rr-] for -σσ- [ss] and -ρσ- [-rs-] in the relevant words, e.g. θάλαττα ['tʰalatta] 'sea' and θάρρος ['tʰarros] 'courage'.
(b) ξύν [ksyn] for simplified σύν [syn] 'with'.
(c) The formation of abstract nominals with the neuter article τό [to] and an adjective in agreement.
(d) Regular use of the dual number (long dead in the Koine).
(e) Extensive use of the dative in all its traditional functions (often to excess, and sometimes wrongly, in an attempt to demonstrate one's 'education').
(f) Use of the 'contracted' forms of nouns in which the root/stem originally ended in a vowel and the inflectional ending began with a vowel; the Koine (following Ionic) generally preferred the uncontracted variants: e.g. ὀστοῦν [o'stu:n] not ὀστέον [o'steon] 'bone' etc.
(g) Retention of the Attic declension of λεώς/νεώς [le'o:s/ne'o:s] in place of λαός/ναός [la'os/na'os] 'people/temple'.
(h) γίγνομαι ['jiŋnomai] 'I become', γιγνώσκω [ji'ŋno:sko:] 'I get to know', for simplified γίνομαι ['jinomai], γινώσκω [ji'nosko].
(i) The use of the synthetic perfect rather than periphrases with the perfect middle/passive participle and the verb 'to be' in the subjunctive, optative and 3pl middle/passive; so λέλυνται ['lelyntai] rather than λελυμένοι εἰσί [lely'meny isi] 'they have been set free'.
(j) Extensive use of middle verb forms, both where the Koine had replaced anomalous middles with regular actives or passives, and also gratuitously as a mark of 'learning'.
(k) Use of the optative in its full range of classical functions, sometimes also erroneously, again in an effort to emphasize the writer's 'knowledge'.
(l) The use of monolectic perfect forms with a 'stative/present' rather than a 'simple past' meaning (perfect and aorist were already falling together in the Koine as past tenses).

In the same sort of way lexicographers established a 'correct' (i.e. classically attested) vocabulary. The most important of such lexica is the *Selection (Ecloga) of Attic Verbs and Nouns*, from the work *The Atticist* by Phrynichus (later 2nd century AD). Adopting Plato, the orators Aeschines, Isocrates and Lysias, and the tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides as his principal (if far from homogeneous) models of correct usage, he excoriated selected later authors for their failure to write the Attic of the 5th and 4th centuries BC as employed by his chosen masters. A typical example of Phrynichus' approach is provided by his observations on the word καταφαγᾶς [katapʰa'ɣa:s] 'glutton', as used by the recognized master of New Comedy, Menander (c.342–292 BC):

(7) καταφαγᾶς: πόθεν, Μένανδρε, συσσύρας τὸν τοσούτων ὀνομάτων συρφετὸν αἰσχύνεις τὴν πάτριον φωνήν;

[katap^{h}a'ɣa:s: 'pot^{h}en, 'menandre, sys'sy:ra:s ton to'su:to:n
kataphagas: whence, Menander, having-swept-together the of-so-many
ono'mato:n syrp^{h}e'ton ai'sk^{h}y:ni:s te:n 'patrion p^{h}o:'ne:n?]
nouns refuse do-you-disgrace the paternal speech?

'Kataphagas: where did you sweep up this refuse collection of so many nouns from, Menander, and so disgrace our forefathers' language?'

Apparently the notion that the style and vocabulary of Phrynichus' chosen classical models might have been ridiculous (when not used parodically) in the mouth of a slave or some ne'er-do-well character in a comedy was well beyond his grasp, as indeed was any concept of change that did not also imply decay.

When particular authors are not vilified in this way, Phrynichus' dictionary entries usually take the form of simple injunctions as to what to say and what to avoid, thus indirectly providing valuable information (under the heading of what is to be avoided) about the ordinary usage of the period. For example:

(8) ἀκμήν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔτι. Ξενοφῶντα λέγουσιν ἅπαξ αὐτῷ κεχρῆσθαι. σὺ δὲ φυλάττου χρῆσθαι, λέγε δὲ ἔτι. (*Ecloga* 100)

[ak'me:n an'ti tu: 'eti. kseno'p^{h}o:nta 'leɣu:sin 'hapaks auto:i
akmen (='*still*') instead-of the eti. Xenophon they-say once it
ke'k^{h}re:st^{h}ai. sy de p^{h}y'lattou 'k^{h}re:sthai, 'leje de 'eti]
to-have-used. You but avoid to-use, say and eti.

'Akmen for eti. They say Xenophon used it once. But you avoid using it and say eti.'

In almost every case it is of course the stigmatized form (if any) that has survived in modern Greek; thus the modern word for 'still/yet' is ακόμη/ακόμα [a'komi/a'koma], derived from ἀκμήν [ak'me:n], apparently under the influence of Italian *ancora*.

Similar observations apply to the lexicon of Moeris (fl. c. AD 200), whose entries are organized more epigrammatically, contrasting in each case what 'Atticists' and 'Greeks' say, the latter form in each case (if it has survived) being once again the source of the corresponding modern word. We also have, in excerpt, the *Onomasticum* of Julius Polydeuces (Pollux: later 2nd century AD, and Phrynichus' successful rival for the chair of rhetoric at Athens), and fragments of other lexica including a (probably also 2nd-century AD) 'Antiatticist' dictionary by an unknown writer who sought to extend the range of permitted usage by finding exceptions to Atticist 'rules'. This similarly preserves useful insights into the contemporary spoken language, but in an inverse format: e.g 'they (the Atticists) say you should use X rather than Y or Z', often with counterexamples from 'reputable' authors.

All in all, the Atticist lexicographers' often contradictory and sometimes mistaken advice only contributed to the difficulties faced by the would-be writer. Koineisms, analogical hyper-Atticisms and straight grammatical mistakes occur in even the most carefully contrived compositions, a natural product of attempts to employ a form of the language which was, by definition, imperfectly controlled and understood.

We may conclude this section with a brief extract from Aelius Aristides, addressed, as one might expect of a true Atticist, to Plato himself, in order to illustrate the 'hard-core' Atticizing style:

(9) οὐ γὰρ τόν γε τοῦ παντὸς ἐσφαλμένον ὡς ἀνέλοι σοφώτατον ἀνθρώπων πιστεῦσαι θεμιτὸν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. τέχνην δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔφασκεν οὐκ ἀσκεῖν, ἀληθῆ λέγων. ᾧ γοῦν συνεγένετο Ἀναξαγόρᾳ, οὐ τἀκείνου τιμήσας φαίνεται. ἓν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ Σωκράτης, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ τέχνην κεκτῆσθαι, εἴπερ περὶ αὑτοῦ λέγων οὐκ ᾐσχύνετο. (*To Plato: In Defence of Oratory,* 78–9 (25 D))

[u: ɣar ton je tu: pan'tos esp^{h}al'menon ho:s an'(h)eloi
(It is) not for the at-any-rate of-the everything failed that he-ordained
so'p^{h}o:taton an't^{h}ro:po:n pis'tewsai t^{h}emi'ton peri tu: t^{h}e'u:.
wisest of-men to-believe right concerning the god.
'tek^{h}ne:n de, ho:s 'eoiken, 'ep^{h}asken u:k as'ki:n, ale:'t^{h}e: 'leɣo:n.
Art but, as it-seems, he-used-to-say not to-practise, true-things saying.
ho:i ɣu:n syne'jeneto anaksa'ɣora:i, u: ta:'ki:nu: ti:'me:sa:s
Whereas at-all-events he-associated-with Anaxagoras, not the-things-of-him having-honoured
'p^{h}ainetai. 'hen men de: 'tu:to marty'ri: so:'krate:s, uk ai'sk^{h}ron
he-is-revealed. One on-the-one-hand indeed this bears-witness Socrates, not disgraceful
'i:nai to me: 'tek^{h}ne:n ke'kte:st^{h}ai, 'iper peri haw'tu: 'leɣo:n u:k
to-be the not art to-have-acquired, if-indeed concerning himself speaking not
i:'sk^{h}y:neto.]
he-was ashamed.

'For it is impious to believe of the god that he proclaimed one who had failed in everything (*to be*) the wisest of men. But Socrates, it seems, was telling the truth when he used to say that he was master of no craft. So though he did study with Anaxagoras, he clearly did not respect his teachings. To this one fact, then, Socrates does bear witness, that it is no disgrace not to have mastered a craft, if indeed he was not ashamed to talk about himself.'

Note in particular the rather unnatural word order in the first sentence, where the predicate, comprising θεμιτόν [t^{h}emi'ton] 'right (according to divine law)', and its infinitival complement appear together as the final constituent rather than immediately after the negative οὐ [u:], and where θεμιτόν [t^{h}emi'ton] itself (the head of the predicate expression) is placed in penultimate position in its phrase, splitting the infinitive from its prepositional phrase dependent. This tendency to place the verb next-to-last, thereby creating a discontinuity between the elements of its complement structure (hyperbaton), was a classical stylistic option and one which became highly characteristic of Atticist writing, even infiltrating the higher levels of the Koine (cf. 5.9). In some writers (e.g. Eusebius, the author of a 4th-century history of the early Christian church, see 5.11.2), it is so habitual as to become something of an irritation.

The neuter dative relative ᾧ [ho:i], employed as a conjunction in the sense 'while/whereas', is extremely rare, and also illustrates a major Atticist tendency, namely the use of abstruse forms and constructions in an effort simultaneously to maximize the distance between the literary and the spoken languages and to impress one's rivals with one's knowledge.

There is also an 'error' in the use of the optative ἀνέλοι [an'(h)eloi] 'he ordained' in the indirect statement dependent on πιστεῦσαι ὡς [pi'stewsai ho:s] 'believe that'. Strictly, the optative may be used in subordinate clauses of this type when the verb that introduces the indirect statement is in a past tense; it should not be employed simply when what is said or believed occurred in the past, as here. 'Mistakes' of this kind are so common that it is in fact more constructive to look at the Atticist programme less as an attempt to recreate the language of the past, and more as a commitment to forge a contemporary written style which employed the grammatical and lexical resources of the past (as far as possible), but which also allowed these to be developed in unclassical ways, the primary objective being to distance the literary language from the Koine. Attic might then be seen as a learned, and learnèd, 'living' language rather than strictly as a 'dead' one, and we should not then be surprised, given the relative freedom from constricting associations with the contemporary vernacular, to see evidence of purely internal developments that conflict with, or at least display a freedom of usage that goes well beyond, the 'rules' of the classical language in its original form. We may compare the language of the epic, or the literary revivals of classical dialects in Hellenistic times, for similar processes of internal evolution in the literary dialects of earlier periods.

This use of Atticized Greek as a semi-living language by the educated classes is highly problematical for most modern scholars, and the whole issue has in any case been distorted by the anachronistic interpretation of the phenomenon in the terms of the language controversy of the 19th and 20th centuries (the struggle between those who advocated a classicizing written language and those who sought a national language based on the vernacular, cf. Part III). We should never forget that, however unnatural this situation may seem to us, the Greek elite was content to employ a classicizing written style, without complaint or resistance, right up until the modern period and the belated impact of the European Enlightenment on a Greek world under Ottoman domination. Neither antiquity nor the middle ages provided a sociopolitical environment in which the empowering of the masses through access to literature and knowledge could ever become an issue; the primary consideration throughout was for the educated minority to maintain its Greco-Roman identity through cultural and linguistic continuity with the classical, and later the Christian, traditions, an objective that eventually came to be equated with national survival in the period of Turkish domination.

5.7 The Official Koine in the Roman Republican Period

Macedonia had finally become a Roman province in 149 BC, and not long afterwards the Achaean league was crushed and the city of Corinth razed to the ground. Within the Greek cities, however, pro-Roman parties had begun to emerge much earlier, and civil discord between traditionalists and Roman apologists became common. Against a background of growing land shortage and indebtedness, the situation was readily exploited by the shrewd Roman oligarchy, and Roman willingness to use the Koine as an official language of diplomacy and administration is well illustrated by the following extracts from a translation of a decree of the Senate (*senatusconsultum*), dated 170 BC, concern-

ing the city of Thisbae in Boeotia. This decree, incidentally, is contemporaneous with the manumission decree in Boeotian dialect discussed in 4.4.2, and so provides a nice example of the relative status of local dialects and the Koine in the period.

(10) ... περὶ ὧν Θισ[β]εῖς λόγους ἐποιήσαντο· περὶ τῶν καθ' αὑ[τ]οὺς πραγμάτων, οἵτινες ἐν τῆι φιλίαι τῆι ἡμετέραι ἐνέμειναν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς δοθῶσιν [ο]ἷς τὰ καθ' αὑτοὺς πράγματα ἐξηγήσωνται, περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος οὕτως ἔδοξεν· ὅπως Κόιντος Μαίνιος στρατηγὸς τῶν ἐκ τῆς συνκλήτου [π]έντε ἀποτάξηι, οἳ ἂν αὐτῶι ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων πρα[γμ]άτων καὶ τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως φαίνωνται. ἔδοξε.

...

οἵτινες εἰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπήλθοσαν καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡμῶν στρατηγὸν παρεγένοντο, ὅπως μὴ εἰς τάξιν καταπορεύωνται, περὶ τούτου τοῦ πράγματος πρὸς Αὔλιον [Ὁ]στίλιον ὕπατον γράμματα ἀποστεῖλαι ἔδοξεν, ὅπως περὶ τούτου τῆι διανοίαι προσέχηι, καθὼς ἂν αὐτῶι ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως φαίνηται. ἔδοξεν.[2]

...

[peri ho:n t^{h}izbî:s lógu:s epojé:santo; peri to:n kat^{h} hautû:s
About which-things Thisbians words made; about the by themselves
pragmáto:n, hoítines en ti: p^{h}ilía:i ti: he:metéra:i enémi:nan, hópo:s
affairs, whoever in the friendship the ours remained, that
autois dot^{h}ó:sin hois tà kat^{h} hautû:s prá:gmata ekse:gé:so:ntai,
to-them be-given (the things)by-which the by themselves affairs they-may-conduct,
peri tú:tu: tu: prá:gmatos hú:to:s édoksen; hópo:s 'k^{w}intos 'mainios
about this the matter thus it-was-resolved; that Quintus Maenius
strate:gòs to:n ek te:s syŋklé:tu: pénte apotáksi:, hoi an auto:i
governor of-the from the Senate five should-delegate, who ever to-him
ek to:n de:mosío:n pra:gmáto:n kai te:s idía:s písteo:s p^{h}aíno:ntai.
from the public- things and the private faith should-seem-good.
édokse.
Resolved.

hoítines i:s álla:s póli:s apé:lt^{h}osan kai u:k^{h}i pros ton par
Whoever to other cities departed and not to the from
he:mô:n strate:gòn paregénonto, hópo:s mè: i:s táksin
us governor presented-themselves, that not to rank
kataporeúo:ntai, peri tú:tu: tu: prá:gmatos pros 'aulon ho'stilion
they-should-return, concerning this the matter to Aulus Hostilius
hýpaton grámmata apostî:lai édoksen, hópo:s peri tû:tu: ti:
consul letters to-send it-was-resolved, that about this to-the
dianoía:i prosék^{h}i:, kat^{h}ò:s an auto:i ek to:n de:mosío:n pra:gmáto:n
intention he-pay-heed, just-as ever to-him from the public- things
kai te:s idía:s písteo:s p^{h}aíne:tai. édoksen.]
and the private faith should-seem good. Resolved.

'Concerning those matters about which the citizens of Thisbae made representations. Concerning their own affairs: the following decision was taken concerning the proposal that those who remained true to our friendship should be given the facilities to conduct their own affairs; that our praetor/governor Quintus Maenius should delegate five members

of the senate who seemed to him appropriate (*arbiters*) according to the interests of the Republic and his personal integrity. Resolved.

Concerning the (*Thisbians'*) proposal that those who left for other cities and did not present themselves to our praetor/governor should not return to their rank, it was resolved to send a letter to the consul Aulus Hostilius to the effect that he should pay heed to our intentions in whatever way seemed most appropriate according to the interests of the Republic and his personal integrity. Resolved.'

The pompous formulaic style of officialdom is at once apparent in the elaborate sequential refinement of the subject of the decree, a practice that directly reflects the traditional Latin of Roman *senatusconsulta*. Indeed, it is quite clear that this is a translated document, e.g. in the routine verb-final orders typical of official Latin, in the use of modal verb forms introduced by 'final' conjunctions after ἔδοξε [édokse] 'it was resolved' (reflecting Latin *ut*-clauses) in place of the normal Greek accusative-and-infinitive structures, in the use of the subjunctive in a relative clause to express purpose (οἷς ... ἐξηγήσωνται [hois ... ekse:gé:so:ntai] 'by which ... they may conduct' (the native construction requires the future indicative), and in the literal rendering of the formula *quei ei e re publica fideque sua uideantur* 'who(ever) should seem to him to be advantageous to the Republic and consistent with his personal integrity'. We should also note, however, a number of characteristic features of normal official Koine that suggest that the translators were acquainted with aspects of traditional Greek practice too, e.g. the liking for prepositional possessives and the absence of any attempt to replicate the Latin sequence of tense rules, leading to the now normal use of subjunctives even in a past time context (here after ἔδοξε [édokse] 'it was resolved') at the expense of the classical optative, a mood increasingly associated exclusively with the literary language (see Clackson and Horrocks (2007: 5.4) for a full discussion of *senatusconsulta*).

5.8 Past-Tense Morphology

A final noteworthy development in (10) involves the suffix on 3pl aorist ἤλθο-σαν [é:ltʰo-san] 'they went', in the second extract. The interaction in the Koine between the regular weak aorists in -(σ)α [-(s)a] (where the s-element is strictly part of the aorist stem of the relevant verbs) and the irregular strong aorists in -ον [-on] has already been discussed in 4.9. On this basis, we might have expected a 3pl ἦλθ-αν [ê:ltʰ-an] to replace classical ἦλθ-ον [ê:ltʰ-on], and this is indeed well attested (becoming in due course the preferred form). But in the higher Koine many strong aorists resisted such assimilation to the weak paradigm for a considerable period, and we find many classical forms widely retained. Thus even εἶπα [î:pa] for εἶπον [î:pon] 'I said', and ἤνεγκα **[é:neŋka]** for ἤνεγκον [é:neŋkon] 'I brought', though particularly common, continue to be used alongside the corresponding strong forms.

It was, however, a particular mark of the official Koine in this period to allow the substitution of the regular weak suffix -σαν [-san] for the original -ν [-n] in the 3pl of the strong aorist, as here.[3] This was doubtless due in part to the fact that the resulting form was distinctive, while the classical 3pl ending was homophonous with that of the

1sg, but the process also continued an analogical extension that had already affected many 3pl aorists in the irregular -μι [-mi] paradigm (cf. Attic/Koine ἔ-θε-σαν [étʰe-san] 'they put' for original ἔθε-ν [étʰe-n], etc.). Since this same analogy had also affected the 3pl imperfect of such verbs (cf. ἦ-σαν [ê:san] 'they were' for original ἦ-ν [ɛ̂:n], ἐ-τίθε-σαν [etítʰe-san] 'they used to put' for original ἔτιθε-ν [étitʰe-n] etc.), it also began to affect 3pl imperfects more widely in the Koine, particularly since the regular imperfect shared the endings of the strong aorist (the two paradigms being distinguished only by root allomorphy or suppletion). Early examples are found in late dialect inscriptions as well as in the Ptolemaic papyri and the Septuagint.

Eventually, however, the strong aorist/imperfect paradigm, including the innovative 3pl forms, succumbed to the model of the numerically superior weak aorists, but as often happens in cases of paradigm interference, the final product in the Byzantine period shows that the process was in fact a two-way one. What eventually emerged was a common set of 'past-tense' endings with elements taken from both paradigms:

(11)	1/2/3sg:	-(σ)α	-(σ)ες	-(σ)ε
		[-(s)a	-(s)es	-(s)e]
	1/2/3pl:	-(σ)αμεν	-(σ)ετε/-(σ)ατε	-(σ)αν
		[-(s)amen	-(s)ete/-(s)ate	-(s)an]

Here the a-vowel comes from the weak aorists and the e-vowel from the strong aorists/imperfects (3sg -ε [-e] being common to both); the s-element naturally appears in just those forms (the majority of weak aorists) which had displayed it in the classical language.

5.9 Official Writing of the Roman Imperial Period

To complete this brief sketch of the Koine in Roman times we may turn briefly to the imperial period proper, and to the following letter addressed by the emperor Hadrian in AD 119 to the Egyptian prefect Rammius (BGU 140). Originally composed in Latin, it was translated into Greek and put on public display in accordance with the emperor's wishes:[4]

(12) ἐπί[σ]ταμαι, Ῥαμμιέ μου, τ[ο]ύτους [ο]ὓς οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῶν τῷ τῆς στρατείας ἀνείλαντο χρόνῳ τὴν πρὸς τὰ πατρικὰ [ὑ]π[ά]ρχοντα πρόσοδον κεκωλῦσθαι, κ[αὶ τ]οῦτο οὐκ ἐδόκει σκληρὸν ε[ἶ]ναι [τοὐ]ναντίον αὐτῶν τῆς στρατιω[τι]κῆς [διδα]χῆς πεποιηκότων. ἥδιστα δὲ αὐτὸς προείεμαι τὰς ἀφορμὰς δι' ὧν τὸ αὐστηρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ αὐτοκρατόρων σταθὲν φιλανθρωπότερ[ο]ν ἑρμηνεύω. ὅνπερ τοιγαροῦν τ[ρόπ]ον οὔκ εἰσιν νόμιμοι κληρο[νόμ]οι τῶν ἑαυτῶν πατέρων οἱ τῷ [τ]ῆς στρατείας χρόνῳ ἀναλημφθέντες, ὅμως κατοχὴ[ν] ὑπαρχόντων ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ μέ[ρ]ους τοῦ διατάγματος οὗ καὶ τοῖς πρὸς [γ]ένους συνγένεσι δίδοται αἰτεῖσθαι δύνασθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς κρε[ίν]ω. ταύτην μου τὴν δωρεὰν καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐμοῦ καὶ τοῖς οὐετρανοῖς εὔγνωστόν σε ποιῆσαι δεήσει, οὐχ ἕνεκα τοῦ δοκεῖν με αὐτοῖς ἐνλογεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἵνα τούτῳ χρῶνται, ἐὰν ἀγνοῶσι.

[e'pistame, hrami'e mu, 'tutus hus hy ɣo'nis aɸton to tis stra'tẹas
I-know, Rammius my, these whom the parents of-them in-the of-the military-service
a'nilando 'k^{h}rono tẹn pros ta patri'ka hy'park^{h}onda 'prosodon
they-acknowledged time (from-)the to the paternal property succession
keko'lyst^{h}e, ke 'tuto uk e'doki sklẹ'ron 'ine, tunan'dion aɸton
to-have-been-prevented, and this not seemed hard to-be, the-opposite these-people
tẹs stratioti'kẹs didak^{h}ẹs pepyẹ'koton. 'hẹdista de aɸ'tos
of-the military discipline having-done. Most-gladly but myself
pro'hieme tas ap^{h}or'mas di hon to aɸstẹ'roteron hypo tom
I-put-forward the principles through which the rather-strictly by the
pro e'mu aɸtokra'toron sta't^{h}en p^{h}ilant^{h}ro'poteron hermẹ'neβo.
before me emperors established(thing) more-humanely I-interpret.
'homper tyɣa'run 'tropon 'uk isin 'nomimy klẹro'nomy ton
In-what therefore way not are lawful heirs of-the
heaɸ'tom pa'teron hy to tẹs stra'tẹas 'k^{h}rono analẹm'(p)t^{h}entes,
of-themselves fathers the in-the of-the military-service time acknowledged,
'homos kato'k^{h}ẹn hypar'k^{h}ondon eks e'kinu tu 'merus tu
nevertheless possession of-property from that the part of-the
dja'taɣmatos hu ke tys proz 'jenus syŋge'nesi 'didote e'tist^{h}e
edict where also to-the by birth kinsmen it-is-given to-claim
'dynast^{h}e ke aɸ'tus 'krino. 'taɸtẹm mu tẹn dore'an ke tys strati'otes
to-be-able also these I-judge. This of-me the bounty both to-the soldiers
e'mu ke tys wetra'nys 'eβɣno'ston se py'ẹse de'ẹsi,
of-me and to-the veterans well-known (for-)you to-make it-will-be-necessary,
uk^h 'heneka tu do'kim me aɸtys elo'jin, ala hina 'tuto 'k^{h}ronde,
not for-the-sake of-the to-seem me to-them to-take-credit, but so-that this they-may-use,
e'an aɣno'osi.]
if they-are-ignorant.

'I know, my dear Rammius, that persons who were acknowledged to be legitimate by their parents in the time of their military service have been prevented from succeeding to their fathers' property, and this did not seem harsh in so far as they had acted contrary to military discipline (*i.e. soldiers were forbidden to marry and their children were therefore illegitimate*). But I myself very gladly put forward the principle by which I interpret more humanely the rather strict rule established by the emperors before me. Therefore, although those acknowledged as legitimate in the time of their fathers' military service are not their fathers' lawful heirs, I decree that they too are able to claim possession of the property through the clause of the edict in which this right is granted also to kinsmen by birth. It will be your duty to make this bounty of mine well known both to my soldiers and to my veterans, not for the sake of my appearing to them to take the credit, but so that they may use this privilege if they are ignorant of it.'

The usual conservativism of official Greek is apparent in the continued general use of nominalized participles (the only exception is to express background circumstances in the form of a genitive absolute), and the use of the articular infinitival clause to express purpose in the last sentence, both structures permitting extensive complements and/or optional modification. Nevertheless, the archaizing impact of the Atticist revival is also apparent in the scrupulous avoidance of prepositional possessives, in the penultimate position of the verb ἀνείλαντο [a'nilando] within the relative clause of the first sentence,

splitting up the temporal expression ('hyperbaton': cf. 5.6), and in the use there of a simple dative of time (e.g. τῷ ... χρόνῳ [to ... 'k^hrono]; recall that prepositions were earlier quite standard in support of the increasingly 'weak' dative case (cf. the discussion of (22) in 4.11.1, and the phrase ἐμ παντὶ καιρῶι [em pantì kairô:i] in (9) in 4.6.3)).

The routine use of accusative and infinitive constructions, where at least some finite clause replacements might have been expected on the basis of earlier official practice and popular contemporary usage, is perhaps to be explained in the same way, though the impact of the Latin original (presumably itself composed in a style closer to the 'classical' than the 'vulgar' language, where this construction was standard) should not be discounted. In this connection we may also note the predilection in (12) for placing verbs in clause-final position, a feature clearly contrary to the general drift in the development of spoken Greek (cf. 4.8), and again perhaps representing the overuse of a classicizing characteristic that happened to enjoy Latin reinforcement. The cumulative impact of such interference phenomena undoubtedly had some effect on educated written usage even among native speakers, at least for as long as the two languages remained in close contact.

5.10 'Colloquial' Literature

5.10.1 Epictetus

Epictetus (c. AD 60–140) was a slave from Hierapolis (modern Pamukkale, 'Cotton Castle', famous for its spectacular calcified spring) in Phrygia in Asia Minor. He owed his freedom to his master, a court official by the name of Epaphroditus, and having had the opportunity to hear the Stoic philosopher Musonius, himself spent some time teaching in Rome before gathering a circle of students at Nicopolis in Epirus. Although he apparently wrote nothing himself, his 'discourses', in a plain and forceful language, have been 'preserved' for us by his admirer Arrian (c. AD 95–175), the author of the famous account of Alexander's expedition. The language of these homely presentations of aspects of Stoic philosophy is probably the closest thing we have, with due allowance for the philosophical terminology and a certain abstractness of style engendered by the subject matter, to a representation of the educated spoken language of the 2nd century AD.

The following brief extract (II.6, 3–4) is typical:[5]

(13) καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι τὴν αὑτοῦ παρασκευὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ἵν' ἐν οἷς μὴ παρασκεύασαι, ἡσυχίαν ἄγῃς μηδ' ἀγανάκτῃς εἴ τινες ἄλλοι πλεῖον σου ἔχουσιν ἐν ἐκείνοις. καὶ γὰρ σὺ ἐν συλλογισμοῖς πλεῖον ἀξιώσεις σεαυτὸν ἔχειν, κἂν ἀγανακτῶσιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, παραμυθήσῃ αὐτοὺς· "ἐγὼ ἔμαθον, ὑμεῖς δὲ οὔ."

[ka'lon de ke to i'dene tin haɸ'tu paraske'βe̞n ke 'dynamin, hin en
good and also the to-know the of-self preparation and power, so-that in
hys me̞ para'skeβase, he̞sy'k^hian 'ajis me̞d aɣa'naktis 'i tines
which-things not you-are-prepared, stillness you-may-conduct and-not be-angry if some

'aly 'plion su 'ek^{h}usin en e'kinys. ke ɣar sý en sylojiz'mys 'plion
others more than-you have in these. And for you in arguments more
aksi'osis seaɸ'ton 'ek^{h}in, kan aɣana'ktosin epi 'tuto, paramy't^{h}ẹsi
you-will-expect yourself to-have, and-if they-are-angry at this, you-will-console
aɸtus; 'e'ɣo 'emat^{h}on, hy'mis de 'u.']
them; 'I have-studied, you but not.'

'Knowledge of one's own preparation and resources is a good thing too, so that in matters for which you have not prepared yourself you may be at peace, and not get angry if others have the advantage over you in these. For you in turn will expect yourself to have the advantage in philosophical reasoning, and if they get angry at this, you will console them: "I have studied, but you have not."'

5.10.2 The New Testament

There are striking parallels between Epictetus' style and diction and the language of the New Testament. This is not, any more than that of the Septuagint (4.7.8), a special variety of Greek used by the Jews of the Near East (comparable, say, to the Jewish-Spanish of the Sephardic communities), as once was commonly thought, but a reasonably close reflection of the everyday Greek of the majority of the literate population in the early centuries AD, subject, as always, to the influence of the ordinary written language of business and administration learned in school.

This is not to say, however, that there are no peculiarly regional features (cf. 4.10). Although the New Testament was composed in the main by men without a higher education, and so is largely devoid of Atticistic traits, it was none the less written in an area where Aramaic was the first language of the majority, and some books at least are probably translations from Aramaic originals. Furthermore, some knowledge of the Septuagint must be supposed for the mainly Jewish authors/translators involved. We therefore find evidence of substrate and translation effects, as well as sporadic Septuagintisms, particularly in highly traditional passages, such as the two hymns in Luke 1. 46–55 and 68–71.

The identification and classification of relevant examples has long been, and still remains, a matter of considerable controversy. By way of illustration, we might list the following phenomena from the gospel according to St Mark (cf. Maloney (1981), Blass et al. (1984: 273 ff), Bubeník (1989: 65–7) for detailed discussion):

(14) (a) καί [ke] 'and', beginning a new paragraph.
(b) καί [ke] 'and', introducing the apodosis of conditional clauses.
(c) Noun–genitive–adjective order, instead of the usual pre-head position for the adjective.
(d) Use of modifying genitive NPs where ordinarily Greek would use an adjective.
(e) Use of positive adjectives with the value of comparatives.
(f) εἷς [is] 'one' (masculine), or ἄνθρωπος ['ant^{h}ropos] 'man', used as an indefinite pronoun (instead of τις [tis] 'someone').

(g) Use of redundant resumptive pronouns in relative clauses introduced by an appropriately inflected relative pronoun.
(h) Nominative in expressions of temporal duration in place of accusative.
(i) Nominative NPs with preposed definite article used instead of the simple vocative.
(j) Nominative topic, with 'weak' resumptive pronoun.

Most of these can be paralleled in the Septuagint, and most could equally well reflect contemporary Hebrew or Aramaic (with (b), (d), (h) and (i) perhaps most likely to reflect some direct influence from the contemporary vernacular). But many can also be paralleled in low-level Koine documents from Egypt (e.g. (a), (b), (f) – at least for εἷς [is], (i) and (j)), and so presumably reflect either more general tendencies of colloquial Greek which were specially reinforced by Jewish bilingualism in Palestine, or accidental correspondencies between Coptic and Hebrew/Aramaic (e.g. (i)).

The successful identification of substrate/translation effects is likely to remain a problematical area for the foreseeable future, since it must be based on clear evidence that the construction in question is alien to the natural development of Greek. This is a less straightforward matter than might at first appear to be the case. Taking the example of nominative topic + 'weak' resumptive pronoun (14j), we should note that this type of dislocated structure is in fact typical of early legal and gnomic texts in many Indo-European languages, but that classical Greek here demands a 'strong' demonstrative pronoun and case agreement for the topic in resumptive function:

(15) ὁ γὰρ λόγχην ἀκονῶν, **ἐκεῖνος** καὶ τὴν ψυχήν τι παρακονᾷ. (Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 6.2.33)

[ho	gar	lóŋk^{h}ɛ:n	akonô:n,	**ekê:nos**	kai	tɛ:n	psyk^{h}ɛ́:n	ti	parakonâ:i]
the (man)	for	spear	sharpening,	**that** (man)	also	the	soul	somewhat	sharpens-besides.

'He who sharpens his spear also sharpens his soul somewhat besides.'

On the face of it examples such as St Mark, 4.25: ὃς γὰρ ἔχει, δοθήσεται αὐτῷ [(h)os ɣar 'ek^{h}i, do't^{h}ẹsete aɸ'to], lit. 'who for has, it-shall-be-given to-him', would appear to violate these rules (though note that the topic here is strictly caseless, since the nominative relative is required by the syntax of the clause that contains it), as do related examples from Egypt with genuine nominative topics, e.g. P. Merton 23 (2nd century AD), P. Fay. 127 (2nd/3rd century AD), and BGU 385 (2nd/3rd century AD). But loosely constructed nominative topics are typical of the breakdown of formal agreement patterns seen also in the case of adjunct participles (cf. 6.5.3), and we should also note the sporadic evidence from this period that stressed αὐτός [af'tos] was already in use as a demonstrative, exactly as in Modern Greek (cf. 5.3), e.g.:

(16) ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος (BGU 1655.42 (AD 169))

[i'per aɸ'tu tu 'praɣmatos]
on this the matter

'concerning this matter'

There is, then, no obstacle in principle to taking the use of αὐτός [af'tos] in 'popular' Koine texts as reflecting this development, so that, where necessary, the relevant forms could be stressed and used as 'strong' pronouns equivalent to demonstratives (again as in Modern Greek). There is, therefore, no compelling reason to treat (14j) as a Semitism, despite the obvious parallels in Hebrew/Aramaic.

It is nevertheless undeniable that not all putative Semitisms can be explained away in such terms and that many, whatever their ultimate source, remain firmly in place (e.g. (14a, c, d, e, and also possibly h and i). It is important, however, to note that votive, legal and sepulchral inscriptions from Palestine do not in general display much comparable evidence for Semitic substrate effects, being, to all intents and purposes, linguistically parallel to similar inscriptions from, say, Syria or Asia Minor. This contrast with much Jewish literary writing, including even the moderately Atticizing translation of the original Aramaic text of Josephus' (born AD 37/38) history *On the Jewish War*, as well as the more 'vernacular' New Testament, is presumably testimony to the efficacy of the education system in imposing the conventions of 'official' Greek for the composition of routine non-literary documents.

In general, however, the language of the New Testament reflects quite closely the natural development of the language in the early centuries AD, always allowing for stylistic variation determined by the level of education of the author. Thus Hebrews and James are in some respects quite 'classical' (though far from Atticist), while Luke, Acts and the Pauline epistles are written on a higher level than Matthew, Mark and John (Luke, for example, sometimes implicitly 'corrects' the corresponding passage in Mark, cf. Browning (1983: 49)). John and Revelation (Apocalypse), however, are almost wholly uninfluenced by the archaizing conventions of the literary and/or official traditions, and the author of the latter in particular has been seen by some as revelling in his imperfect command of Greek and deliberately adopting an 'anti-cultural' style that defies ordinary grammatical constraint (cf. Robertson (1919: 135), Moulton et al. (1976: 33)).

The generally 'popular' quality of the language overall is perhaps most clearly demonstrated by a comparison of standard New Testament usage with the injunctions of Phrynichus (cf. 5.6), who was of course commenting on the kinds of 'mistake', i.e. non-classical elements of living Greek, typically made by pupils in literary composition. Two examples will serve to illustrate the point. Compare *Ecloga* 10:[6]

(17) εὐχαριστεῖν οὐδεῖς τῶν δοκίμων εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ χάριν εἰδέναι

[ewk^{h}aris'ti:n ud'i:s to:n do'kimo:n 'i:pen, alla 'k^{h}arin i:'denai]
eucharistein (*'thank'*) no-one of-the approved said, but charin eidenai

'None of our approved models said eucharistein but charin eidenai.'

with John 11. 41:

(18) Πάτερ, εὐχαριστῶ σοι

['pater, eɸk^{h}ari'sto sy]
Father, I-thank you

and *Ecloga* 255:

(19) βρέχειν ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕειν ... παντελῶς ἀποδοκιμαστέον τοὔνομα

['βrek^{h}i:n epi tu: 'hy:i:n ... pante'lo:s apodokimas'teon'tu:noma]
brechein ('rain') over the hyein ... altogether (is-)to-be-rejected the-term

'Brechein in place of hyein ... the term is to be roundly rejected.'

with Matthew 5. 45:

(20) βρέχει ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ἀδίκους

['vrek^{h}i epi di'keus ke a'dikus]
it-rains on just-(people) and unjust

'It rains on the just and the unjust.'

The following, very famous, extract from the beginning of St John's gospel provides a nice example of the 'simple' Koine style within the spectrum of New Testament writing:[7]

(21) 1. ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸν θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος.
2. οὗτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν. 3. πάντα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ
ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν. 4. ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων·
5. καὶ τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φαίνει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐ κατέλαβεν. 6. ἐγένετο
ἄνθρωπος, ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ, ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰωάννης. 7. οὗτος ἦλθεν εἰς
μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός, ἵνα πάντες πιστεύσωσιν δι᾽ αὐτοῦ. 8.
οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖνος τὸ φῶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα μαρτυρήσῃ περὶ τοῦ φωτός. 9. ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ
ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον. 10. ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ
ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω. 11. εἰς τὰ ἴδια
ἦλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐ παρέλαβον. 12. ὅσοι δὲ ἔλαβον αὐτόν, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς
ἐξουσίαν τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι, τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, 13. οἳ οὐκ ἐξ
αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ θεοῦ
ἐγεννήθησαν.

[1. en ar'k^{h}i 'in o 'loγos, ke o 'loγos 'im bros to(n) t^{h}e'o(n), ke t^{h}e'os
In beginning there-was the word and the word there-was by the god, and god
'in o 'loγos. 2. 'utos 'in en ar'k^{h}i pros to(n) t^{h}e'o(n). 3. 'panda di
was the word. This there-was in beginning by the god. All-things through

aɸ'tu e'jeneto, ke k^{h}o'ris aɸ'tu e'jeneto ude 'en o 'jeɣonen. 4. en aɸ'to zo'i
him happened, and without him happened not-even one-thing that happened. In him life
'in, ke i zo'i in to p^{h}os ton an't^{h}ropon; 5. ke to p^{h}os en di sko'tia
there-was, and the life was the light of-the men; and the light in the darkness
'p^{h}eni, ke i sko'ti(a) a(ɸ)to u ka'telaβen. 6. e'jeneto
shines, and the darkness it not put-out/understood. Came-into being
'ant^{h}ropos, apestal'menos para t^{h}e'u, 'ono'ma (aɸ)to io'anis. 7. 'utos
man, sent from god, name to-him John. This-man
'ilt^{h}en is marty'rian ina marty'risi peri tu p^{h}o'tos, ina 'pandes
came to witness that he-witness about the light, that all-men
pi'steɸsosin di aɸ'tu. 8. uk in e'kinos to p^{h}os, al ina marty'risi
may-believe through him. not was that-man the light, but that he-witness
peri tu p^{h}o'tos. 9. 'in to p^{h}os to alit^{h}i'non, o p^{h}o'tizi 'pand(a)
about the light. Was the light the true, which illuminates every
'ant^{h}ropon, er'k^{h}omeno(n) is ton 'gozmo(n). 10. en do 'kozmo
man, coming into the world. In the world
'in, ke o 'kozmos di aɸ'tu e'jeneto, ke o 'kozmos a(ɸ)ton uk 'eɣno.
was, and the world through him came-about, and the world him not came-to-know.
11. is ta 'idja 'ilt^{h}en, ke y 'idjy a(ɸ)ton u pa'relaβon. 12. 'osy
To the his-own-things he-came, and the his-own-people him not accepted. As-many-as
d(e) 'ela'βon a(ɸ)ton, 'edo'ken a(ɸ)tys eksu'sja(n) 'tekna t^{h}e'u je'nest^{h}e, tys
but accepted him, he-gave to-them power children of-god to-become, to-the (ones)
pi'steβusin is t(o) 'ono'ma (aɸ)tu, 13. y uk eks e'maton ud ek
believing in the name of-him, who not from bloods nor from
t^{h}e'limatos sar'kos ud ek t^{h}e'limatos an'dros al ek t^{h}e'u eje'nit^{h}isan.]
will of-flesh nor from will of-man but from god were-born.

'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was not anything made that was made. In him was life; and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness; and the darkness comprehended it not. There was a man sent from God, whose name was John. The same came for a witness, to bear witness of the Light, that all men through him might believe. He was not that Light, but was sent to bear witness of that Light. That was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: Which were born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God.'

Apart from the obvious simplicity of construction, involving routine co-ordination of clauses with finite verbs, we may note the simple but effective rhetorical device of repeating a key noun phrase from one sentence as the initial 'topic/subject' of the next. Where such a topic is syntactically complex, as with the relative clause in para. 12, there is a resumptive pronoun in the 'comment' that follows (cf. (14j), (15), (16) above); from this basis the use of resumptive pronouns was progressively generalized to other topic constructions, including those involving simple noun phrases, as in Modern Greek. These typical features of the simple Koine fall into line with the use

of the subjunctive in the final clause after a past-time main verb in para. 7 (the classical optative, already optional even in 5th-century Attic Greek, having long been a mark of the archaizing literary style), and the use of the indicative for the optative (a particularly opaque usage of the classical language, cf. Horrocks (1995)) in the past-time generic clause in para. 12.

We should note, however, that 'weak' pronouns still remain enclitic on the initial constituent (as in the earliest Greek), and have not yet become phonologically attached to the verb that governs them (as in Modern Greek). Thus weak pronouns frequently follow an initial topic in 'second position', and the verb, though typically standing as close as possible to the pronoun (in order to reconcile the inherited clitic position with the natural requirement that a head and its pronominal complement should ordinarily be contiguous, cf. 4.8), may nevertheless still be separated from it by the negative particle (e.g. in paras. 5, 10 and 11); this contrasts sharply with the situation in Modern Greek, where the position of the clitic, as an element phonologically dependent on the verb, is fixed, and the corresponding order is negative + clitic + verb (cf. δεν τον είδα ['ðen don iða] 'not him I-saw', etc.).

We may, however, compare the order in para. 12 (relative pronoun + connective + verb + enclitic), where the weak pronoun follows the verb rather than the connective, a position well attested in classical Greek, but one which demonstrates the fact that the tension between the 'second-position' and 'head-adjacency' requirements had not yet been fully reconciled in the written Koine (cf. Horrocks (1990)). Note too that, in contrast with the lowest levels of the Koine as discussed in chapter 6, the correct use of the dative in its core functions (e.g. indirect object, locative after prepositions, etc.), the proper use of control infinitives (in para. 12), and the appropriate use of correctly inflected participles (e.g. in paras. 9 and 12) are all still routine; it cannot be overemphasized that, despite the obvious departures from classical usage, this is good, basic Koine Greek of its time.

One final issue concerns the status of subjunctive clauses introduced by ἵνα ['ina], as in para. 8. Though the sense of this particular example is not altogether certain (perhaps 'he should/must bear witness'), it is clear that this 'conjunction', like its successor να [na] in Modern Greek, could already be used with a main verb to express permission/obligation, and that it had accordingly been downgraded in certain contexts to the status of a mood marker, thus becoming available in main as well as subordinate clauses. There are many clear examples of such usage, both positive and negative, in the Septuagint and elsewhere in the New Testament, and there are also instances in the Egyptian papyri, though these are quite rare.

5.11 Later Christian Literature: Stylistic Levels

5.11.1 The Apostolic Fathers

The Christian writers of the earliest period (the so-called Apostolic Fathers) generally followed the model of the New Testament and continued to write in a simple Koine style, partly as a mark of their contempt for pagan grammarians and rhetoricians, but

partly also from a conviction that the message would be better received by the masses if it were presented in a language that they understood and which crucially lacked the taint of snobbery conveyed by the archaizing literary norm. Thus the New Testament Apocrypha and many of the early saints' lives are composed in a language that displays a fairly consistent lack of regard for the purist tradition and follows the practice of the unelaborated, day-to-day written Koine of the time.

We may consider, for example, the following extract from *The Shepherd* (I, 1–2), a mid-2nd-century work comprising a series of revelations made to an individual by the name of Hermas:

(22) ὁ θρέψας με πέπρακέν με Ῥόδῃ τινὶ εἰς Ῥώμην. μετὰ πολλὰ ἔτη ταύτην ἀνεγνωρισάμην και ἠρξάμην αὐτὴν ἀγαπᾶν ὡς ἀδελφήν. μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ λουομένην εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν Τίβεριν εἶδον καὶ ἐπέδωκα αὐτῇ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἐξήγαγον αὐτὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ταύτης οὖν ἰδὼν τὸ κάλλος διελογιζόμην ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ μου λέγων· Μακάριος ἤμην, εἰ τοιαύτην γυναῖκα εἶχον καὶ τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ. μόνον τοῦτο ἐβουλευσάμην, ἕτερον δὲ οὐδὲ ἕν.

o 't^{h}repsaz me 'pepra'ke(m) me 'rodi tini is 'romi(n). meta po'la
the having-nurtured me sold me to-Rhoda a-certain in Rome. After many
'eti 'taftin aneɣnori'samin ke ir'ksamin a(f)tin aɣa'pan os
years this (woman) I-appreciated and I-began her to-love as
adel'p^{h}i(n). meta 'k^{h}ronon dina luo'menin is tom bota'mon 'tiverin
sister. After time some (her) washing in the river Tiber
'idon k(e) e'pedo'ka (af)ti tiŋ 'k^{h}ira k(e) e'ksiɣaɣon a(f)tin ek
I-saw and I-gave to-her the hand and pulled her out-of
tu pota'mou. 'taftis un i'don to 'kalos djeloji'zomin en di kar'dja
the river. Of this (woman) then seeing the beauty I-began-to-reflect in the heart
mu 'leɣon: ma'karjos 'imin, i ty'afti(n) jy'neka 'ik^{h}on ke to 'kali
of-me saying: 'Happy I-would-be, if such woman I-had both in-the beauty
ke to 'tropo. 'mono(n) 'tuto evulef'samin, 'eteron de ude 'en.]
and the character.' Only this I-resolved, other (thing) and not(-even) one.

'The man who brought me up sold me to a certain Rhoda in Rome. After many years I came to appreciate her qualities, and began to love her as a sister. After a while I saw her washing in the River Tiber, and gave her my hand and pulled her out of the river. Then when I saw her beauty I began to reflect in my heart saying: "I would be happy if I had a wife of such beauty and character." I resolved on this alone, and nothing else.'

We may note once again that this is a 'good' Koine style of the period, involving *inter alia* a full range of inflected participles, the correct use of the dative in its core functions, aorist middle forms (often replaced by the aorist passive in less accomplished writing), and a willingness to vary word order for stylistic effect (e.g. the preposing of the participial complement clause dependent on εἶδον ['idon] 'I saw', leaving the main verb in final position).

Other standard features of the Koine at this time include:

(23) (a) The use of the accusative with εἰς [is] in literal locative function in place of classical ἐν + dative (a feature already well established as an option in the New Testament and the papyri); only the 'extended' usage ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ [en di kar'dja] 'in the heart' shows the classical construction.

(b) The perfect πέπρακεν ['peprake(n)] 'he sold' used as a simple alternative to the aorist (cf. 6.5.2 for an extended discussion of this development).

(c) The use of the imperfect in the protasis and apodosis of a 'remote' future conditional in place of the classical optative (combined with ἄν [an] in the apodosis). The development of modal syntax is considered in detail in 9.4, cf. also Horrocks (1995); here we may simply note the dual use, i.e. past habitual/future supposition, of past indicatives and periphrases with *would* in English (cf. *if ever she met her real father she would weep*), and observe that imperfective 'past' indicatives may readily acquire such modal uses cross-linguistically.

(d) The beginning of the transfer of the verb 'to be' from the irregular -μι [-mi] paradigm to the regular middle paradigm in -μαι [-me]. This seems to have begun, as here, with the recharacterization of the 1sg imperfect ἦν [in] as ἤμην ['imin], a form which is already well attested in the Ptolemaic papyri, and served to distinguish the 1sg from the homophonous 3sg; Phrynichus (130) naturally stigmatizes it. From this base a largely middle paradigm was gradually built up in more popular registers of the Koine through the later Roman and early Byzantine periods, the major exception being the forms of the 3sg/3pl present indicative, which derive from the use of the accented adverb ἔνι ['eni], first used synonymously with the compound ἔν-εστι ['en-esti], 'there is/are', but later as a simple replacement for classical ἐστί [esti]/εἰσί [isi] 'is/are'. The form was eventually adapted to the rest of the paradigm, with first the suffix (-ναι [-ne]) then the stem (εἰ- [i-]) recharacterized on the model of 1sg/2sg εἶμαι ['ime]/εἶσαι ['ise]. We thus obtain the following paradigm for the early/middle Byzantine period (cf. Part II, 11.8 (34a), for details):

Present:	εἶ-μαι ['ime]	εἶ-σαι ['ise]	ἔνι ['eni]
	εἴ-μεθα ['imeθa]	εἶ-σθε ['isθe]	ἔνι ['eni]
Past:	ἤ-μην ['imin]	ἦ-σο ['iso]	ἦ-το ['ito]
	ἤ-μεθα ['imeθa]	ἤ-σασθε ['isasθe]	ἦ-ταν ['itan]

Here the 2pl form has borrowed the aorist middle ending, and the 3pl has been recharacterized with -τ- [-t-] on the basis of the 3sg; many earlier forms remained in use alongside these, however, especially 2sg/pl ἦς [is]/ἦτε ['ite] and 3pl ἦσαν ['isan].

5.11.2 The impact of Atticism

This use of the 'common' style worked well for as long as Christianity was primarily a religion of the poor and underprivileged. But as it began to make an impression on the educated classes, there arose a need to preach and develop doctrine in a more 'acceptable' form of language, the lower levels of the Koine being viewed as a mark not merely of poor taste but of ignorance and degeneracy. Christian discourse was therefore increasingly 'elevated' from the 'vulgar' level of the New Testament, and, from the beginning of the 3rd century onwards, intellectual apologists such as Clement of Alexandria (2nd/3rd century AD), Origen (AD 184–254) and Eusebius (c. AD 260–340) began to expound Christian history and doctrine in a language and style adapted from the pagan Greek historical, rhetorical and philosophical traditions that blended the new religious terminology into a variably Atticized scholarly Koine.

This trend was soon consolidated by political developments. By the early 4th century AD profound changes were taking place in the administration of the Roman empire. The inland site of Rome was becoming steadily more impractical and irrelevant as Italy became increasingly vulnerable to barbarian incursions. Since the Balkans and Asia Minor were already the main sources of recruitment to the Roman army, it was natural that when the emperor Constantine I (ruled AD 306–37) decided to found a 'New Rome', he should select a site in the eastern part of his empire. His choice was the apparently impregnable site of ancient Byzantium, perched on the end of a peninsula and surrounded on three sides by the sea of Marmara, the straits of the Bosporus and the deep river estuary of the Golden Horn. Constantine, who was himself a formal convert to Christianity on his death-bed, had earlier instituted a policy of religious tolerance, and Constantinople (Κωνσταντινούπολις [konstandin'upolis]) was founded on 11 May AD 330 as a Christian city which incorporated three great churches, the Holy Wisdom (Ἁγία Σοφία [a'jia so'fia]), the Holy Peace (Ἁγία Εἰρήνη [a'jia i'rini]) and the Holy Apostles (Ἅγιοι Ἀπόστολοι ['aji a'postoli]), within its grand design.

By the end of the century imperial patronage had secured for Christianity a position as the official religion of the Roman state, and many of the great church fathers of the 4th century, such as St Basil ('the Great', c. AD 329–79), St Gregory of Nazianzus (c. AD 330–c.389), St Gregory of Nyssa (c. AD 335–c.394) and John Chrysostom (c. AD 347–407), were naturally members of the upper classes who had received a higher education. They in turn instinctively turned their backs on the lowly origins of their faith and wrote in the language of their class, though the prestige of the scriptures was indirectly maintained in the form of 'quotations' of key terms incorporated into an otherwise classical style of discourse. The incorporation of Christianity into the Roman establishment and the new religious impetus behind the classicizing tradition created an archaizing 'ecclesiastical' Greek that quickly permeated the upper strata of Roman society and guaranteed the perpetuation of the diglossia initiated by the first Atticists nearly five hundred years before. Though a more basic style of Christian writing continued in the form of saints' biographies and chronicles, the opportunity provided by the new status of Christianity for the development of a high-prestige written language based on contemporary spoken Greek was effectively lost.

5.11.3 Callinicus and Theodoret

We may, by way of illustration, take the work of two fairly minor Christian authors of the 5th century AD (the data in what follows are taken from Hult (1990)). At one end of the spectrum, in the *Life of Hypatius* by the monk Callinicus, we find a high concentration of relatively 'low' features, consistently avoided by those adopting a self-consciously classicizing style. Many of these can be seen in ordinary administrative documents from the Hellenistic period onwards, and include:

(24) (a) The widespread use of the pleonastic genitive article τοῦ [tu] to strengthen what would be simple infinitive complements in the classical language after adjectives, verbs of commanding and verbs of promising.
(b) The use of such articular infinitives in a final sense (where the classical construction involves a future participle or, more regularly, ἵνα ['ina] '(in order) that', + subjunctive or optative according to whether the tense of the main verb is non-past or past.
(c) The frequent use of ἀπό [a'po], lit. 'from', to mark the agent in passive constructions (where the classical language has ὑπό [y'po], παρά [pa'ra], and various other prepositional options, or, with the perfect passive, a simple dative, see George (2005)).
(d) The use of 'final' ἵνα ['ina] to introduce consecutive clauses (where the classical language has ὡς/ὥστε [os/'oste] '(so) that' + infinitive), and conversely, the use of 'consecutive' ὡς/ὥστε [os/'oste] + infinitive to introduce a final clause.
(e) The use of 'final' ἵνα ['ina] after verbs of 'commanding' (where the classical language has a simple infinitive).
(f) Parataxis involving finite (subjunctive) verb forms rather than an infinitive complement after verbs of 'wishing' (though sometimes also with ἵνα ['ina]).
(g) The use of the present indicative of ἔχω ['exo], lit. 'have', with an aorist (perfective) infinitive in place of the classical synthetic future.
(h) Frequent use of τυγχάνω [tyŋ'xano], classically = 'happen/chance (to be)', in the sense of 'to be'; and of an impersonal construction with ἔτυχε ['etyxe] 'it happened' + accusative and infinitive (lit. 'it-happened [X to-Y]'), in place of the classical personal construction with a participle, 'X happened [Y-ing]', in the sense 'X happened [to Y]'.

This last is not, strictly speaking, a 'popular' construction (recall the general avoidance of the accusative and infinitive in the lower registers of the Koine), but reflects the bureaucratic style of the administrative language, whence it may have been absorbed into the vernacular as something of a cliché.

Other non-classical features of Callinicus' style, however, also occur in more middlebrow writing, and even crop up occasionally in the work of those who strive hardest for puristic effect. These might be thought of as 'established' Koineisms derived from the higher, i.e. official and scientific/technical, registers of the written language, which were clearly also acceptable in unpretentious literary composition:

(25) (a) The use of ὅτι ['oti] 'that' after verbs of 'thinking' (the classical usage is regularly an accusative and infinitive) and verbs of perception (where in classical Greek we have an accusative and participle).
(b) The use of quoted speech rather than a subordinate clause after verbs of 'saying'.
(c) A liking for the 'impersonal' passive 'it is said [that X]', etc. (where the classical language more usually has 's/he is said [to X]', etc.).
(d) The use of articular infinitives governed by a 'goal-denoting' preposition to express purpose, and more generally of 'prepositional' infinitives functioning in the manner of gerunds (a construction which is neither routine in classical Greek nor colloquial, but which characterized bureaucratic Greek from Hellenistic times).

In general, then, we have the impression of a fairly natural written Koine into which only certain well-established elements from the higher registers of the official language have intruded.

By contrast, the *History of the Monks in Syria* by Theodoret (born in Antioch in the late 4th century AD), who clearly received an excellent education, is replete with Atticizing traits such as the use of the dual and the avoidance of normal contemporary vocabulary (e.g. ἀρχιερεύς [arçie'refs], lit. 'chief-priest', is employed for the regular ἐπίσκοπος [e'piskopos], lit. 'overseer', the ultimate source of our word 'bishop'). Typical syntactic markers of the 'high' Attic style, which are unusual in the Koine and wholly absent from Callinicus, include:

(26) (a) The use of future participles, or ὡς (ἄν)/ὅπως ἄν [os (an)/'opos an] 'so that', with the subjunctive in final constructions (alongside the more neutral ἵνα ['ina]); ὅπως ἄν ['opos an] was particularly characteristic of official Attic in the 5th century BC, after which time it dropped out of favour.
(b) The use of ὑπό [y'po] with the dative (rather marginal in classical Attic, but so much the better from an Atticist perspective), πρός [pros] with the genitive, or a simple dative to mark the agent of a passive construction, alongside the neutral ὑπό [y'po] + genitive; the popularity of the moribund dative, whether after prepositions or alone, was a specially clear Atticist trait (cf. again George (2005)).
(c) Overuse of the indicative beside the more regular infinitive in consecutive clauses with ὥστε ['oste], '(so) that'.
(d) A general effort to preserve the synthetic future in all its forms.
(e) The use of the classical participial construction with τυγχάνω [tyŋ'xano], 'X happens [being/doing Y]', etc.

There are, however, certain other Attic features in Theodoret's style that also recur in middle-register writing. These may be seen as 'unmarked' elements of the less elaborated literary style of the period, i.e. as Atticisms which were used relatively unselfconsciously rather than as part of a deliberate demonstration of learning. They may be seen as complementing the 'neutral' Koineisms of (25):

(27) (a) The infinitive in indirect commands, especially the use of an active infinitive in a context where no agent is specified – 's/he ordered [to send messengers]', etc.
(b) The use of the irregular verb φημί [fi'mi] 'say' with an accusative and infinitive beside the regular λέγω ['leɣo] with ὅτι ['oti] 'that' + finite verb.
(c) The 'personal' passive construction 's/he is said [to X]' for the more popular 'it is said [that X]' etc.
(d) The use of the optative in past-tense contexts in both final clauses and indirect speech (replaced by the subjunctive and the indicative respectively in less elevated literary work).

Overall, therefore, we gain the impression of a clear preference for constructions that were either under pressure in, or had already disappeared from, the ordinary spoken language, whether pure antiques or Attic traits that had become embedded as conservative elements in the higher registers of the Koine.

We thus have to deal with a scale of registers running from (a) more or less strict Atticism, through (b) a blend of Attic with 'high-level' written Koineisms, down to (c) an amalgam of 'standard' written Koineisms with ordinary contemporary speech; only those with minimal education wrote in a style (d) that was virtually free of such written Koineisms altogether (see chapter 6 for exemplification). It seems, then, that all educated writers strove, in accordance with the relevant generic conventions, for a style that was in some degree distanced from the spoken vernacular, with a more or less clear division emerging between (a) and (b) on the one hand (Attic <-> high-level official/technical Koine) and (c) and (d) on the other (basic/administrative Koine <-> vernacular). In other words, while a blend of (a) and (b) was quite normal (with attempts at (a) alone reserved only for the most ambitious forms of literary composition), a combination of (a)/(b) with either (c) or (d) was relatively 'unnatural', and generally the mark of an overambitious stylist with an inadequate educational background.

This state of affairs is entirely to be expected, since learning to write necessarily meant learning, however imperfectly, one or more of the standard forms of written Greek, with the Atticizing style constituting the preserve of those able to afford the luxury of a rhetorical higher education. Only in the later middle ages did the vernacular begin to make a serious impact on high-level literary composition, and then only in selected genres and/or under circumstances of political fragmentation and foreign rule (see 8.4.4–8.4.6 and chapter 12). We should not, then, be surprised, however odd this may seem from a modern perspective, to discover, for example, that the account by Kritóboulos of Imbros of the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453 is written in a form of Greek that any student of the classical language of the 5th century BC can read with ease, despite the passage of nearly two thousand years (cf. 9.6).

We should not, however, imagine that choice of style was simply a function of social class. Certain forms of Christian writing, such as martyrdoms and biographies, were traditionally more 'popular' in character than those with a classical/Hellenistic heritage, since their authors' primary purpose was to reach as wide an audience as possible. Our earliest examples include the anonymous *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (probably 2nd century AD) and Athanasius of Alexandria's *Life of St Anthony* (4th century AD). There

is no reason to doubt that many such authors, like Athanasius, were in fact very well educated indeed (cf. 8.5.5, 8.5.6, 10.2, 10.3).

The Christianization of the empire also brought with it the need for the chronological harmonization of the contemporary world and its classical past with the Hebrew world of the Old Testament, and so brought into being the important new genre of the universal chronicle. By the 5th century AD such chronicles were a major source of reference for Christians of all classes, and their compilers, while again aiming for a wide audience, assumed that it would at least overlap with readers of 'literary' histories of the traditional kind (cf. Jeffreys et al. (1990)). But while histories required the high style, the more practical function of world chronicles demanded the use of the routine written language of the day, based on the normal language of adminstration.

But before examining further the transition of the (eastern) Roman empire from the sophisticated urban civilization of antiquity to the medieval world of Orthodox Byzantium, it remains to complete Part I of this book by considering the evidence for the development of the Koine as a spoken language in the Roman period.

Notes

1 The transcription of the Attic variants here and in (7), (8) and (9) below is intended to reflect the likely pronunciation of the Atticizing elite in the 2nd century AD, that of the corresponding Koine forms the contemporary, moderately educated norm.
2 The following transcription assumes a conservative pronunciation of the period, as appropriate for an official document.
3 We should note, however, that εἴπα-σαν [î:pa-san] 'they said' is also attested in this inscription, where this same suffix has even replaced the final -ν [-n] of the already innovatory εἶπ-αν [î:p-an]. This unusual form, if not a simple mistake, may reflect less than perfect control of Greek morphology on the part of the translator.
4 The transcription is again supposed to represent an educated pronunciation of the period.
5 The pronunciation is intended to reflect that of normal spoken discourse among the educated classes at the time.
6 It is assumed that Phrynichus would have employed a highly conservative pronunciation.
7 A pronunciation typical of the majority of the basically literate is assumed in the transcription.

6

Spoken Koine in the Roman Period

6.1 Introduction

A great deal of valuable information about the evolution of 'normal' Greek in the Roman period is naturally provided by the private documents of the not very well-educated, both inscriptions and, in the case of Egypt, papyri. The extracts from private papyrus letters given below give a fair sample of the relevant phenomena. But before looking at these in detail, a general survey of the phonological developments of the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods will help to set the scene.

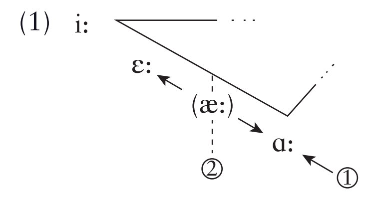
6.2 Summary of the Principal Developments in the Vowel System

Before elaborating the details of the attested graphic interchanges and their implications, it will be useful to summarize the principal developments by means of conventional vowel diagrams, and to list the spelling options employed in substandard works for the representation of particular sounds in particular periods.

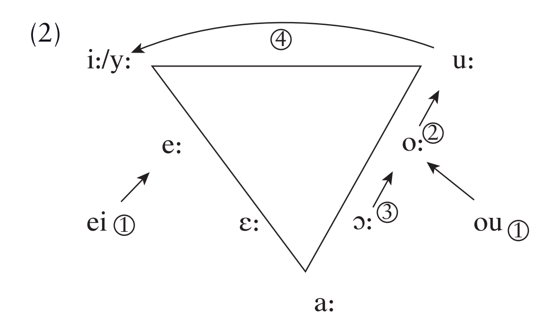
The whole process can be seen as a radical simplification and reduction of the classical system of long vowels and diphthongs, with the effect that, once distinctions of vowel length were lost, the former long- and short-vowel systems fell naturally together into a simple six-vowel triangle distinct from the Modern Greek system only in the continued presence of /y/.

To a very large extent the changes involved can be explained in terms of a series of interconnected 'chain-effects', as proposed, for example, by Ruipérez (1956) and Allen (1987b), and motivated by the principle of maximizing the differentiation of the realization of phonemes within the available articulatory space (cf. Martinet (1955)). Teodorsson has provided detailed studies of Attic for the late classical (1974) and Hellenistic periods (1978), and also of Ptolemaic Koine (1977), while the Roman and early Byzantine papyri have been analysed by Gignac (1976). Threatte (1980) is an extremely thorough and cautious account of the phonology of Attic inscriptions, and we may usefully compare that with Ruijgh (1978b) for a 'conservative' critique of Teodorsson's (1974) methodology and rather 'radical' results.

The emergence in Attic, perhaps during the 9th century BC, of a new long vowel *[a:], as the product of cluster simplification and compensatory lengthening (e.g. nom sg *παντ-ς [pants] 'all' > *παν-ς [pans] > πᾶς [pa:s]), seems to have had the effect of rephonologizing the reflexes of the original long a-vowel inherited from Indo-European; the 'lower' allophones of this latter, occurring after [i, e, r], merged with the new long a-vowel, while its remaining 'higher' allophones were 'pushed' up the front axis of the vowel triangle to merge with those of original /ɛ:/ (the familiar ᾱ > η shift of Attic-Ionic; for convenience, the resulting long a-vowel will be represented /a:/ henceforth):

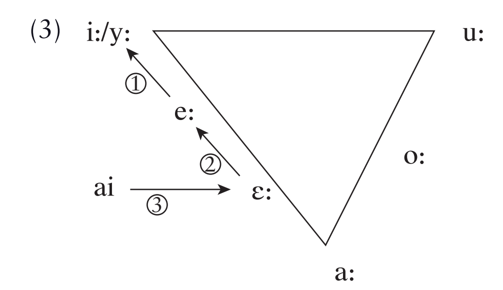
(1)


Shortly afterwards, probably in the 8th or early 7th century BC, the original diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/ were monophthongized to produce new mid-high vowels /e:/ and /o:/. Since the system already contained the inherited mid vowels /ɛ:/ and /ɔ:/, the result was a degree of overcrowding, particularly on the back axis, and the eventual consequence was a raising of /o:/ towards /u:/, a movement which in turn 'dragged' original /ɔ:/ towards the position of /o:/ and 'pushed' original /u:/ around to the front axis to become /y:/:

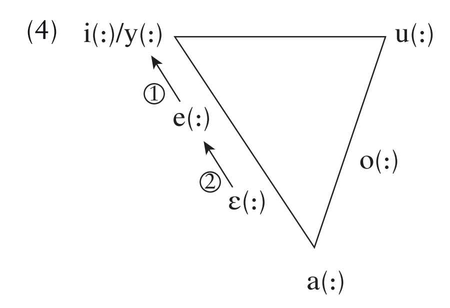
(2)


This is essentially the classical long-vowel system as described, for example, in Allen (1987a), where ι = /i:/, ει = /e:/, η = /ɛ:/, α = /a:/, ω = /o:/, ου = /u:/, υ = /y:/.

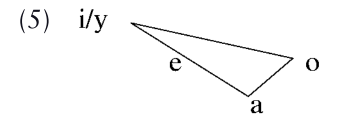
On the front axis the relative infrequency of original /i:/ and the corresponding overcrowding following the advent of /e:/ had the combined effect of pulling /e:/ (ει) towards /i:/ (affecting first the pre-consonantal and word-final allophones, but then applying generally), with which it eventually merged. This seems in turn to have pulled original /ɛ:/ (η) towards the position abandoned by /e:/, which then exercised a monophthongizing effect on /ai/ (αι) to create a new phoneme /æ:/, later /ɛ:/, to fill this further vacant slot:

(3)


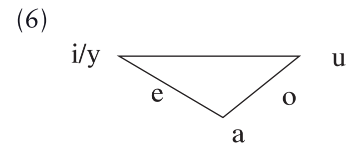
This still somewhat 'crowded' front axis then underwent further simplification, through a second raising of /e:/ (η) to /i:/, and a corresponding upward drift of /ɛ:/ (αι) towards the vacated position. In broadly the same period the distinction between long and short vowels was also lost (in conjunction with the shift from a primary pitch to a primary stress accent), so that the changes represented in (4):

(4)


led to a system that easily merged with the existing short-vowel system in (5) (which had changed only in the fronting of original /u/ to /y/, in line with the corresponding development in the long-vowel system):

(5)


This gave the new six-vowel system in (6), where /e/ (written ϵ, αι) is used for convenience to represent the surviving mid vowel on the front axis:

(6)


The picture is complicated slightly by the development of the remaining diphthongs. Already in the classical period /yi/ (υι) had begun to merge with /y:/, at least in popular registers, and this then fell together with /y/, as noted. Similarly, /oi/ (οι) had shifted, via /ɵi/, to /œi/ or /øi/, which in turn then monophthongized to /œ(:)/ or /ø(:)/, and finally raised to /y/. Eventually /y/ (υ, οι, υι) lost its lip-rounding to merge once

again with /i/, though the completion of this last shift belongs to the middle Byzantine period.

Of the long diphthongs, /a:i/ (αι/ᾳ) and /o:i/ (ωι/ῳ) simply lost their final element and merged with the corresponding long vowels, which then fell together with the corresponding short vowels, as we have seen. In more popular varieties, however, the diphthong /ɛ:i/ (ηι/ῃ/) seems to have partly fallen together with /e:/ (normally written ει, cf. the spelling of the 2sg middle ending with either -ηι/ῃ or -ει) from the late 5th century BC. In word-final position, however, there was at least a partial restoration of [e:i] (ηι) from the end of the 3rd century BC, perhaps reflecting the more conservative pronunciation of the resurgent aristocracy; this eventually lost its final element along with the other long diphthongs, and raised to [i:].

The diphthongs ending in [u], however, namely /au/ (αυ), /eu/ (ευ) and [ɛ:u/ (ηυ), adopted an ever closer articulation of the final element, a process that eventually led, via the development of [w̥]/[w] > [ɸʷ]/[βʷ] > [ɸ]/[β], to a pronunciation [af/v], [ef/v], [if/v], with voicing triggered by a following voiced segment.

For most of these developments, the crucial issue of chronology still remains to be established. This will be considered first for Athenian Attic, and then for Egyptian Koine (with some additional observations about the Koine in general).

6.3 Some Illustrative Examples

6.3.1 Athenian Attic

In 4.4.2 above it was noted that orthographic changes in official Boeotian inscriptions are regularly taken to indicate that this dialect underwent many of the changes listed above at a very early date in comparison with, say, Attic. We thus find ι used for ει already in the 5th century BC (implying /e:/ > /i:/), and, from the early 4th century, η used for αι and ει for η (implying /ai/ > /ɛ:/ following the shift of original /ɛ:/ > /e:/, with later substitution of i suggesting further raising of the latter to /i(:)/). By the mid-3rd century the use of υ for οι similarly suggests that /oi/ had already been monophthongized to /ø(:)/, while the occasional 2nd-century use of ει for οι implies an early loss of lip-rounding (i.e. [ø] > [e̹]).

These developments have been placed in an interesting light by the work of Teodorsson (1974). Using both epigraphic material and a range of secondary evidence to draw a distinction between the conservative pronunciation of the aristocracy and that of the majority (as evidenced in the spelling mistakes of private documents and the casual observations of contemporary writers), it is argued that vernacular Attic, far from being slow off the mark in comparison with Boeotian, had in fact already undergone many of the changes listed above by the end of the 4th century BC. The onset of these ‘progressive’ developments is associated directly with the role of Athens as an imperial capital and major emporium, and particularly with the extreme form of democratic government that gave unusual prominence and prestige, albeit on a temporary basis, to more popular forms of the dialect.

Much inevitably hinges on the interpretation of the significance of what remains a small number of documents exhibiting the relevant errors, and the overall picture depends in particular on the extent to which we can be sure that the mistakes in

question were committed by local native speakers rather than by resident aliens, including many non-native speakers of Greek, who may have had difficulty with the subtleties of the Attic dialect (cf. Ruijgh (1978b) and Threatte (1980) for less radical views about the chronology of change, especially in the popular varieties). But even if Teodorsson has overinterpreted his data, he is surely right to emphasize the importance of distinguishing different levels within the Attic of the period, and it is certainly helpful to be able to see the Boeotian facts as forming part of a more general pattern of development in the 5th and 4th centuries BC rather than as revealing an isolated and otherwise unexplained 'pioneer'.

By the mid-4th century a distinction may fairly be drawn between a conservative system retained by the aristocracy and an innovative system representing the speech of the moderately educated, a variety that is further distinguished from the 'vulgar' Attic of the urban poor. Teodorsson's reconstruction (1978: 94–6) of the conservative system is given in (7), where /–C, V, # = 'in the context of a following consonant, vowel, or word-boundary':

(7) (a)

Phoneme	Spelling
/i:/	ι, ει/–C or #
/i/	ι
/y:/	υ, υι
/y/	υ, υι
/e:/	ει/–V, η, ηι(ῃ)
/e/	ε
/a:/	α
/a/	α
/o:/	ω
/o/	ο
/u:/	ου
/u/	ου

(b)

Diphthongs	Spelling
/a:i/	αι(ᾳ)
/ai/	αι
/au/	αυ
/eu/	ευ
/e:u/	ηυ
/o:i/	ωι(ῳ)
/oi/	οι

Subsequently, he finds evidence only for the loss of the final [i]-element from the relevant long diphthongs in the period between c.150 and c.50 BC. The eventual elimination of vowel-length distinctions and the associated shift from a primary pitch to a primary stress accent (on which see below) belongs to the Roman imperial period.

By contrast Teodorsson argues that the majority system was already far advanced by c.350 BC (1974: 286–99):

(8) (a)

Phoneme	Spelling
/i/	ι, ει/–C or #, η, ηι(ῃ), υ, υι
/y/ (? /ø/)	οι
/ẹ/	ε, ει/–V
/ɛ/	αι
/a/	α, αι(ᾳ)
/ɔ/	ωι(ῳ)
/o/	ο, ω
/u/	ου

(b)

'Diphthongs'	Spelling
/iw/	ηυ
/ew/	ευ
/aw/	αυ

According to Teodorsson, therefore, distinctive vowel length had already been lost and a primary stress accent was already in place; monophthongization was also complete, including the onset of the frication of the final [u]-element of the relevant diphthongs. He also offers evidence of the shift of [i] > [j]/–V (i.e. of synizesis), particularly in the suffix -ια [-ia/-ja]. Most strikingly, it is suggested that the loss of lip-rounding in /y/ (υ) had also been been largely completed, though the product of the monophthongization of /oi/ (οι) seems not yet to have been affected and so should perhaps be represented as /ø/, to explain its continued distinctiveness at this time. From 330 BC onwards, however, the prestige of this system, associated by Teodorsson with the democratic government of earlier periods, appears to have declined under the growing importance of oligarchic groups under Macedonian hegemony. Thus the only further significant change he finds in the period up to c.50 BC, as the conservative variety became steadily more prevalent among the population at large, involves the merger of the mid vowels on the front and perhaps also the back axis.

It is the reconstructed chronology of change in the majority dialect that is perhaps the most controversial aspect of Teodorsson's proposals, and given the limited quantity and quality of evidence available to support it, it may well be more realistic to push at least some of these changes back by a century or more, most obviously the loss of vowel-length distinctions and the associated shift to a stress accent, but also the completion of the raising of [e:] (η) > [i:] and the loss of lip-rounding in [y:] (υ).

6.3.2 Egyptian Koine

It is of the greatest importance to recall that the Koine was based on a conservative, though not ultra-conservative/aristocratic, variety of Attic, continuing the spoken and official written Attic (Great Attic) used widely in the Greek world from the 4th century

BC onwards. The Macedonians thus made a decisive contribution to the maintenance of aspects of 'Old Attic' phonology, with the result that, while the subsequent evolution of the Koine as a spoken lingua franca in the Hellenistic east follows the general pattern of development already seen in the majority variety of Athenian Attic, its progress is somewhat retarded by comparison (even assuming later dates for key changes than those supposed by Teodorsson), with some developments taking place only in the late Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods.

In Egypt specifically, it seems that the royal court in Alexandria maintained a highly conservative pronunciation throughout the Ptolemaic period, and that the educated urban population quickly developed its own standard from this foundation. At lower levels, however, the rapidly evolving Koine base was influenced both by the native dialects of Greek immigrants (though only in the earlier period) and by the substrate effects of the Egyptian/Coptic spoken by the native population (cf. 4.5, 4.10.2).

Teodorsson (1977: 251–6) represents the standard (i.e. non-aristocratic, non-vulgar) pronunciation of the educated majority in the mid-3rd century BC as follows:

(9) (a)

Phoneme	Spelling
/i:/	ι, ϵι/–C or #, ηι (ῃ)
/i/	ι
/y:/	υ
/y/	υ
/e:/	ϵι/–V, η
/e/	ϵ
/a:/	α
/a/	α
/o:/	ω
/o/	ο
/u:/	ου
/u/	ου

(b)

Diphthongs	Spelling
/yi/	υι
/eu/	ϵυ
/e:u/	ηυ
/a:i/	αι(ᾳ)
/ai/	αι
/au/	αυ
/o:i/	ωι(ῳ)
/oi/	οι

This is essentially the same as the conservative version of Athenian Attic set up for the mid-4th century BC, except that the diphthong /yi/ (υι) has not been monophthongized

to /y:/ (perhaps a feature of Great Attic as opposed to its local Athenian analogue), while the old diphthong /ɛ:i/ (ηι, ῃ) has here merged with the product of the early monophthongization of original /ei/ (ει), namely /e:/, and, along with the latter, raised to /i:/; we may again note the conflict between -ηι/ῃ and -ει as the spelling for the 2sg middle ending in Athenian Attic, the former representing a conservative, the latter a modernizing trait that was apparently followed in Great Attic and the Koine.[1]

By the mid-2nd century BC, however, it is argued that this majority system had undergone significant changes, most notably monophthongization, the loss of distinctive vowel length, and the shift to a primary stress accent:

(10) (a)

Phoneme	Spelling
/i/	ι, ει/–C or #, ηι(ῃ)
/y/	υ
/e̞/	ει/–V, η
/ø/	οι
/e/	ϵ, αι
/a/	α, αι (ᾳ)
/o/	ο, ω, ωι(ῳ)
/u/	ου

(b)

'Diphthongs'	Spelling
/yi/	υι
/iw/	ηυ
/ew/	ϵυ
/aw/	αυ

The change of /ø/ (οι) > /y/ seems to have gone through by the middle of the 1st century BC, though the lip-rounded pronunciation of υ/οι remained standard for many centuries to come. In the later Roman and early Byzantine periods the positional allophones of /e̞/ (ει/–V, η) progressively merged with those of /i/, even in the standard dialect, while the frication of the [u]-element of the relevant diphthongs progressed through [ɸ^{w}/β^{w}] to [ɸ/β], and probably, by early Byzantine times, to [f/v] ([f] /–[–voice], [v] /–[+voice]). The result is essentially the modern Greek system, apart from the final merger of /y/ (υ, οι) with /i/:

(11) (a)

Phoneme	Spelling
/i/	ι, ει, η, ηι(ῃ)
/y/	υ, υι, οι
/e/	ϵ, αι
/a/	α, αι(ᾳ)
/o/	ο, ω, ωι(ῳ)
/u/	ου

(b)

'Diphthongs'	Spelling
/if, iv/	ηυ
/ef, ev/	ϵυ
/af, av/	αυ

The written evidence for the chronology of these developments, as attested in the papyri, can be summarized briefly as follows:

(12) The general graphic interchange of ϵ and αι, of υ and οι, and of ι, ϵι and η (/ɛ:i/ having probably merged with /e:/ by the beginning of the 4th century BC) provides good evidence for the final merger, through a combination of systematic monophthongization and the loss of distinctive vowel length, of the classical /e/ and /ai/ to /e/, of /y(:)/ and /oi/ to /y/, and of /i(:)/ and original /e:/ to /i/. These developments began in the Koine in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, but considerably earlier in many of the old Greek dialects.

(13) (a) Interchange of η and ι/ϵι is attested from late Ptolemaic times onwards, but despite more frequent occurrence with the passage of time, never quite becomes general even in the Roman period.

(b) Many of the earliest examples involve substitution of η for ϵι in a prevocalic context, and so probably provide evidence that the older value of ϵι, namely [ẹ], was retained there for a time: i.e. original /ɛ:/, written η, raised to /ẹ/ when original /e:/, written ϵι, merged with /i/ other than prevocalically during the 3rd century BC, thus making both η and ϵι available to render /ẹ/ before vowels.

(c) Alternations of η with ϵι/ι allegedly occur most frequently before vowels, liquids, nasals and /s/, and, somewhat later, before consonants with tongue-tip articulations more generally (cf. Teodorsson (1977: 252)); similar claims are made for interchanges of ϵ/αι with η, and of all three graphs with ι/ϵι (cf. Gignac (1976: 330)). Traditionally, this has been 'explained' in terms of a specially close articulation of /ẹ/ in these environments, but the explanation is phonetically implausible and may simply rest on a statistical illusion. In the Roman period many examples of the interchange of η with ϵι/ι occur in unaccented syllables or unstressed minor words, where a clear distinction between a close [ẹ] and [i] is more difficult to sustain, while others seem to have been conditioned by a variety of non-phonetic considerations (e.g. the falling together of aorist and perfect in popular varieties of the Koine led to confusion between aorist ἧκα ['hẹka] and perfect ϵἷκα ['hika] ['hika], from ἵημι ['hiẹmi] 'send', with the resultant perfect/aorist sometimes misspelled ἶκα ['hika]).

(d) But given the absence in even the most uneducated material of routine interchanges of η with ϵι/ι on anything like the scale of those between ϵι and ι or αι and ϵ, it would probably be premature to assume the full merger of /ẹ/ and /i/ before the early Byzantine period.

(14) Similar observations apply to the interchanges of υ with ϵι/ι and of υ with η (where the latter represents [i]), except that these are even less common, thus

strongly implying that /y/ did not merge with /i/ for the majority in the Roman period, and that any partial overlap was due to specific phonetic environments (e.g. dissimilation in a labial context) and/or substrate effects (Coptic having no /y/ phoneme). The final falling together of these phonemes in educated speech probably took place as late as the 9th/10th century AD.

(15) (a) The progressive narrowing of the articulation of the second element of the original diphthongs /au, eu/, beginning in the 3rd century BC and leading, via [aw, ew], to audible friction, i.e. [aɸʷ /aβʷ, eɸʷ /eβʷ], is first attested in the spellings α(υ)ου/ϵ(υ)ου, which seem to reflect the consonantal character of the second element. By the Roman period, after the loss of the simultaneous lip-rounding, we seem to be dealing simply with a pronunciation [aɸ/aβ, eɸ/eβ], or perhaps even [af/av, ef/ev] as in Modern Greek; spellings with β (which by this time represented /β/ or /v/, see below) become increasingly common in late Roman and early Byzantine documents.

(b) We should also note spellings in which the second element has been dropped altogether, a 'popular' characteristic reflecting allegro pronunciations and affecting unstressed pronouns in particular, e.g. ἀτόν [ato(n)] for αὐτόν [afto(n)] 'him' etc. These occur sporadically in 'vulgar' Attic texts from late classical times and begin in the Ptolemaic papyri from the mid-3rd century BC onwards.

(16) The frequent omission of prevocalic ι /i/ is standardly taken to indicate a regular popular/allegro pronunciation of ι + vowel as [jV] in that position (cf. Mayser and Schmoll (1970: 126–7), Teodorsson (1977: 237, 1978: 82)); such synizesis was inevitably associated with a shift in the position of the accent when /i/ had originally been the accented vowel: e.g. [-'ia] > [-'ja] etc. The development in question certainly took place (cf. modern παιδιά [pe'ðja] 'children' etc.), and it almost certainly began in this period, but we should acknowledge that the complete omission of ι before another vowel is a less than transparent way of spelling [jV], and recognize that some apparent examples may be no more than spelling mistakes, cf. Méndez Dosuna (2000: 281–2). Gignac (1976: 302–4), however, reports that the omission is especially common after liquids and nasals, and in these contexts phonetic absorption of [j] is at least a possibility (e.g. κυρία [cy'ria] > [cy'rja] > [cy'ra], spelled κυρά).

(17) (a) The change from a primary pitch accent to a primary stress accent was directly associated with the loss of vowel-length distinctions, and was widespread by the middle of the 2nd century BC; it is occasionally associated in writing with the omission of unstressed vowels and/or some confusion of vowel quality (see Chadwick (1993) for possible evidence that this shift was already affecting 3rd-century Thessalian).

(b) As noted earlier, the loss of long vowels and diphthongs destroyed the environment for the occurrence of the circumflex accent (= rise-fall on a single 'long' syllable), and so neutralized the contrast between circumflex and acute (= rise + fall over two successive syllables). This in turn highlighted the increase in volume that was almost certainly

associated secondarily with the rise in pitch, a development aided regionally by substrate effects (e.g. Egyptian/Coptic had a strong stress accent) and one that led to the perception that increased amplitude rather than a rise in pitch was the primary marker of word accent.

6.4 The Development of the Consonant System

The most important changes of the Hellenistic and Roman periods are listed in the paragraphs below (see Gignac (1976) for a detailed survey of the evidence):

(18) In the consonant system the voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ remained unchanged, except that voiced allophones were increasingly regularized after nasals: hence μπ, ντ, γκ = [mb, nd, ŋg]. Palatalized allophones of /k/ were naturally used before [i/y, e, j], as expected (see (25)).

(19) The shift of the voiced plosives /b, d, g/ to voiced fricatives /β, ð, ɣ/ was complete for the majority of literate speakers by the 4th century AD (cf. Gignac (1976: 64)), the only exception being the allophones after nasals, where a plosive pronunciation was retained. This process apparently began with the velar /g/, and had perhaps been carried through by the 2nd century BC (cf. Teodorsson (1977: 254)). The new /ɣ/ phoneme seems to have had the allophones [j] before the high front vowels [e, i], [g] after a nasal, and [ɣ] elsewhere. Fricativization then affected the labial /b/ (β = /β/ by the 1st century AD, except after nasals), and finally the dental /d/ (δ = [ð] other than after nasals from the 3rd/4th century AD onwards). There appears to be no good phonetic reason to suppose, with Gignac (1976: 75–6), that fricativization of [d] had occurred much earlier than this before [j, i] (cf. Méndez Dosuna (2000: 282)).

(20) (a) Neither Teodorsson (1977) nor Gignac (1976) finds any compelling evidence for the corresponding shift of the voiceless aspirates /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/ to fricatives /f, θ, x/ in Egypt in the Hellenistic, Roman imperial or early Byzantine periods. Whether this reflects a conservative peculiarity of Egyptian Greek under the influence of Coptic (at least the Bohairic dialect had /pʰ, tʰ, kʰ/, and special symbols distinct from ϕ and χ were introduced to represent /f/ and /x/ in those dialects which had these phonemes), or reflects a more general state of affairs in the Koine, is difficult to determine.

(b) There is, however, direct evidence that /tʰ/ > /θ/ in Laconian in the 5th century BC; cf. spellings such as σιός 'god/goddess' in Athenian attempts to represent the likely Laconian pronunciation presumably [θjós], and the use of the same spellings by the Spartans themselves after the adoption of the Ionic alphabet in the 4th century (cf. 1.4.2 (a)); it seems that this really did develop to /s/, perhaps quite early, since many Tsakonian words now show /s/ where the rest of Modern Greek has /θ/, see 4.4.3).

(c) There is also possible evidence for a fricative pronunciation of /kʰ/ (2nd century BC) and /pʰ/ (2nd century AD) in the Asia Minor Koine (Schweizer

(1898: 109–15)). Similarly, Threatte (1980: 470) agrees with Meisterhans (1900: 78) in finding evidence for the change of /p^h/ > /f/ in spellings such as Ἐφρονίς ([ef(f)ro'nis], IG 2².11507: for Εὐφρονίς [efp^hro'nis]) and Ἐφραῖος ([ef'(f)reos], IG 2². 5310: for Εὐφραῖος [ef'p^hreos]) in less literate Attic inscriptions of the early 2nd century AD.

(d) Thus, though the evidence is frankly meagre, it would perhaps be reasonable to assume that fricativization in the Koine began in various areas outside Egypt during the Hellenistic period and that it had been widely, though by no means universally, carried through by the end of the 4th century AD.

(e) The change perhaps involved an initial assimilatory shift from [p^h, t^h, k^h] to [pf, tθ, kx], followed by loss of the plosive element. To judge from the examples given in (c), a likely starting place would be after a voiceless fricative, a context commonly arising with the fricativization of the second element of the former diphthongs αυ and ϵυ, where the difficult sequences [f-pf], [f-tθ], [f-kx] would be prone to simplification ([f-pf, f-tθ, f-kx] > [f-f, f-θ, f-x]). A similar reduction would presumably apply to these elements after the fricative /s/ ([s-pf, s-tθ, s-kx] > [s-f, s-θ, s-x]), and also when they occurred in combination, involving initially the second and then the first member of each pair ([pf-tθ, kx-tθ] > [pf-θ, kx-θ] > [f-θ, x-θ]), cf. Bubeník (1983: 104–8). From here the shift to a fricative pronunciation in all contexts was only a matter of time, though doubtless this was initiated and carried through at different times in different areas (with Egypt probably retaining a more conservative system because of the local substrate).

(21) Assimilation affected original /zd/ (written ζ) to produce [zz], with subsequent simplification to [z], first word-initially and then across the board; this created a new phoneme /z/, since the occurrence of [z] (as an allophone of /s/) was no longer exclusively conditioned by a following voiced consonant.

(22) The simplification of double consonants generally, beginning from the 3rd century BC onwards, is indicated by the apparently arbitrary use of double graphs in the private documents of the less well-educated in most areas.

(23) The phoneme /h/, occurring only word-initially and in composition, was progressively lost during the period of the Koine, beginning with more popular varieties (recall that ‘psilosis’ was already a feature of many traditional Greek dialects) but eventually affecting even the pronunciation of the most educated speakers by the late Roman/Byzantine period.

(24) Throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods in Egypt there is widespread evidence for the articulatory weakness of both final [n] and final [s], especially before a following plosive. This takes the form of omission and also, in the case of [n], assimilation (a process that occurs also in medial positions), though there seems to be no clearly definable contextual delimitation to these processes. Note, however, that only final [n] comes anywhere close to disappearing from Greek in the later middle ages (though with important dialectal exceptions), and the resilient cases

that do survive in standard Modern Greek do so under precise phonetic and morpho-lexical conditions (see Parts II and III). The Egyptian phenomena therefore appear to be largely irrelevant to the later history of the language in general.

(25) It is assumed that in this period the natural palatalization of velars before [i/y, e, j] (hitherto not noted) became more marked. Accordingly, the relevant allophones of /k, k^h, g, x, ɣ/ are now transcribed [c, c^h, ɟ, ç, j].

6.5 Some Egyptian Texts

With this background, we may now examine some illustrative extracts from a number of papyrus letters dating from the early 2nd to the late 4th century AD. The phonetic transcriptions are intended to indicate a pronunciation typical of the more popular Koine of the relevant period, though specifically Egyptian phenomena (cf. 4.10.2) are largely suppressed if they have no direct bearing on the subsequent development of Greek.

6.5.1 Letter 1: clitic pronouns and word order, control verbs with ἵνα ['ina]-complements

The first piece (P. Fay. 114, AD 100) is written by a discharged veteran to his son:

(26) Λούκιος Βελλῆνος Γέμελλος Σαβίνωι τῶι οιεἰῶι χαίρειν. εὖ οὖν πυήσας κομισάμενός μου τὴν ἐπιστολὴν πέμσις μυ Πίνδαρον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸν πεδιοφύλακα τῆς Διονυσιάδος, ἐπὶ ἐρώτησέ με Ἑρμῶναξ εἴνα αὐτὸν λάβῃ εἰς Κερκεσοῦχα καταμαθῖν τὸν ἐλαιῶνα αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ πυκνός ἐστιν και θέλι ἐξ αὐτὸν ἐκκόψαι φυτά, εἴνα ἐνπίρως κοπῇ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκκόπτεσθαι....

['lucios be'lẹnos 'ɟemelos sa'bino to hy'jo 'c^{h}erin. ev un py'ẹsas
Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to-Sabinus the son greetings. well then doing
komi'same'noz mu tẹn episto'lẹ(n) 'pem(p)siz my 'pindaron is tẹm
having-received of-me the letter you-will-send to-me Pindaros to the
'bolin tom bedio'p^{h}ylaka tiz djony'sjados, e'pi e'rotẹ'se me
city the field-guard of-the Dionysias, since asked me
er'monaks in(a) a(f)ton 'lavi is cerce'suk^{h}a katama't^{h}i(n)
Hermonax that him he-take to Kerkesoucha to-examine
ton ele'on(a) a(f)tu, e'pi py'knos estin ce 't^{h}eli eks af'ton e'kopse
the olive-grove of-him, since dense it-is and he-wants from it to-cut-out
p^{h}y'ta, ina em'biros ko'pi ta 'melonda e'koptest^{h}e...]
plants, so-that skilfully may-be-cut the going to-be-cut-out ...

'Lucius Bellenus Gemellus to his son Sabinus greetings. On receipt of my letter you will kindly send me Pindarus the field-guard from Dionysias to the city, as Hermonax has asked me for permission to take him to Kerkesoucha to examine his olive grove, as it is dense and he wants to cut out some trees from it, so that those to be cut down may be cut skilfully ... '

Many of the major phonological developments listed above are well illustrated here. We may note for example:

(27) (a) Interchange of ει/ι: οιεἰῶι (υἱῶι) [hy'jo] 'son', εἵνα (ἵνα) ['ina] '(so) that', πέμσις (πέμψεις) ['pem(p)sis] 'you will send', ἐπί (ἐπεί) [e'pi] 'since', καταμαθῖν (καταμαθεῖν) [katama'tʰin] 'to examine', θέλι (θέλει) ['tʰeli] 'wants', ἐνπίρος (ἐμπείρως) [em'biros] 'skilfully'.
(b) Interchange of οι/υ: οιεἰῶι (υἱῶι) [hy'jo] 'son', πυήσας (ποιήσας) [py'ẹsas] 'having done', μυ (μοι) [my] 'to me'.
(c) Confusion of long/short vowels: ἐνπίρος (ἐμπείρως) [em'biros] 'skilfully'. Ἐξ αὐτôν (ἐξ αὐτῶν) [eks af'ton] 'from them' is a possible further example, if this pronoun is indeed genitive plural, as commonly assumed; the sense, however, is better if we take it as an accusative singular, αὐτόν [af'ton], and assume that the preposition here takes a non-classical accusative in place of the genitive (a development already under way in popular texts with the largely synonymous ἀπό [a'po] 'from').

Other features worthy of note include:

(28) (a) The avoidance of verb-final word order except in the formulaic address (cf. 4.8), with subjects typically following an initial verb, especially in subordinate clauses. Clitic pronouns normally appear immediately after the verbs that govern them, except where there is an initial scope-bearing element (e.g. mood-marking conjunctions, interrogatives, negatives, foci). After ἵνα ['ina], for example, the pronoun still occupies second position in the clause but the verb has been pushed out of first position and so follows the clitic: cf. εἵνα αὐτόν λάβῃ [in(a) a(f)ton 'lavi] 'that he may take him'. This pattern of word order and clitic distribution continues into (vernacular) Medieval Greek and survives in certain modern dialects, though standard Modern Greek has generalized the preverbal clitic position.
(b) The use of a subjunctive clause introduced by the 'final' conjunction ἵνα ['ina] in place of an infinitival construction after ἐρώτησε [e'rotẹse] 'asked'. Since this is in principle a control structure (*he asked to take* …), we might have expected the infinitive to survive (cf. 4.6.2), but the inclusion of an object pronoun (με [me] 'me') introduces a potential ambiguity (*he asked me to take* …, = 'that he take' or 'that I take'?) and the finite construction with overt agreement morphology on the verb is therefore preferred. We may assume that structures of this type represent the first step towards the generalization of subjunctive clauses even where coreferential subjects are involved in main and subordinate clauses (cf. Modern Greek θέλω να πάω ['θelo na 'pao] (< Koine θέλω ἵνα ὑπάγω ['tʰelo ina y'paɣo]), lit. 'I-want that I-go', etc.). Infinitives otherwise survive strongly, however, both as complements (e.g. ἐκκοψαι [e'kopse] 'to cut off' after θέλι ['tʰeli] 'wants') and as

adjuncts (e.g. καταμαθῖν [katama't^{h}in] 'to examine', used here to express a purpose clause).

(c) Participles are still used quite freely to express background circumstances (e.g. κομισάμενος [komi'samenos] 'having received') and in nominalized structures (e.g. τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκκόπτεσθαι [ta 'melonda e'koptest^{h}e] 'the (ones) about to be cut down'). Note, however, that the future passive is in decline, and that the future passive participle here has been replaced by a periphrastic construction with a future auxiliary and a passive infinitive (cf. 4.11.1). Such periphrases come to be used more widely (along with a range of other options, see below) as the future indicative and the aorist subjunctive came to be homophonous in the majority of verbs.

(d) The origins of the 3rd-person clitic pronouns of modern Greek can be seen in structures such as εἵνα αὐτόν λάβῃ [in(a) a(f)ton 'lavi] 'that he may take him', where the weak form of the pronoun, [aton] (cf. (15) above), follows a word ending with [-a], with resultant elision of the final vowel. Resegmentation as [ina ton] then produces the basis for a paradigm τον/την/το [ton/tin/to] 'him/her/it' etc. Cf. τὸν ἐλεῶνα αὐτοῦ [ton ele'on(a) a(f)'tu].

6.5.2 Letter 2: 'short' 2nd-declension forms, the merger of aorist and perfect

Our second letter (P. Oxy. 1155) dates from AD 104, and reveals a number of additional phenomena characteristic of vernacular Greek in the early second century:

(29) Θωνᾶς Ἀπίονι τῷ φιλτά[τῳ] πλῖ[στ]α χ(αίρειν). γινώσκιν σε [θε]λω ἔτι εὐθὺς ἐπιβέβηκα ἰς Ἀλεξάνδρηαν, εὐθέως ἐμέλκε ἐμοὶ περὶ τοῦ πράγ{α}ματος οὗ με ἠρώτηκες. εὗρον τὸν ἄνθροπον καλῶς πράσοντα τὰ μεγάλα. ἀσπάζου πάντες τοὺς φίλους. αὐτὸ τὸ πρόγραμα τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἔπενψα σοι ἵνα ἐπίγοις πρὸς τί σοί 'στι ...
ἀπόδος ἰς τὸ Ἰσῖν Ἀπίωνι παστοφόρῳ.

[t^{h}o'nas a'pioni to p^{h}il'tato 'plista 'c^{h}erin. ji'noscin se 't^{h}elo oti ef't^{h}ys
Thonas to-Apion the dearest most greeting. To-know you I-want that directly
epi'vevç̣ka is ale'ksandria(n), ef't^{h}eos e'melk(e) emy peri tu
I-have-gone to Alexandria, immediately it-has-concerned to-me about the
'praŋmatos u me ç̣'rotç̣ces. 'evron ton 'a(n)t^{h}ropo(n) ka'los
matter which me you-asked. I-found the man well
'prasonda ta me'ɣala. a'spazu 'pandes tus 'p^{h}ilus. af'to to
doing (for-)the great. Greet all the friends. Itself the
'proɣrama tu ije'monos 'epempsa sy ina e'pijys pros 'ti
written-order of-the governor I-sent to-you that you-might-hasten to what
sy sti ...
for-you is ...
a'podos is to i'sin a'pioni pasto'p^{h}oro]
give to the Isieum to-Apion priest (*of Isis*)

'Thonas to his dearest Apion very many greetings. I want you to know that I have gone (or *went*) directly to Alexandria, I (*have*) immediately addressed the matter you asked me to. I found the man doing well in the main. Greet all our friends. I (*have*) sent you the governor's actual written order so that you might deal promptly with what concerns you … Give this to Apion the priest (*who carries the image of the god Isis*) at the temple of Isis.'

Over and above the by now familiar graphic interchanges, we should note that the use of iota subscript here, as in other papyri, is simply a modern editorial device. Iota in the 'long diphthongs' was written adscript for as long as it was pronounced, and it is therefore frequently omitted in papyri from the middle of the 2nd century BC onwards. Its widespread graphic restoration from the end of the 2nd century AD is testimony to the impact of Atticism and the renewed emphasis on 'correct' usage (cf. 5.5, 5.6). Other points of phonological significance include:

(30) (a) There is possible evidence of vowel weakening in some unaccented syllables, a concomitant of the shift from pitch to stress in an area where the native language had a strong stress acccent and regular vowel-weakening phenomena; thus ἔτι for ὅτι [oti] 'that' might represent [əti], though this could just as easily be a spelling mistake; and the accusative plural πάντες for πάντας ['pandas] 'all' could represent ['pandəs], though the form here may simply be one more example of the increasingly general levelling of nominative and accusative plural forms in consonant-stem nouns and so best be explained analogically, cf. 4.11.1.

(b) Note the graphic simplification of double consonants in πράσοντα ['prasonda] (for πράσσοντα ['prasonda]) 'doing' and πρόγραμα ['proɣrama] (for πρόγραμμα ['proɣrama]) 'affair'; early examples, as here, typically involve those consonants with a continuant pronunciation (i.e. fricatives, nasals and liquids).

(c) From as early as the 3rd century BC the o-vowel in certain categories of 2nd-declension noun, namely masculine personal names in -ιος [-ios] (the only such subclass) and neuters in -ιον [-ion]/-ίον [-'ion], started to be lost in popular speech, either through syncope of an unstressed vowel in a period before the synizesis of antevocalic [i] had begun (cf. (16)), or through the regular change of prevocalic [i] to [j], followed by loss of the o-vowel and revocalization of [j] > [i] (through a process known as *samprasarana*).[2] The suffix -ιον [-in] was extremely productive in the Koine, not only because of its originally affective quality as a diminutive but more importantly because it provided morphologically regular alternatives to 3rd-declension nouns with difficult declensional patterns involving stem allomorphy: e.g. παῖς [pes], gen παιδός [pe'dos] 'child', replaced by παιδίον [pe'dion], gen παιδίου [pe'diu]; οὖς [us], gen ὠτός [o'tos] 'ear', replaced by ὠτίον [o'tion], gen ὠτίου [o'tiu] etc. This type, without the o-vowel, duly became a major neuter subclass of medieval

and modern Greek. In (29) above the form Ἰσῖν [i'sin] for Ἰσιεῖον [i'sion] 'temple of Isis' suggests that the -εῖον [-'ion] suffix characteristic of the names of 'establishments' has been assimilated on phonetic grounds to the regular neuter pattern.

The major grammatical issue in (29) is the evidence it provides for the merger of the aorist and the perfect. Note first of all the form ἠρώτηκες [cf. ẹ'rotices] 'you (have) asked', where the 'past-tense' 2sg suffix -ες [-es] has replaced classical -ας [-as]. The set of common 'past-tense' endings (cf. 4.9, 5.8) in fact came to be used increasingly in the perfect paradigm too (though with perfect -κ- [k] in place of aorist -σ- [s] in the stem where appropriate). Thus:

(31)	(a)	1/2/3sg: -(κ)α/ -(κ)ες/ -(κ)ε	[-(k)a/ -(k)es/-(k)e]
		(for classical -(κ)α/ -(κ)ας/ -(κ)ε	[-(k)a/-(k)as/-(k)e])
	(b)	1/2/3pl: -(κ)αμεν/ -(κ)ατε/ -(κ)αν	[-(k)amen/-(k)ate/-(k)an]
		(for classical -(κ)αμεν/ -(κ)ατε/ -(κ)ασι	[-(k)amen/-(k)ate/-(k)asi])

This formal development was promoted by the diminution of the functional distinction between perfect and aorist revealed by the increasing use in the Koine of the perfect as a simple past tense. In (29), for example, it is clear that, while some perfect forms may be interpreted as true perfects, e.g. ἐπιβέβηκα [epi'vevẹka] 'I have gone', ἐμέλκε [e'melce] 'it has concerned' (with augment for reduplication and apparent syncopation of unstressed [i] if this is not merely a spelling error, cf. μεμέληκε [me'melẹce]), neither of these actually demands a perfect reading. On the other hand, the form already cited in the preceding paragraph, ἠρώτηκες [ẹ'rotices], seems clearly to have an aoristic value here (= 'you asked'), while the aorist ἔπενψα ['epempsa] 'I sent' seems equally clearly to require a perfect interpretation in the context (= 'I have sent').

The merger may in part reflect the influence of Latin, where the so-called perfect forms performed both functions (cf. 5.3). But its origins can be traced already in the usage of authors such as Menander, and Latin can have done no more than promote a trend that was already under way. The basis for the Greek development therefore demands closer investigation. The perfect, considered purely as an aspect, involves the postulation of a 'viewing point' from which a given 'event', having previously taken place, is seen to be already completed. This is the essence of perfect aspect, which entails the notion of some continuing relevance for the earlier event at the later viewing point (sometimes, but not necessarily, involving a resultant state: cf. τέθνηκα ['tet^{h}nẹka] 'I have died/I am dead'). The viewing point may then be located objectively in time. In the case of a past perfect, the event is earlier than a viewing point that is in the past with respect to the time of utterance (i.e. the event is anterior to the past-time viewing point). In the case of a future perfect, the event is earlier than a viewing point that is in the future with respect to the time of utterance (i.e. the event is anterior to the future viewing point, but still itself potentially in the future). In the case of the present perfect, there can be no present viewing point distinct from the time of utterance (the present is the present), and the event is simply earlier than 'now'. In each case, the time reference of an aspectually perfect-tense form is determined by the location not of the viewed event but of the viewing point with respect to the time of utterance.

But the importance of the formal expression of this retrospective viewing of an event, and the consequential emphasis on its continued relevance at the viewing point, is easily downgraded, and the grammaticalized temporal focus then shifts immediately to the event itself, with the result that what was the viewing point becomes instead the temporal reference point for the location of that event: cf. the virtual equivalence, when uttered by someone who wants to start cooking at the time of utterance, of *have you got the chops out of the freezer?* (the point from which the past is viewed is 'now') and *did you get the chops out of the freezer?* (i.e. in the past vis-à-vis 'now', but still with inferable contemporary relevance). In this way the perfect may come to be understood not just as an alternative to the simple past when continued relevance at the time of utterance is to be emphasized but also, through confusion of the aspectual viewing point with the temporal reference point (natural in the case of the present perfect), as a general alternative to the simple past in all contexts.

This functional overlap between aorist and perfect was instrumental in the adoption of the 'past-tense' endings by perfect forms in the Koine. We should note, however, that the process of formal interference was, as often, bidirectional, and that perfect 3pl -ασι [-asi] came to rival -αν [-an] as a past-tense suffix in both aorist and imperfect paradigms (e.g. ἐπ-ήλθ-ασι [ep-'ẹltʰ-asi] 'they came', BGU 275.5, AD 215). The survival of this particular perfect formant was favoured by the existence of the formally parallel 3pl present ending -ουσι [-usi], and it is still retained in many of the modern dialects of the south-eastern subgroup (e.g. Cypriot and some Dodecanesian varieties).

The merger was supported by further morphological considerations. Past tenses were characterized in classical Greek by the addition of the 'augment', ordinarily the syllable ἐ- [e-], to the beginning of the relevant verb form: e.g. 1sg aorist ἔ-λυσα [é-ly:sa], from λύ-ω [lý:-o:] 'I set free'. Perfects, by contrast, were characterized by 'reduplication', involving the addition of a syllable Ce- [Ce-] to the beginning of the relevant form (where C = the initial consonant of the verb root, with the exception that aspirated plosives were reduplicated by their unaspirated counterparts): e.g. 1sg perfect λέ-λυ-κα [lé-ly-ka] 'I have set free'. But where a verb began with a vowel, the augment regularly took the form of a lengthening of that vowel, and the reduplication was identical (e.g. aorist ἥμαρτ-ον [hɛ́:mart-on], perfect ἡμάρτ-ηκα [hɛ:márt-ɛ:-ka], from ἁμαρτ-άνω [hamart-án-o:] 'I err'). Similarly, if a verb began with a consonant cluster (other than stop + liquid) it was usual for the augment ἐ- [e-] to serve also as the reduplication: e.g. aorist ἔ-γνω-ν [é-gno:-n], perfect ἔ-γνω-κα [é-gno:-ka], from γι-γνώ-σκω [gi-ŋnó:-sko:] 'I ascertain'.

In the Koine, however, once the functional merger of the aorist and perfect began in earnest, reduplication ceased to have any clear independent significance, and the already established partial equivalence of augment and reduplication spread very quickly even to verbs beginning with a single consonant (cf. ἐμέλκε [e'melce] in (29)). Thus alongside augmented 'perfects' such as ἐ-πλήρω-κα [e-'plẹro-ka] 'I filled/have filled' (for classical πε-πλήρω-κα [pe-'plẹro-ka]: P. Oxy. 2729.21, 4th century AD), we find both perfect forms with no reduplication (e.g. πτόκεν ['ptocen] 'I fell/have fallen', for classical πέπτωκε(ν) ['peptoce(n)]: P. Mich. 235.3, AD 41) and aorists with reduplication in place of the augment (e.g. πεπλήρωσα [pe'plẹrosa] 'I filled', for the classical ἐπλήρωσα [e'plẹrosa]: P. Oxy. 1489.5, 3rd century AD).

Ultimately, however, augmented perfects came to be seen as simply alternative forms of the aorist, and a number of modern Greek spoken dialects (e.g. some Peloponnesian varieties, including Tsakonian in part, together with the so-called Old Athenian group, cf. Kondosópoulos (2001)) eventually generalized the forms ending in -κα [-ka] at the expense of standard -σα [-sa]. But even standard Modern Greek has expanded the scope of -κα [-ka] as an aorist active suffix in certain verbs, as well as generally in the passive (see Parts II and III for details).

Finally, we should note that the functional merger of perfect and aorist inevitably led to a formal renewal of the true perfect. For the most part this involved the extension of a periphrastic alternative to the monolectic perfect that had already been in use in classical Greek, namely εἰμί [imi] 'I am', emphasizing the ongoing relevance of a prior event, in combination with either a perfect or an aorist participle (active or passive) expressing the prior event itself. This is well attested in the papyri, especially where modal (subjunctive/optative) perfects are required. In the Byzantine period only the construction with the perfect passive participle survives strongly, almost always with a clear stative force equivalent to that of a predicative adjective (cf. 6.5.3 and 11.8.2).

6.5.3 Letter 3: the decline of 3rd-declension participles

Our third letter (BGU 846) also dates from the 2nd century AD and is addressed by a contrite young man to his long-suffering mother, who has apparently washed her hands of him:

(32) Ἀντώνις Λόνγος Νειλοῦτι [τ]ῇ μητρὶ π[λ]ῖστα χαίρειν. καὶ διὰ παντὸ[ς] εὔχομαί σαι ὑγειαίνειν. τὸ προσκύνημά σου [ποι]ῶ κατ' αἰκάστην ἡμαίραν παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ [Σερ]άπειδει. γεινώσκειν σαι θέλω ὅτι οὐχ [ἤλπ]ιζον ὅτι ἀναβένις εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν. χ[ά]ρειν τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐγὸ εἰσῆθα εἰς τὴν πόλιν. αἰδ[υ]σοπο[ύ]μην δὲ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Καρανίδαν ὅτι σαπρῶς παιριπατῶ. αἴγραψά σοι ὅτι γυμνός εἰμει. παρακα[λ]ῶ σαι, μήτηρ, διαλάγητί μοι. λοιπὸν οἶδα τί [ἐγὼ] αἰμαυτῷ παρέσχημαι. παιπαίδδευμαι καθ' ὃν δῖ τρόπον. οἶδα ὅτι ἡμάρτηκα. ἤκουσα παρὰ το[ῦ ...]υμου τὸν εὑρόντα σαι ἐν τῷ Ἀρσαινοείτῃ καὶ ἀκαιρέως πάντα σοι διήγηται. οὐκ οἶδες ὅτι θέλω πηρὸς γενέσται εἲ γνοῦναι ὅπως ἀνθρόπῳ [ἔ]τι ὀφείλω ὀβολόν; ...
Νειλοῦτι μητρεί ἀπ' Ἀντωνίω Λόνγου υεἱοῦ.

[an'donis 'loŋgos ni'luti ti mẹ'tri 'plista 'c^{h}eri(n). ce dja pan'dos
Antonius Longus to-Nilous the mother very-much greeting. And through everything
'efk^{h}o'me se y'jeni(n). to pros'cynẹ'ma su py'o kat e'kastẹn
I-pray you to-be-well. The supplication of-you I-make on each
ẹ'mera(n) para to cy'rio se'rapidi. ji'nosci(n) se 't^{h}elo oti uk
day before the lord Serapis. To-know you I-wish that not
'ẹlpizon 'oti ana'venis is ti(m) mẹ'tropoli(n). 'k^{h}arin 'tuto ud e'ɣo
I-was-expecting that you-go-up to the metropolis. Because-of this nor I
is'ẹ(l)t^{h}a is tẹm 'bolin. edyso'pumẹn de el't^{h}in is kara'nidan
went to the city. I-was-ashamed and to-go to Karanis
oti sa'pros peripa'to. 'eɣra'psa sy oti jim'nos imi. paraka'lo
because filthily I-go-about. I-wrote to-you that naked I-am. I-call-upon
se, 'mẹtir, dja'laji'ti my. li'pon 'yda ti e'ɣo ema(f)'to
you, mother, be-reconciled to-me. Well, I-know what I for-myself

pa'resc^{h}ime. pe'pedevme kat^{h} on 'di 'tropo(n).
have-provided. I-have-been-taught-a-lesson according-to which is-necessary way.

'yda 'oti ẹ'martika. 'ẹkusa para tu … ton ev'ronda se en do arsino'iti
I-know that I-have-sinned. I-heard from the … the-one having-found you in the Arsinoite-nome

ce ake'reos 'panda sy di'ẹjẹte. uk 'ydes 'oti 't^{h}elo pi'ros je'neste
and straight everything to-you has-been-told. Not you-know that I-wish crippled to-become

i 'ɣnune opos an't^{h}ropo 'eti o'p^{h}ilo ovo'lo(n)?
than to-know that to-a-man still I-owe obol?

ni'luti mẹ'tri ap ando'nio 'loŋgu y'ju.]
To-Nilous mother from Antonius Longus son.

'Antonius Longus to Nilous his mother very many greetings. I pray always that you are well. I also make supplication for you before the lord Serapis every day. I want you to know that I was not expecting you to be going up to the metropolis (*Arsinoe, the capital of the Fayum nome*). Therefore I did not go to the city either. I was ashamed to come to Karanis (*a village in the Fayum where Nilous lives*) because I walk around in filth. I wrote to you that I am naked. I beg you, mother, be reconciled to me. When all is said and done, I know what I have brought upon myself. I have learned the necessary lesson. I know that I have sinned. I heard from … who found you in the Arsinoite nome, and you have been told everything just as it is. Do you not know that I would rather be crippled than realize I still owe a man an obol (*a small coin*)? …

To Nilous his mother from her son Antonius Longus.'

A number of important phonological developments are well illustrated here:

(33) (a) Interchange of αι and ϵ is routine and shows that classical /ai/ has now merged with /e/; cf. σαι [se] for σϵ 'you', αἰκάστην [e'kastẹn] for ἑκάστην 'each', ἡμαίραν [ẹ'mera(n)] for ἡμέραν, ἀναβένις [ana'venis] for ἀναβαίνεις, etc.

(b) The erratic, frequently hypercorrect, marking of assimilatory aspiration in word-final consonants before words which in earlier Koine (and in educated usage probably still) began with /h/ shows that, for this writer at least, the sound was no longer real; cf. κατ' αἰκάστην [kat e'kastẹn] for καθ' ἑκάστην [kat^{h} he'kastẹn], οὐχ ἤλπιζον for οὐκ ἤλπιζον [uk 'ẹlpizon]).

(c) Note the apparent confusion of genitive and dative in the final line, with Ἀντωνίω (?dat) in apposition with Λόνγου (gen) [ando'nio 'loŋgu]. There were already in classical Greek large numbers of hypocoristic male names in -ᾶς [-âs] with genitive in -ᾶ [-â], alongside names of non-Greek origin in -ας [-as] and -ως [-os] with genitives in -α [-a] and -ω [-o] (especially in Ionic/Koine inscriptions from Asia Minor). Over time this very common vernacular declensional pattern led, beginning in the 1st century AD, to the parallel treatment of 'regular' a-stem nouns in -ας [-as] and -ης [-ẹs], leading to apparently more 'natural' genitives in -α [-a] and -η [-ẹ] (later [-i]) alongside the anomalous classical suffix -ου [-u]. In due course these became the standard forms of the genitive for masculine

> nouns of the 1st declension (as in Modern Greek). Here the pattern of nominative in [-Vs], genitive in [-V], may have been extended to 2nd-declension names, thereby creating a form homophonous with the dative (surely a contributory factor in the loss of the latter, see also 4.11.1). Note, however, that the author uses the hypocoristic form of his name in -ις [-is] when addressing his mother (see 6.5.2, (30c)), but the full form in the formal address at the end. According to what has just been said, the former would naturally have a genitive in -i [-i],[3] and this may in turn have influenced the form of the genitive at the end, according to the proportion: [an'donis] : [an'doni] :: [an'donios] : [ando'nio] (i.e. on the assumption that the 'correct' forms add an [o] after [i] in both cases).

In view of the evidence here and elsewhere of the progressive desystematization of the dative case, we should also note that the phrase:

(34) τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ
[to pros'cynẹ'ma su py'o]
the supplication of-you I-make

might be interpreted as involving the transfer of the clitic pronoun from the government domain of the noun to that of the verb, thus making the genitive here do the work of an indirect object (= beneficiary). This is precisely the sort of situation in which dative–genitive functional overlap was first actively promoted, and it is striking that substitution of the genitive for the dative occurs first quite widely in the clitic pronoun system (beginning in the 1st century BC) before it spreads to full noun phrases in the early centuries AD (cf. 4.11.1 and 6.5.4).

Further points of grammatical interest include:

(35) (a) Retention of the accusative and infinitive only in formulaic phrases: εὔχομαί σαι ὑγειαίνειν ['efk^{h}o'me se y'jenin] 'I pray (for) you to be well'; γεινώσκειν σαι θέλω [ji'noscin se 't^{h}elo] 'I want you to know'. Thus the verbs ἤλπιζον ['ẹlpizon] and οἶδα ['yda], for example, take finite clauses introduced by ὅτι ['oti] 'that'.

(b) The spread of prepositional expressions at the expense of the dative: e.g. κατ' αἰκάστην ἡμαίραν [kat e'kastin ẹ'mera(n)] '(on) every day' in place of the simple dative of 'time when'. The classical use of this preposition in temporal expressions is distributive, 'day by day', and the use here is an easy extension.

(c) The spread of the accusative as the 'default' prepositional case: e.g. χάρειν τοῦτο ['k^{h}arin 'tuto] 'because of this', in place of classical τούτου χάριν ['tutu 'k^{h}arin] with a dependent genitive and postnominal position for what was originally an adverbial use of an accusative noun.

(d) The use of weak endings on formerly strong aorist forms: e.g. εἰσῆ<λ>θα [is'ẹlt^{h}a] 'I came (to)'.

(e) The 'past-tense' ending on the perfect form οἶδες ['ydes] 'you know' (this verb was in fact present in sense even in Ancient Greek, but its perfect form led to its assimilation to the new perfect paradigm).

(f) (i) The apparent breakdown of agreement in participial syntax: παρὰ το[ῦ ...]υμου [tu ... ymu] (gen) τὸν εὑρόντα σαι [ton e'vronda se] (acc), lit. 'from the ... the (one) having-found you'. This seems to reflect a growing sense of the accusative as the default oblique case, seen also in its spread after prepositions. The genitive, for example, is typically used when semantically motivated, i.e. to express possession and other forms of adnominal dependence and increasingly as a dative substitute to mark a secondary involvement with the verbal action; but the purely 'formal' agreement involved in cases like this is less carefully observed, and accusative participles begin to appear in a variety of looser, appositive structures.

(ii) In a similar fashion the nominative starts to appear as the unmarked case for loosely constructed 'topics', cf. BGU 385, 2nd/3rd century AD: ὁ ἐνιγών σοι τὴν ἐπιστολήν, δὸς αὐτῷ ἄλλην ... [o eni(ŋ)'go(n) sy tin episto'li(n), 'ðos a(f)to 'ali(n) ...], lit. 'the (one) bringing you the letter (nom), give to-him (dat) another ...'

This kind of grammatical imprecision is clearly connected with more general pressure on the morphology of the participle system. Eventually, in popular varieties of late antique and early Medieval Greek an indeclinable participle in -οντα [-onda], increasingly formed from the imperfective stem alone, was used in a range of both attributive and adjunct/adverbial functions, though with its interpretation progressively restricted thereafter, in the absence of the agreement morphology required to link it to specific noun phrases, to that of a subject-orientated gerund expressing the manner in which an action is carried out (e.g. *she entered running*) or circumstantial background (equivalent to an adverbial clausal adjunct, e.g. *weeping, she signed the letter*). In this role it eventually acquired the overtly adverbial suffix -ς [-s], as in Modern Greek, the shift necessarily involving the abandonment of the substantivized participle as a referring expression in its own right or as an adnominal relative clause equivalent.

This functional and formal reduction of the participial system was motivated in part by the ambiguity inherent in the subordinating function of participles but more importantly by the morphological complexity of most of the relevant classical paradigms. Consider, for example, the imperfective active participle of λύω ['lyo] 'I set free':

(36) masc λύ-ων ['ly-on]; fem λύ-ουσ-α ['ly-us-a]; neut λῦ-ον ['ly-on]

where the feminine form belongs to the 1st declension and the masculine and neuter forms to the 3rd declension, with the latter pair exhibiting further stem allomorphy, e.g. gen sg λύ-οντ-ος ['ly-ond-os], dat pl λύ-ου-σι ['ly-ou-si]. When the masculine and feminine consonant-stem nouns of the 3rd declension began to be shifted to the more regular 1st declension (the a-stem paradigm, cf. 4.11.3), the fate of the increasingly isolated 3rd-/1st-declension participles (i.e. the majority, including present, future,

aorist and perfect active, and aorist passive) was effectively sealed, though they survived successfully in learned literary works throughout the later history of the language, and probably also in formal educated discourse more generally.

A reasonably plausible account of this process can be reconstructed on the basis of sporadically attested forms and usages in the Roman and early Byzantine papyri. Evidence of paradigm levelling, for example, is quite common from around the 1st century AD onwards, typically involving the substitution of masculine forms for feminine, and the use of the accusative masculine singular in -οντα [-onda] for the neuter nominative/accusative singular in -ον [-on]. This last development was characteristic of all 3rd-declension adjectives and participles in this period, and was presumably motivated by the analogy of the morphologically 'regular' 2nd-declension o-stem adjectives, where the single suffix -ον [-o(n)] marked both the masculine accusative singular and the neuter nominative/accusative singular.

Since the borrowed ending of the neuter singular was usually homophonous with that of the neuter plural (e.g. both end in -οντα [-onda] in the case of participles), the result was a tendency towards the formal and functional identification of the neuter singular with the neuter plural in the nominative/accusative. The old plural (or new singular) forms naturally predominate in this dual function, though there are also parallel examples, at least for a time, of the old (unrecharacterized) singulars doubling as plurals.

Such nominative/accusative 3rd-declension neuters (both original singulars and new singular/plurals) then began to be used to represent any case function of the singular or plural. This can be explained partly in terms of the difficulties engendered by the inherent complexity of these paradigms, but must also reflect specific uncertainty about which set of oblique endings (singular or plural) to use to complete the paradigms of nominative/accusative neuter forms that were apparently neutral with respect to number. As an example we may take SB 9251.2, 2nd/3rd century AD: πρὸ μὲν πᾶν [pro men pan], lit. 'before EMP everything', with an (old) accusative singular, in place of the formulaic πρὸ μεὶν πάντων/παντός [pro men 'pandon/pan'dos], with the genitive plural or the genitive singular.

Given that neuter plural adjectives in -α [-a] had been used adverbially from classical times, this uncertainty and attendant loss of morphological distinctiveness in the neuter adjectival paradigms must have helped promote the interpretation of not only neuter sg/pl participles in -οντα [-onda] but also of the homophonous masculine/feminine accusative sg as essentially adverb-like modifiers, with no need for agreement morphology. This assumption, once it took root, led to the progressive elimination even from the (now common) masculine/feminine paradigm of inflected forms other than -οντα [-onda], which was eventually identified with the neuter form formally and functionally.

In the long transitional period, however, we inevitably find increasing numbers of examples involving violations of concord, and a growing preference for the accusative as an all-purpose oblique case, both in the singular, because of the favoured -οντα [-onda] suffix, and in the plural, where nominative and accusative were in any case tending to fall together formally (cf. 4.11, 6.5.2), thus applying pressure in turn on the distinct nominative singular in -ων [-on].

Such errors reflect the interaction of diminishing control of the relevant paradigms, as the inflected forms slowly disappeared from the colloquial language, with a strong

desire, inculcated at school, to be seen to use the language 'correctly' and to avoid the 'vulgar' use of the indeclinable participle. The level of success in reproducing the classical forms therefore depends very much on the level of education of the author. A nice example is provided by P. Merton 91.6, AD 316: ἡμεῖν ... εὖ βιοῦντες [i'min … ev vi'undes], lit. 'for us (dat) … well living (nom/acc pl)', where the participle shows agreement in number and gender, but not in case (the irregular βιοῦσι [vi'usi], involving a dying case within an independently dying paradigm, being beyond the writer's control). Similar examples of the use of the nominative/accusative in place of other oblique cases can be found in other 3rd-declension adjectival paradigms, e.g. P. Oxy 2274.14, 3rd century AD: μετὰ τῶν ἡμῶν πάντες [meta ton i'mon 'pandes], lit. 'with the us (gen) all (nom/acc)'.

Manoléssou (2005a), however, points out that there must also have been a syntactic dimension to this process, given that the transition from inflected participle to gerund is a common process cross-linguistically (e.g. in Romance, Slavic and Baltic) that cannot depend solely on the impact of accidental changes in participial morphology. In particular, the later history of Greek shows a clear functional divide between the perfect passive participle in -μένος [-'menos], which, in line with its morphology, evolves into an adjective of the -ος/-η/-ο(ν) [-os/-i/-o(n)] type, while the gerund represents the result of a contrasting specialization as a purely verbal category, the process as a whole reflecting the typologically well-attested separation into two clear-cut categories of a grammatical element that originally combined both nominal/adjectival and verbal characteristics.

6.5.4 Letter 4: the decline of the dative

Our final extract (P. Oxy. 1683) dates from the final years of the 4th century AD, and is addressed by one Probus to his 'sister' Manatine:

(37) τῇ κυρίᾳ μου ἀδ[ελ]φῇ Μανατίνῃ Πρώβ[ο]ς ἀδελφὼ χαίριν. πρὼ [μ]ὲν πάντων εὔχωμαι τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ περὶ τῆς σῆς ὡλοκληρίας ὅπως ὑιένοντα σοὶ καὶ εὐθυμοῦντι ἀπωλάβῃς τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γράμματα. [γι]γνώσκιν σε θέλω, κυρία μου ἀδελφή, ἄπελθε πρὸς Πετρώνιν τὼν ἐνγυησάμενόν μου· δέξε ἀ[π' α]ὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ μισθοῦ μου ἕναν ὕμισυ ... οἶδες γ[ὰ]ρ καὶ σὺ ὅτι [ο]ὐδὲν ἔχωμεν μάρτυρων ε[ἰ] μὴ ὁ θε[ὸ]ς καὶ σὺ καὶ ἡ γυνή μου. ἀπώδως οὖν αὐτὰ τῇ γυναικίν μου. μὴ λυπήσις οὖν ἐμέναν· δὸς οὖν αὐτά, ἐπιδὲ χρίαν αὐτὰ ὁ υἱός μου. σημίου δὲ χάριν, ὥπου ἠπάντηκά σου ἰ[ς] τὸ Κησάριον καὶ εἴρηκά σου ὥτι δὸς ἐμοὶ κέρμα ἀπὼ τῶν ἔχις με ἵνα ἀγωράσω ἐματῷ ἕναν λέβιτων ... , καὶ εἶπές με ὥτι ... ἆρων τὰ ἀπ' ἐσοῦ καὶ ἄρτι δέ σε δ[ίδ]ω ...

[ti cy'ria mu aðel'fi mana'tini 'provos aðel'fo(s) 'çerin. pro men
To-the lady of-me sister Manatine Probus brother greeting. Before on-the-one-hand
'pandon 'efxome to cy'rio θe'o peri tis sis olokli'rias opos y'jenonda
everything I-pray to-the lord god concerning the your health that being-well
sy ce efθi'mundi apo'lavis ta par emu 'ɣramata. ji(ɣ)'nosci(n)
you and being-in-good-spirits you-receive the from me letter. To-know
se 'θelo, cy'ria mu aðel'fi, 'apelθe pros pe'tronin ton
you I-want, lady of-me sister, go to Petronius the(-one)

eŋgyi'sameno(n) mu. 'ðekse ap af'tu ek tu mis'θu mu
having-guaranteed of- me. Receive from him out-of the wages of-me
enan 'imisi ... 'yðes ɣar ce 'sy oti u'ðen
one half (talents) ... You-know for also you that nothing/not
'exome(n) 'martyro(n) i mi o θe'os kai sy ce i jy'ni mu. a'poðos
we-have witness if not the god and you and the wife of-me. Hand-over
un a(f)ta ti jyne'cim mu. mi ly'pisis un e'menan. ðos un a(f)ta,
then them to-the wife of-me. Not vex then me. Give then them,
epi'ði 'xrian a(f)ta o y'joz mu <'eçi>. si'miu ðe 'xari(n), 'opu
since need (of-)them the son of-me (has). Of-proof and for-the-sake, when
i'pandi'ka su is to ci'sario(n) ce 'iri'ka su oti 'ðos emy 'cerma
I-met you in the Caesareum and I-told you that 'give me coin
apo ton 'eçiz me in(a) aɣo'raso ema'to ena(n) 'leviton ..., ce
from the(-ones) you-have (for-)me that I-may-buy for-myself a pot ..., and
'ipez me oti ... 'aron t(a) ap e'su ce 'arti ðe se 'ðiðo ...]
you-said me that ... take the (ones) from you and soon on-the-other-hand you I-give ...

'To my lady sister Manatine Probus her brother greeting. Above all I pray to the lord god concerning your well-being that you receive my letter in good health and in good spirits. I want you to know, my lady sister, (*that you must*) go to Petronius my guarantor. Get from him out of my pay one and a half (*talents*) … For you too know that we have no witness but god and you and my wife. So hand them over to my wife. Do not cause me distress. Give them to her, therefore, since my son needs them. As proof, when I met you in the Caesareum and said to you "give me one of the coins that you keep for me so I can buy myself a pot …", (*and*) you said "… take your own and I will give it to you later …" '

The general drift is more or less apparent, though the author is not well-educated and lacks the gift of clear exposition, regularly falling back on epistolographic formulae that are not well joined together. In particular, the intended significance of the absence of other witnesses and the import of the 'proof' are rather difficult to determine.

Note, however, that the participle ὑιένοντα [y'jenonda] 'in good health', employed as an indeclinable subject-orientated adjunct in place of the nominative feminine singular ὑγιαίνουσα [(h)y'jenousa], is exactly what we might have expected in the light of the discussion above, and presumably corresponds to the writer's normal usage. But what of the dative εὐθυμοῦντι [efθi'mundi]? We might speculate that Probus (or his not very professional professional scribe) was distracted by the misspelling of nominative σύ [sy] as σοι, which looks like a dative, and then carelessly continued with an 'agreeing' dative participle. Alternatively, he may simply have excerpted εὐθυμοῦντι [efθi'mundi] from a quite different formulaic expression in which the dative was justified, and then used it here mechanically.

It is in any case clear that, though Probus (or his scribe) has been instructed to use the dative in writing, the case barely features in his normal spoken register, as evidenced in the non-formulaic parts of this letter. Note, for example, the random use of genitive and accusative pronouns in place of the dative as verbal complements (cf. 4.11.1): ἠπάντηκά σου [i'pandi'ka sou], lit. 'I met to you', εἴρηκά σου ['irika su] 'I said to you', with genitive for dative, alongside ἔχις με ['eçiz me] 'you have

(for) me', εἶπές με ['ipez me] 'you said (to) me', σε δίδω [se 'ðiðo] 'I give (to) you', with accusative for dative. Datives are still introduced, however, in ἀπώδως...τῇ γυναικίν μου [a'poðos ... ti jyne'ci(m) mu] 'give ... to-the wife of-me' (with an intrusive final -ν [-n] apparently anticipating the nasal of the following pronoun), δός ἐμοί [ðos e'my] 'give to me', and ἀγοράσω ἐματῷ [aɣo'raso ema'to] 'I buy for myself' (with reduced form of ἐμ-αυτῷ [em-af'to], lit. 'me-self'), classic 'indirect object' environments involving recipients or beneficiaries where use of the dative seems to have survived longest.[4]

For the very real problems that some writers of Greek had with the dative in this period we may compare P. Oxy. 1300, from the 5th century AD:

(38) προσαγορεῦσαί σε ... και τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Θέωνι και τῇ κυρίᾳ μου ἀδελφῇ ... καὶ τῶν γλυκητάτον μου ἀδελφίον ῾Ηραεὶν και Νόννᾳ ... και Φοιβάμων ...

[prosaɣo'refse se ... ce tu aðel'fu 'θeoni ce ti cy'ria mu
to-send-greetings (to-)you (acc) ... and to-the brother(gen) Theon(dat) and to-the lady of-me
aðel'fi ... ce to(n) ɣlyci'tatom mu aðel'fio(n) ira'in kai n'ona ...
sister(dat) ... and (to-)the sweetest of-me little-siblings(gen) Herais(acc) and Nonna(dat) ...
ce fy'vamo(n) ...]
and Phoebammon(nom) ...

'... to send greetings to you ... and to my brother Theon and to my lady sister ... and to my sweetest little siblings Herais and Nonna ... and Phoebammon ... '

Of the two 3rd-declension consonant-stem forms Θέωνι ['θeoni] is dative and Φοιβάμων [fy'vamon] (a nice blend of Greek and Egyptian) is nominative and apparently treated as indeclinable. In the 2nd declension (cf. ἀδελφοῦ/ἀδελφίον [aðel'fu/aðel'fion]) the genitive marks the recipient of the greeting, while in the 3rd-declension i-stems it is the accusative that fulfils this function (cf. Ἡραείν [ira'in]).[5] Only in the 1st declension does a separate dative seem to be in use (cf. τῇ κυρίᾳ μου ἀδελφῇ [ti cy'ria mu aðel'fi]), though we should not forget the weakness of final -ν [-n], and the frequent homophony of dative and accusative forms (the usual provisos concerning accentuation and subscript iotas therefore apply). All these functionally equivalent case forms (at best only partially differentiated formally) are seemingly freely combined according to the author's idiosyncratic preferences and/or knowledge.

We are clearly very close here to the demise of the dative in popular Egyptian Greek, and therefore equally close to a time when either the genitive or the accusative (prepositionally strengthened outside the pronominal system) would be automatically substituted in its place. We should not, however, imagine that the evidence presented here is indicative of the state of Greek in general at this time. Although it is clear that the domain of the dative was everywhere in retreat, especially with regard to its old adverbial functions (time, place, instrument etc.), Humbert (1930), the only fully detailed study of the decline of the dative to date, argues that the dative in its core grammatical function of marking a secondary object did not finally disappear from the spoken language of native speakers until the 10th century AD (see Part II for further discussion).

Other important features in (37) include the following:

(39) (a) The use of οὐδέν [u'ðen] apparently as a simple negative, exactly as in Modern Greek (having developed as a proclitic to the verb, it subsequently suffered aphaeresis to δεν [ðen], cf. chapter 11).

(b) The partial shift of masculine 3rd-declension nouns to the 2nd declension (a temporary expedient for dealing with a dying declensional class, but popular for a time as an alternative to the shift to the 1st declension discussed earlier): cf. acc sg μάρτυρων ['martyro(n)] for μάρτυρα ['martyra].

(c) (i) The development of new 'strong' forms of personal pronouns (cf. ἐμέναν [e'menan] 'me', involving the addition first of a characterizing accusative -ν [-n] to the classical ἐμέ [e'me], and then of the typical 3rd-declension accusative suffix -α [-a], perhaps on the analogy of elements like τινά [tina] 'someone', ἕνα ['ena] 'one/a(n)', a form itself finally recharacterized by the addition of a further final -ν [-n]).

(ii) The 2nd-person pronoun σύ [sy] also acquired an initial ἐ- [e-], by analogy with 1st-person nom/acc ἐγω/ἐμένα(ν) [e'ɣo/e'mena(n)], to give ἐσύ/ἐσενα(ν) [e'sy/e'sena(n)], and new plural forms were then built to the singular to solve the problem of the homophony of classical ἡμεῖς/ὑμεῖς [i'mis/i'mis] 'we/you', namely ἐμ-εῖς/ἐσ-εῖς [e'mis/e'sis].

(iii) The earliest examples of the fully extended accusative form of the 1st-person singular pronoun date from the 4th century AD. The corresponding forms of the 2nd-person singular pronoun apparently belong to the Byzantine period proper, though a version of the new 2nd plural forms is attested in P. Ross. Georg. iii, 10 (4th/5th century AD): acc/gen/dat ἡσᾶς, ἡσῶν, ἡσῖν [i'sas/i'son/i'sin].

(d) The use of ἰς [is] with the accusative (ἰς τὸ Κησάριον [is to ci'sarion]) in place of ἐν [en] with the problematic dative to express location as well as goal (examples occur from Ptolemaic times onwards); another example of the accusative as the default prepositional case.

(e) (i) The use of the article, almost always in oblique cases, as a relative pronoun (ἀπὼ τῶν ἔχις [apo ton 'eçis] 'from what you have'). The classical forms ὅς/ἥ/ὅ [os/i/o] lacked bulk, and were prone to loss when preceding or following words that ended or began with a vowel. The use of the forms of the article, which began with a 'protective' plosive apart from masc/fem nom sg/pl, started in Hellenistic times (where it was perhaps in part a continuation of earlier Ionic practice), and became increasingly common with the passage of time.

(ii) Alternatively, the classical indefinite/generic ὅστις/ἥτις/ὅτι ['ostis/'itis/'oti] 'whoever/whatever', and more rarely the interrogative τίς/τί [tis/ti] 'who/what?', could also be used as simple relatives. The wider relative use of the indeclinable adverb ὅπου ['opu],

lit. ‘where’, is also attested from the 5th century AD onwards (Gignac (1981: 179), Bakker (1974: 87–94), Nicholas (1999: 200–11)), and this became increasingly prevalent with the passage of time (though documentary evidence is lacking between the end of the 6th century and the beginning of the 12th), eventually becoming the modern Greek norm, again with aphaeresis > πoυ [pu].

(f) The transfer of δίδωμι ['ðiðomi] to the regular paradigm in -ω [-o], δίδω ['ðiðo]. Eventually all the verbs in -μι [-mi] were assimilated to the regular paradigm, though many older forms persist into the Byzantine period, even in more popular texts, presumably because of their great frequency. Note that the present form is used here as a future, a common feature in a period when the present indicative and present subjunctive and the future indicative and aorist subjunctive respectively had very largely fallen together through sound change and subsequent analogical levelling (cf. 5.3, (2)). The combined future indicative/aorist subjunctive forms were regularly used as perfective ‘futures/subjunctives’ (where distinct forms were involved, e.g. in cases of suppletion, it was normally the aorist subjunctive that predominated); the merged present indicative/ subjunctive forms were similarly used as both present indicatives and imperfective ‘futures/subjunctives’.

6.6 Conclusion

The evidence of low-level papyri from Roman times has been discussed in some detail in this chapter because these documents provide one of the most important sources of evidence for vernacular Greek in a period that was instrumental in the transition from the ancient to the modern language, with many of the most characteristic phonological differences between the classical and contemporary languages already in place and the first stages of many of the more important grammatical changes well reflected in more popular varieties. With a clear understanding of the beginnings of this transition in place, we are now ready to consider the subsequent history of the language in the middle ages and beyond.

Notes

1 [e:i] (ηι) was partly restored in conservative Athenian Attic from around 200 BC and then lost its final element together with the other long diphthongs, eventually raising to /i:/ at a much later date.

2 The first could in principle have affected both accented and unaccented suffixes equally, while the second seems likely, on phonetic grounds, to have involved only unaccented -ιος [-ios]/-ιον [-ion], requiring us to suppose subsequent analogical levelling in the accented cases.

3 Subsequently the homophony of -ις [-is]/-ι [-i] with 1st-declension -ης/-η led to this subparadigm being assimilated to the 1st declension, as in Modern Greek.

4 Some editors also write dative ἀδελφῷ [aðel'fo] after nominative Πρώβος ['provos], but this is surely an example of ω [o] for ο [o] (the iota subscript is editorial), with final -ς [-s] omitted, as not infrequently.
5 This was originally a dental-stem with accusative -ίδα [-'iða], here assimilated to the i-stems because of the identical nominative in -ίς [-'is]).

PART II

Byzantium

From Constantine I to Mehmet the Conqueror

7

Historical Prelude

7.1 The Later Roman Empire

After the relative stability and general prosperity of the first and second centuries AD, the fifty years after the fall of the Severan dynasty, from 235 to the accession of Diocletian in 284, was a critical period for the empire, with constant warfare against the Persians in the east and Germanic tribes to the north and west leading to an enhanced role for the military, economic difficulties, and a rapid turnover of emperors, each provincial army putting up, and as quickly murdering, its own pretenders (see Brown (1989), Cameron (1993), Mitchell (2007) for readable introductions to late antiquity).

The overall result was a reduction in the importance of the old imperial capital and its aristocracy as emperors increasingly based themselves in strategically important provincial centres, though the decentralization of power also created a context in which local cultures (and local languages such as Coptic and Syriac) could thrive, and in which Christianity, still very much a minority and provincial religion, could begin to develop solid institutional structures.

Between the accession of Diocletian in 284 and the death of Constantine I in 337, the political and military situation stabilized and administrative reforms were put in place which formed the basis of the system of government until the 'end' of the Roman empire (Rome itself fell to a Gothic pretender in 476, though in the east we have to wait for the Arab conquests of the 7th century for a clear break with the world of classical antiquity). In particular, Diocletian sought to bring the army under central control by consolidating the financial and administrative privileges which had been granted by various predecessors, and instituting a fairer and more reliable means of raising revenue (partly in the form of requisitions in kind) so as to guarantee the steady supply of resources needed for the army to defend the empire's security. He also reorganized provincial government by separating civil and military commands and reducing the size of the provinces themselves (thereby increasing their overall number, but reducing the power of individual governors).

Diocletian did not, however, succeed in reversing the long-term decline of Rome. In an attempt to end the political instability that had plagued the 3rd century, he set up the 'tetrarchic' system by which power was to be shared between two senior emperors, or Augusti, each aided by a junior emperor, or Caesar, who would eventually succeed him. This consolidated the established tendency towards decentralization by dividing the empire informally into eastern and western spheres of influence and led to the emergence of a number of new regional 'capitals'. Diocletian himself had his main residence at Nicomedia (Izmit) in Bithynia, his Caesar Galerius was based in Thessaloniki, while the other Caesar, Constantius, had his base in Augusta Treverorum (Trier) close to the Rhine frontier. Emperors now spent a great deal of time travelling between such centres, and this in turn fostered new building and urban development, the foundation of Constantinople on the site of Byzantium by Constantine I being the most important example.

When Diocletian and his fellow Augustus Maximian abdicated on 1 May 305, Galerius succeeded in the east, Constantius in the west, as planned. But after Constantius died in York in the following year, his son Constantine was proclaimed Augustus by his father's troops (see Lenski (2006) for background to the age of Constantine). Maximian quickly returned from his short-lived retirement, and the tetrarchic arrangements for the succession broke down in the face of renewed rivalry. Constantine first sought to consolidate his position through an alliance with Maximian, but by 310 Maximian's own son, Maxentius, had seized Rome, and Maximian himself had turned on both of them. Maximian, however, committed suicide when Constantine took up arms against him, and two years later, in 312, Maxentius was defeated at the battle of the Milvian Bridge outside Rome.

Things had become similarly confused in the east, where Licinius had been appointed Augustus at the Conference of Carnuntum (on the Danube) in 308, despite the fact that Diocletian's immediate successor, Galerius, was still alive. When Galerius died in 311, his nephew Maximin, who had himself been proclaimed Augustus by his troops three years earlier, seized Asia Minor from Licinius, and it was only in 313 that Licinius finally defeated his rival and emerged as sole Augustus of the east. Constantine and Licinius then concluded an alliance which continued, despite an inconclusive clash in 316, until the decisive campaign of 324 in which Licinius was defeated at Chrysopolis. Constantine then became the sole ruler of the Roman world until his death in 337.

In general, Constantine sought to consolidate Diocletian's military, provincial and administrative arrangements, but where previous emperors had tried periodically to stifle Christianity by persecution, Constantine committed himself to its protection and eventual triumph, and so began the process of integration which led to a crucial developmental period in which acceptance of Christianity became increasingly routine in even the highest levels of society, specifically Christian forms of art and literature were developed within the context of the cultural mainstream, and the first definitions of 'correct doctrine', or orthodoxy, were attempted (see Brown (1997) on the Christianization of the empire). Constantine himself, in an important precedent for establishing the role of the emperor in the affairs of the church, presided over the first ecumenical council at Nicaea, modern Iznik, in 325, which had been called to pronounce on Arianism (the doctrine of Arius, a Syrian monk who had become

presbyter of Alexandria, which denied Christ's full divinity and was duly declared a heresy).

When Constantine founded his 'New Rome' on the site of the old Greek city of Byzantium on the Bosporus in AD May 330, therefore, it was not merely as a centre of Roman culture and Latinity in the east but also as a capital city that was to be imbued from the outset with the spirit of the Christian faith. In due course it provided the physical and spiritual centre for the medieval Byzantine state.

Though at various times after Constantine's death several Augusti again ruled simultaneously (with a number of strikingly short-lived reigns, including that of his sole pagan successor, Julian, 361–3), the traditional urban life of antiquity, with its largely money-based economy, continued more or less intact, and the empire remained at least formally undivided until the death of Theodosius I in 395. Thereafter, his sons Arcadius and Honorius shared the Roman world between them, the former taking the east, the latter the west (with the seat of government transferred to Ravenna), in what was to prove to be a permanent division.

By this time 'barbarian' Germanic tribes, including the Franks and Alamanni in the west and the Visigoths and Ostrogoths in the east, had begun to occupy the richer lands adjoining the Mediterranean. The migration of the east German peoples from lands between the Danube and the Don was motivated chiefly by changing economic conditions, but the arrival of the Huns, a nomadic tribe from the steppes of central Asia, may have been a contributory factor. In their journey south and west the Goths defeated a Roman army at Adrianople (Edirne) in 378, and having been partly forced, partly bribed out of the Balkans by Theodosius, moved on into Italy, where they eventually sacked Rome in 410.

In this period, the recruitment of barbarian auxiliaries and even the appointment of barbarian generals had become routine, in order to avoid the trouble of conscription. The policy also proved (temporarily) profitable, to the extent that the treasury could exact taxes in lieu. But the resumption of political rivalry in both east and west after the death of Theodosius allowed ambitious barbarian generals, backed by their mercenary recruits, to exploit the situation for their own ends, and by the end of the 4th century even the regular army was in disarray.

Though the situation eventually stabilized in the east, after the government in Constantinople (following the massacre of the garrison of the rebel Goth Gainas in 400) firmly turned its back on barbarian troops and generals, the position in the west continued to deteriorate. In the face of political instability, economic weakness and institutional fragmentation, forces stationed in the provinces were withdrawn and Roman territory was progressively settled by Goths (Italy and Spain), Franks (France) and Vandals (North Africa). The end of Roman government finally came, according to the conventional dating, with the overthrow of the young Romulus Augustulus by his Gothic master of the soldiers, Odoacer, in 476.

Latin survived, however, as the language of administration, culture and everyday communication (as witnessed by the Romance languages), while many Roman traditions and institutions continued in modified forms. But there were to be no more Roman emperors in the west, and though Rome continued to be the seat of the senior bishop of the Christian church, the eastern Roman empire, with its capital at Constantinople, now stood alone.

7.2 The Age of Transition: Ioustinianós and the Arab Conquests[1]

After the formal division of the empire in 395, east and west grew steadily apart, and while the west declined, the eastern empire enjoyed considerable prosperity in the period from the late 4th to the early 6th centuries, initiating major new building programmes and seeing its principal cities grow substantially in size and population. See Mango (1980), Whiting (1981), Treadgold (1997) for general introductions to Byzantium, including the early period in which the independent east Roman, or Byzantine, state was formed Jeffreys et al. (2008) provides authoritative surveys of all aspects of Byzantine history and culture.

The decision to abandon the recruitment of barbarian generals and mercenaries was a major factor in re-establishing effective government and military efficiency, despite periodic tensions surrounding the imperial succession and the continued ambitions of generals. Whereas in the west central control was weak, and powerful provincial families had been allowed unrestrained extension of their wealth through land acquisition, the east retained a more resilient economic system based on the continuity of prosperous villages and a free peasantry alongside, and even within, the estates that emerged with the rise of the provincial aristocracy. Peasants paid taxes and were available for recruitment to the army, and this guaranteed the financial and military resources necessary to resist, or buy off, barbarian invaders (e.g. the Huns, who raided freely in the mid-5th century, extorting vast sums from the empire). It was in response to this threat that Theodósios II, who reigned 408–50, ordered the construction of the massive land walls of Constantinople, which were first breached by force in 1453.

With the reserves built up in the wake of the fiscal reforms of Anastásios I (ruled 491–518), the emperor Ioustinianós I (Justinian, reigned 527–65, a native speaker of Latin from an Illyrian peasant family) embarked on an ambitious campaign of reconquest in the west (see Moorhead (1994), Maas (2005) for background to the man and the period). Having concluded a treaty with the Persians in 522 to safeguard the eastern frontier, he first sent his general Belisários to recover the Vandal kingdom in North Africa. Following his rapid success there, Belisários was transferred to Italy, where, aided by the Armenian general Narsés, the eventual submission of the Ostrogoths was secured in 550. A third force was then dispatched to Spain in 552, and the south-east corner of the peninsula recovered, perhaps to provide a defensive barrier for Africa.

These military successes followed a major codification and reform of Roman law carried out by Ioustinianós' legal adviser Tribonianós, and coincided with a cultural revival and a great expansion of trade based on silk production (precious silkworm eggs having been smuggled out of the east). In the same period the great churches of San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare in Classe were built in the new western capital of Ravenna, while at Constantinople the vast new Hagía Sophía, which still stands, was constructed to replace Constantine's original church that had been destroyed by fire in the aftermath of a serious anti-government uprising in January 532.

This riot, named after the chant (*νίκα* ['nika] 'win!') employed by the Hippodrome factions (the notorious Blues and Greens) involved in its instigation, seems to have been motivated by resentment of domestic repression and the high levels of taxation

needed to fund the wars. After a day at the games, this crystallized into demands for the release of prisoners and the dismissal of unpopular officials, up to and including the emperor himself. The successful containment of the riot (some tens of thousands were massacred) gave Ioustinianós the pretext and the authority to assert his role as God's vice-gerent on earth. This useful validating role was then assumed by all later Christian Roman emperors, and the Roman/Byzantine state began to define itself increasingly in religious terms, as a kind of earthly reflection of the heavenly kingdom.

In his new capacity as God's agent, Ioustinianós felt a duty to define and impose Orthodox belief, though in this he was less successful. The Platonic Academy in Athens was closed in 529, and the teaching of pagan philosophy restricted to Christian institutions (philosophy thus becoming a 'historical' subject rather than a living body of rival doctrine). Then, having tried unsuccessfully to suppress the heresy of Monophysitism, which saw Christ as a God who had ceased to be also a man (and rather inconveniently included the emperor's wife Theodóra among its adherents), Ioustinianós sought to reconcile the Monophysites by making concessions, but succeeded only in antagonizing the western church, which was implacably hostile to the doctrine. He also alienated many of his own bishops from Egypt and Syria, where the doctrine enjoyed overwhelming support.

Unfortunately, Ioustinianós' military successes also proved to be short-lived. The cost of reasserting universal Roman rule was more than the empire could bear, and it was ill-equipped to deal with any fresh assaults. The Lombards (another Germanic tribe) were therefore able to occupy all of north and central Italy before the end of the 6th century, and prosperity was seriously undermined by earthquakes and plague epidemics (spread in part by the devastation of endless warfare), which led to the collapse of many urban centres and a serious reduction in the quality of life in the cities that survived.

The situation became critical when the Balkans, already threatened by nomadic Turkic peoples in Ioustinianós' time, came under pressure from an alliance of Avars (another tribe from the Asian steppes) and Slavs, who had moved south from the river valleys of central Europe. By the 580s these groups had penetrated the Peloponnese, leaving only a few coastal towns, including the great city of Thessaloniki, in Byzantine control. Soon after, at the beginning of the 7th century, came the Persian invasions of Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor and Egypt; Antioch fell in 612, Jerusalem in 614, Ephesus in 615, and Alexandria in 619. This devastating period marks the first clear break with classical antiquity in the east, and still worse was to come. In 626, while the emperor Herákleios (a capable soldier and administrator of Armenian descent, who reigned 610–41) was away on campaign against the Persians, an army of Persians, Avars and Slavs besieged Constantinople itself, though the capital held out successfully thanks to its land walls and its control of the sea. This proved to be a turning point, and thereafter Herákleios succeeded in recovering the empire's losses in Asia Minor and Syria, and finally won a decisive victory at Nineveh in 627, which led to the collapse of the Persian empire. In 630 he was able to enter Jerusalem in triumph.

But success was again short-lived. The power vacuum was filled almost immediately by the recently Islamicized Arabs, who now embarked on a campaign of aggressive expansion. Persia, in disarray after Herákleios' triumph, fell in 636, and the Romans

themselves came under attack immediately afterwards; Jerusalem fell again in 638, and remained under Islamic control until the first crusade at the end of the 11th century. In 640 the Arabs advanced into Egypt, and then pressed on ruthlessly throughout north Africa, so that this territory too was lost permanently to the empire. On several occasions in the late 7th and early 8th centuries Constantinople was again besieged, though the emperor Léon III (a Syrian from Germanicea, reigned 716–40) began the long fight back by raising the second Arab siege of the capital in 717–18 and defeating an Arab army in the field in 740.

The Arab advance by land was, however, halted in Asia Minor, the last great recruiting ground for the Roman/Byzantine army, and though raids continued for some 300 years, it was to be the Turks, not the Arabs, who finally deprived the empire of its last great territorial possession. Nevertheless, Byzantium had suffered a stupendous blow; Syria, Palestine and Egypt were among its richest provinces, and Egypt in particular was a major supplier of grain to the capital. Henceforth the reproachful ghost of universal Christian empire hung over the residual Byzantine state, inculcating a state of mind to which the retrospective quality of mature Byzantine culture has often been attributed (cf. Mango (1980: 4–5)).

The successful resistance to the Arabs in Asia Minor was achieved because of the imposition of martial law and the fact that its provinces had earlier been divided by Herákleios into administrative/military districts known as themes, each under the command of a governor/general who reported directly to the emperor. This reform gave pre-eminence to the military as a career path, and circumscribed the power of the landed aristocracy by consolidating the position of the villages as the units of taxation and recruitment. Many soldiers had already been given lands in the themes so as to provide a standing army, but this period saw massive new population movements as different ethnic groups were relocated to meet fresh military contingencies.

As a result of this system of economic and military organization, Byzantine society, already isolated by the Slav settlements in Greece and the Balkans, was set on a radically different course from that of western Europe, so that feudalization began only in the 10th century, and a fully formalized system of feudal relations, as developed in the west, was never established because of the revival of urban life and a trading economy (see 7.3, 7.4 below). This separation of east and west was reinforced on the linguistic front. Knowledge of Greek in the west had already declined by the end of the 4th century, as St Jerome's translations of Greek patristic texts into Latin and St Augustine's dependence on translations of Greek philosophical texts clearly demonstrate. Similarly in the east, though Latin had originally been used in court circles in Constantinople, it was Greek which had always been employed for practical administrative purposes, and throughout the Roman imperial and Byzantine periods Greek remained the only language of higher education, the principal language of culture (though Syriac and Coptic also emerged as major literary languages in the Christian era), and the sole vernacular lingua franca of the multiethnic empire, acquired as a first language by many, and as a second language by many more. The position of Latin as the language of the Roman 'establishment' therefore became increasingly precarious, though in the army, the legal profession and imperial ceremonial it continued to enjoy prestige as the 'true' language of the Romans, and remained in use, albeit in an increasingly formulaic way, until the end of the 6th century.

But Greek had begun to supplant Latin in even its residual functions by the first half of the 5th century, when the key office of praetorian prefect, virtually that of deputy emperor, had been filled by a Greek-speaking Egyptian. A century later, Ioustinianós' praetorian prefect, Ioánnes the Cappadocian, reduced the use of Latin in the eastern prefecture still further in recognition of the linguistic realities, and his successor in that post was not familiar with Latin at all. Similarly, though Ioustinianós' codification of the law was carried out in the traditional legal language, the great bulk of the 'novels' (i.e. supplements to, or replacements of, earlier legislation) were already composed in Greek, and a Greek version of the *Institutes* had already been published in 534.

Though the influx of Italian refugees during the wars of reconquest temporarily enhanced the Latin-speaking element in the capital (which briefly became a major centre of Latin culture), the Latin speakers were simply one of many minorities in the essentially Greek-speaking capital of an empire dominated by the Greek culture and Orthodox Christianity. By the end of the 6th century it was already extremely difficult to find anyone who could translate Latin into Greek competently. Thereafter, the growing independence of Byzantium, and the need to devote all available resources to the struggle for survival in the 7th and 8th centuries, guaranteed the final demise of Latin.

7.3 The Middle Byzantine Period: Iconoclasm, Renaissance and Decline

The 'dark age' that lasted from the 7th century to the middle of the 9th was dominated by a religious crisis which jeopardized the very survival of Byzantine culture. Many had come to believe that the military disasters of the 7th century were divine punishment for a failure of religious observance, and in 730 the emperor Léon III, acting in accordance with his religious duty to purify the faith of his subjects, decreed that the icons should be removed from churches. These images of Christ and the saints had acquired a central place in popular religious practice during the 5th and 6th centuries as providing a channel of communication through which, in response to prayer, intercession might be obtained and miracles worked. But many felt that they were being misused as objects of worship in their own right, and that view was apparently confirmed by the fact that the victorious Arabs had banned the use of figural images.

When Germanós the ecumenical patriarch (the senior bishop and leader of the Orthodox church) declined to comply with Léon's edict, he was summarily replaced, and the destruction of icons and persecution of dissenters began. The emperor's orthodoxy was swiftly rewarded by a dramatic improvement in Byzantine fortunes, which continued into the reign of his son Konstantínos V (ruled 741–75). Though iconoclasm was suppressed in 787 in a period of relative military security, it was reintroduced in 814 after fresh reverses in the Balkans, including the defeat and execution of the emperor Nikephóros I in 811 by Krum, the formidable Khan of the Bulgars (yet another Turkic tribe threatening the northern frontier; though eventually absorbed linguistically by their Slavic subjects, the name was retained), and the policy was permanently abandoned only in 843, at the beginning of what was to prove to be Byzantium's golden age. The pattern of enforced iconoclasm in the face of disaster followed by restoration of the images as circumstances improved suggests that the

policy enjoyed little popular support, and was no more than stoically tolerated as a necessary expedient in times of crisis.

The eventual stabilization of the military situation had already engendered something of an intellectual revival under Theóphilos (reigned 829–42), the last of the iconoclast emperors, but the advent of the 'Macedonian' dynasty, marked by the succession, amidst intrigue and murder, of Basíleios I (reigned 867–86), an illiterate peasant of Armenian descent from the Macedonian theme in Thrace, marks a crucial turning point in Byzantine fortunes. His son Léon VI (ruled 886–912) was known as 'the wise' because of his legal reforms, while his grandson Konstantínos VII Porphyrogénnetos (reigned 913–59, though until 944 under the shadow of a powerful regent) was a scholar who played a vital role in the 'Macedonian Renaissance' as patron of intellectual and creative activity in the capital. After his death imperial support for scholarship lapsed again until the mid-11th century.

In the same period Romanós I Lakapenós (another Armenian peasant, who became admiral of the fleet and ruled on Konstantínos' behalf from 920 to 944), succeeded in neutralizing a renewed threat from the Bulgars under Symeón, while his general Ioánnes Kerkouás pressed on with the reconquest of territory from the Arabs. Thereafter, through marriages with the powerful generals Nikephóros II Phokás (ruled 963–9, a member of one of the great Armenian military families of Asia Minor) and Ioánnes I Tzimiskés (ruled 969–76, an Armenian aristocrat from Tshemeshgadzak in Mesopotamia), who effectively usurped the throne by posing as guardians of the rightful heirs, the dynasty retained a tenuous grip on power, and Byzantium embarked on a fresh series of successful military campaigns. Nikephóros Phokás ('the white death of the Saracens') recovered Crete from the Arabs in 961, took Aleppo in Syria in 963, drove the Arabs out of Cyprus in 965, and in 969 regained Antioch itself. He had, however, rashly invited the Rus (Vikings from Sweden who had planted colonies along the Russian rivers) to invade Bulgaria as 'allies', and it was left to Ioánnes Tzimiskés, his wife's lover and his murderer, to drive them out of the Balkans. Tzimiskés then led a series of brilliant campaigns in the east, destroying the forces of the emir of Mosul and the Egyptian caliph, and restoring the Mediterranean coastline from Caesarea to Antioch, and many of the inland cities (though not Jerusalem), to Byzantine rule.

He was succeeded by Basíleios II (reigned 976–1025), the true heir of the Macedonian dynasty, who, having put down rebellions by relatives of his two predecessors, embarked on the destruction of the troublesome Bulgar state in a 15-year campaign which earned him the nickname 'Boulgaroktónos' (Bulgar-slayer). He also supervised the annexation of Georgia, and crucially sought to constrain the growing power of the landowning aristocracy, who were buying out the small farmers on whom the military and economic structure of the provinces depended. This problem of increasing prosperity had first been noted by Romanós Lakapenós, and was now addressed by new legislation to protect the interests of the peasants.

In this period of cultural self-confidence, a booming monetary economy and consistent military success, Byzantium had begun to turn its attention northwards, to the Balkans and central Europe, to the lands north of the Black Sea, and even to Russia. Between the mid-9th and mid-11th centuries Byzantine culture, spearheaded by Christian missions that brought with them religion, law, art and literature, was spread as far as the Baltic, leaving the legacy of the Cyrillic alphabet (an adaptation of the

Greek alphabet designed by Byzantine monks for the writing of Slavic languages) and Orthodox Christianity in much of this territory to the present day.

The mid-11th century also saw the resumption of scholarly study under the patronage of Konstantínos IX Monomáchos (reigned 1042–55), and the emergence of figures such as the philosopher, historian and statesman Michaél Psellós (1018–78 or 1096) and a group of contemporary scholars that included Ioánnes Mavrópous (teacher of Psellós, later bishop of Euchaita in Pontus), Ioánnes Xiphilinós (also trained by Mavrópous, later head of the law school and patriarch of Constantinople), and Ioánnes Italós (a philosopher from southern Italy who studied with Psellós, but was later obliged to recant his 'heretical' ideas).

But underlying problems had long been building up. Of the two original patriarchates that had remained outside Arab control during the 7th and 8th centuries (i.e. Rome and Constantinople), it was the eastern capital which had come to enjoy the dominant position because of its unbroken association with the sole surviving Roman emperor. But the beginnings of a revival in the west soon led, with the crowning of the Frank Charlemagne as emperor in the west by the pope in 800, to a rival bid for universal religious authority. The efficacy of the patriarchate's ecclesiastical diplomacy in Moravia and Bulgaria during the 9th century, where Rome and Constantinople were fielding rival missions, only heightened the tension, and in 858 the appointment as patriarch of the layman Phótios (one of the greatest scholars of the middle ages, famous for his *Bibliotheca*, a commentary on nearly 300 books that symbolizes the revival of learning in the east) scandalized the pope and led to a temporary schism between the eastern and western churches.

The dispute also had a doctrinal dimension, the central issue being the interpolation by the western church of the word *filioque* ('and from the Son') into the statement in the Nicene creed that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father. Originally adopted in 6th-century Spain as a defence against Arianism, this addition spread through the Frankish empire and became a central plank of Charlemagne's 'anti-Greek' polemic, now actively promoted by missionaries from Rome among the Slavs and Bulgars. The Byzantines were greatly offended by this heretical doctrine of 'double procession', which in their view made a hopeless muddle of Trinitarian theology as established by the great ecumenical councils.

Though the crowning of Charlemagne as emperor 'in the west' caused equal offence, it carried little real significance for the Byzantines, and the schism of 858 was quickly repaired. Even when the German king Otto I was crowned emperor 'of the Romans' in 963, his presumption could still be dismissed with contempt by Nikephóros Phokás. But by the mid-11th century western Christendom was beginning to pose a genuine threat to the authority of Constantinople, and when Latin Christians began to make pilgrimages to the Holy Land via the eastern capital they were treated with growing suspicion. Politico-religious conflict thus came to be a dominant factor in Byzantine affairs, and the final schism between the eastern and western churches in 1054, prompted by a clash between the patriarch Michaél Keroullários and the pope's legate, Cardinal Humbert, was no more than a reflection of the growing gulf in culture and ideology.

To add to these difficulties, a certain governmental complacency had begun to set in following the death of Basíleios II in 1025. His successors were largely content to sit back and enjoy the prestige and prosperity they had inherited, a particularly unfor-

tunate development given that the reconquests of the previous century had engendered new internal problems that demanded an effective response. The most important of these problems was the rise of a military aristocracy that had grown rich from warfare and was now using its wealth to buy out the peasantry, thus undermining the ability of the central administration to control its land and people. Where earlier emperors had sought to stem the tide by legislation, their 11th-century successors did nothing, and the resultant subversion of the theme system was soon to prove disastrous.

The new landed gentry increasingly objected to living under a form of martial law imposed by the emperor and the civilian bureaucracy in Constantinople, and the most powerful provincial families sought to establish a more independent relationship with the distant capital. In this way the successful integrated autocracy of the middle Byzantine period gradually gave way to a more fragmented social system based on the local wealth of a semi-detached hereditary aristocracy, a trend which also initiated the development of a semi-feudalized society in rural areas. It was in this period that the use of surnames first became routine, as individuals sought to advertise their affinities with the great provincial families (e.g. Phokás, Komnenós, Doúkas, Palaiológos), some of which were soon to emerge as imperial dynasties.

This fatal weakening of the empire's cohesion, and its consequential incapacity to martial the resources necessary to defend itself, were all too soon made apparent (and we may compare here the fate of the west in the 5th century, in the face of similar fragmentation). Though attacks by the Russians and the Petcheneks (another Turkic tribe) in the middle years of the 11th century were successfully staved off, the invasion of the Byzantine provinces in southern Italy and Sicily by the Normans, culminating in the capture of Bari in 1071, quickly resulted in the loss of Byzantine control. Soon afterwards, the Normans crossed the Adriatic, seized Dyrráchion (now Durrës in Albania) on the mainland, and advanced through Macedonia and Thessaly, seemingly with the intention of seizing the capital itself.

Meanwhile in the east, the Seljuks, chiefs of a confederation of Islamicized Turkish tribes that had taken over the Arab caliphate in Baghdad, began to infiltrate Asia Minor, and in the fatal year of 1071 the Byzantine army was subjected to a crushing defeat at Manzikert (Malazgirt, north of Lake Van in what is now eastern Turkey). So weak and overstretched had control of the empire's former heartlands become that no serious further resistance could be offered. Within a decade much of Asia Minor had been occupied, and the Turks had advanced as far as Nicaea. The new sultanate of 'Rum' (Rome) was now firmly and permanently established on former imperial territory, with only a few residual strongholds remaining under the nominal control of the emperor.

Faced with a hostile and suspicious west and threatened by powerful enemies on all sides, the survival of what remained of the Byzantine state, so recently at the pinnacle of its wealth and influence, began to seem very doubtful indeed.

7.4 The Late Byzantine Period: Stabilization, Defeat and Fall

By the late 11th century Byzantium was obliged to turn for help to Venice, then still very much in thrall to Byzantine culture (the church of San Marco, for example, was

modelled on the Holy Apostles in Constantinople), but also, thanks to its shrewd exploitation of Byzantine weakness, on the brink of achieving military and economic domination of the Mediterranean (see Angold (1984) for a political history of this critical period).

The middle Byzantine period was still very much characterized by the suspicion and dour self-reliance that had originated in the dark ages of the 7th and 8th centuries. This led to a lack of enterprise, which, in combination with renewed military crisis, left the Byzantines highly vulnerable to predatory outsiders. Venetian merchants had been settled in Constantinople since the 10th century, but when the Venetians recaptured the key port of Dyrráchion, they demanded in return exemption from customs dues throughout the empire and grants of land for quays and warehouses in Constantinople. Other Italian cities quickly followed this lead in obtaining trading concessions, and the growing foreign domination of the Byzantine economy eventually led to its destruction.

For a time, however, the emperor Aléxios I Komnenós (reigned 1081–1118) was able to restore something of Byzantium's former authority. This was achieved partly through skilful diplomacy (by playing Venice off against the Normans in the west, engineering the destruction of the Petcheneks through the manipulation of another nomadic tribe, the Cumans, and recruiting Turkish 'allies' in Asia Minor), and partly through resolute military campaigning, in the face of repeated setbacks, against the Normans in the Balkans, the sole imperial territory in which the administration still worked effectively, and the only remaining source of imperial revenue. These external successes were largely facilitated by internal military and administrative reforms through which Aléxios exacted obligations from the hereditary landowners to supply troops (who were then combined with the growing body of mercenaries to form a new regular army), and instituted a revamped provincial administration which collected taxes and rounded up peasants for military service with the ruthlessness of an occupying army.

This remarkable military aristocrat was the founder of a dynasty which ruled until 1185 and gave the empire a century of desperately needed stability. The urban renewal which had begun during the late 9th century was therefore able to continue throughout the 10th and 11th centuries, reaching a peak in the early 12th. This was naturally accompanied by the growth of an urban bourgeoisie, a class which was instrumental in the promotion of a more lively intellectual climate, especially in the capital, and which, by the time of the Komnenoí, had grown accustomed to a comfortable lifestyle. Despite all the difficulties, therefore, the Komnenian period witnessed a renewed surge of interest in cultural and literary pursuits and the beginnings of a distinctively 'modern' outlook on the part of the Constantinopolitan intelligentsia.

Thus despite Aléxios' part in the suppression of philosophical 'heresy', as embodied in the Platonic and Neoplatonic research of Ioánnes Italós, other, less dangerous forms of scholarship and creative writing were allowed to flourish. Important figures of this period include Aléxios' daughter, Anna Komnené (1083–c.1153, who composed a history of her father's reign universally recognized as a masterpiece of Byzantine literature), Theódoros Pródromos (c.1100–65, court poet of Aléxios' wife Eiréne Doúkaina, and of her son and grandson, Ioánnes II and Manouél I Komnenós), Ioánnes Tzétzes (c.1110–c.1180, a classical scholar of prodigious learning and energy), Eustáthios (c.1115–c.1195, a scholar, rhetorician and theologian, who served as bishop of

Thessaloniki) and the brothers Michaél (c.1138–c.1222) and Nikétas (c.1150–1215) Choniátes, (the former a pupil of Eustáthios who became bishop of Athens, the latter a distinguished statesman and one of the most important Byzantine historians).

In 1095, with the return of effective rule in the Balkans, Aléxios was ready to embark on the reconquest of Asia Minor; the main Seljuk empire in the Middle East was beginning to break up, and the time seemed ripe to take advantage of the crisis. But his plans had to be shelved indefinitely when news reached Constantinople of the imminent arrival of hordes of westerners. After the Arab conquests Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land had been allowed to continue, but this amicable arrangement came to an end with the arrival of the Seljuks in Jerusalem in 1077. Aléxios had repeatedly asked the west for help in recapturing Byzantine territory from the Seljuks, but was quite unprepared for the arrival of a mass crusade, backed by the pope, with leaders from most of the states of western Europe.

Since the Normans were prominent among the leaders of the crusade, there could be no doubt that Byzantium faced a new and terrible threat, but Aléxios managed to force an oath of allegiance from the army outside the walls of his city, together with a promise to restore any recaptured territory to the empire. The collapse of Seljuk power in the Middle East gave the crusaders their opportunity; Antioch fell in 1098, and in the following year Jerusalem was retaken. Unsurprisingly, these conquests were not handed over as promised, but instead became 'Frankish' (i.e. western/Latin) principalities, and when the Muslims were reunited under the Arab rulers of Mosul, their recovery of lost territory proceeded rapidly; Edessa and Damascus were taken in 1144 and 1154, and Jerusalem fell to Salah ad-Din (Saladin) in 1187. Prior to these counterstrikes, however, the empire enjoyed some successes of its own. In the course of a campaign in Asia Minor and Syria, Aléxios' son Ioánnes II (reigned 1118–43) forced the Latin ruler of Antioch to surrender and swear allegiance to him, while in 1159 his successor Manouél I (ruled 1143–80) compelled the king of Jerusalem to recognize Byzantine sovereignty over the Latin east as a whole.

At this point Manouél sought to extend a diplomatic olive branch, but his efforts were rebuffed by the western emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who dismissed him contemptuously as 'king of the Greeks'. Nevertheless, Manouél maintained a broadly conciliatory attitude towards the west, despite having had the increasingly lawless Venetian merchants arrested in 1171 as a threat to national security, and this approach eventually engendered a wave of anti-Latin feeling which led, soon after his death, to the massacre of Pisan and Genoese merchants in the capital in 1182. The Italian cities were now thirsting for revenge, and their opportunity was not long in coming.

An initially successful campaign against the Seljuks had turned to disaster with the crushing defeat of Manouél's army at Myrioképhalon in Asia Minor in 1176. Soon after, the different national groups in the Balkans began to break away into the independent states of Serbia and Bulgaria, and the papacy was able once again to extend its influence in the region. Finally, an alliance between Hungary and Serbia led to an attack on the Balkan cities in 1183, and the Normans swept through Greece in 1185, destroying Thessaloniki on their way. What was left of the Byzantine state now virtually ceased to function; whole territories passed into the hands of powerful local families and the sad remainder was ground down by punitive taxation. In 1194 the German emperor Henry IV succeeded to the Norman kingdom of Sicily and demanded territory

and tribute from Byzantium. This could no longer be raised by taxation and the tombs of the emperors in the Holy Apostles had to be stripped to raise the money. The end could not be far away.

In the east the crusades had greatly intensified ill-feeling towards the Latins, and the greed of the Italian merchants had steadily sapped the empire's wealth, provoking still greater hostility and violence as people began to understand the full extent of Byzantine impotence. In the west, however, many argued that the Byzantines had deliberately sabotaged the crusades and that their refusal to join the Roman church justified western intervention in the interests of their own salvation (not to mention the commercial interests of the invaders).

An unexpected opportunity soon presented itself after Pope Innocent III called for a fresh crusade to the Holy Land and Enrico Dandolo, doge of Venice, had agreed to provide the necessary ships and finance in return for the lion's share of any booty. At this critical juncture Aléxios Angelos, a pretender to the Byzantine throne, asked for western assistance in return for a large cash payment, and in 1203 the fourth crusade diverted to Constantinople to instal him. The new emperor, however, faced with implacable public hostility towards the crusaders and himself, sought to regain popular support by distancing himself from his backers. But without the crusaders' protection he was overthrown and murdered by Aléxios Moúrtzouphlos, who then set himself the task of destroying the foreign invaders. Though their position was increasingly desperate, with supplies running alarmingly low during the winter of 1204, the crusaders stuck to their task, and after a failed assault on 9 April 1204, finally secured a tenuous foothold within the city on 13 April. At this point Byzantine morale failed and the crusaders found that the city was theirs by default. They sacked it ruthlessly, and a thousand years of accumulated treasure, including the most precious Christian relics, was stripped away, while the lands of the empire were partitioned among the victors.

That the Christian capital of the east, which had survived all manner of barbarian and Islamic assaults for the best part of a thousand years, should have been sacked by a Christian army from western Europe left a permanent legacy of irredeemable bitterness and distrust. The Venetians were the principal beneficiaries, gaining nearly half of Constantinople (including Hagía Sophía) together with most of the Greek islands and ports, including the Ionian islands (Kérkyra/Corfu, Kephaloniá, Zákynthos/Zante), Euboia and Crete. Other Frankish lords carved up the rest of Greece, Thrace and north-west Asia Minor, with Baldwin of Flanders installed as emperor overall. The crusaders built castles throughout their new domain (many still to be seen today) and formed a new feudal overlay above their Greek subjects.

Byzantium was not, however, totally obliterated. Governments in exile were formed, based on the local power of individual families, in Trebizond (Trapezoús/Trabzon) on the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea, in Epirus in north-western Greece, and at Nicaea (Níkaia/Iznik) in north-west Asia Minor. Trebizond survived longest, falling to the Turks only in 1461, but was too far removed from the mainstream of events to have much influence on their course. The rivalry between Epirus and Nicaea was resolved by the defeat of the Epirote ruler by the Bulgarians, and though the territory retained its independence until formally incorporated into Serbia in 1337, only Nicaea remained in a position to claim the inheritance of the Byzantine empire.

The Latin empire had already suffered a defeat at the hands of the Bulgarians in 1205, and Thessaloniki was taken by the Epirotes in 1224. With the Latins apparently no longer able to maintain effective self-defence, the empire in Nicaea, already conducting itself as the legal government of Byzantium, finally sent its forces to enter Constantinople in 1261, and Michaél VIII Palaiológos, a general who had seized power at Nicaea three years before, was duly crowned emperor in Hagía Sophía.

But in reality his 'empire' was now a pathetic remnant. All national groups apart from the Greeks had long ago fallen away, while the greater part of former Byzantine territory still remained in 'Frankish', Arab or Turkish hands. Some land, however, was successfully recovered, most notably the south-east of the Morea (as the Franks called the Peloponnese) with its fortified townships of Mystrás and Monembasía, from which the reconquest of much of the rest of the Peloponnese was able to proceed. Mystrás in particular came to enjoy considerable prosperity, serving as the capital of the 'despotate' of the Morea, with its rulers drawn from families close to the throne, including a junior branch of the imperial family itself.

Though the recovery was inevitably only partial, the new geographical compactness gave a remarkable political and cultural cohesion to the Palaiologan period, which produced one final Byzantine renaissance before the inevitable fall. Its artwork (icons, frescos and mosaics) is particularly striking, and the period also produced scholars central to the survival of classical Greek texts, such as Máximos Planoúdes (c.1255–1305) and Demétrios Triklínios (14th century). But the material decline was all too apparent; Constantinople in particular was now far too big for its population and large areas of the city simply reverted to open countryside, while the imperial palace, having fallen into disrepair, was replaced by a much smaller, and more affordable palace in the Blachernai district, beside the city's land walls.

For the first 20 years of his reign Michaél Palaiológos was obliged to maintain an army to cover the western approaches in case the long-threatened Latin retaliation materialized. This left his eastern frontier dangerously undermanned, and when the Mongol invasions of the mid-13th century brought confusion to the Seljuk states of Asia Minor, the emergence from among them of the aggressive Osmanli (Ottoman) dynasty presented a new threat against which the impoverished Byzantine state could mount no effective response. Nicaea fell in 1329, and by the 1350s Gallipoli on the European side of the Bosporus was also under the sultan's control.

By this time the Byzantine coinage had been replaced by the Venetian ducat, and the 'empire of the Romans' was little more than a petty kingdom fought over by a succession of pretenders who were the vassals of the Italians or the Ottoman Sultan. As in the dark days of the 8th and 9th centuries, this political and economic crisis once again went hand in hand with a religious controversy. Monks on Mount Athos (the Holy Mountain) in Chalkidiké had developed a method of silent prayer called *hesychía* (ἡσυχία [isi'çia] 'silence') based on the teaching of an 11th-century mystic, and its practitioners soon came to be known as Hesychasts. Though approved by a church council in 1351, it became a central issue in the civil war between the general Ioánnes Kantakouzenós, who espoused the Hesychast cause, and the legitimate regent Ioánnes V Palaiológos (reigned 1341–91), who was supported by the mass of the populace and backed 'orthodox' religious practice. This view was also endorsed by the patriarchs,

who preached that all would eventually turn out well if only the Byzantines held to their true faith.

But Byzantium had not sought alliances with the other Balkan powers, including the expanding Serbian empire which now controlled most of Macedonia. These lands were picked off one by one by the Turks in the late 14th century, Macedonia in 1371, Serbia in 1389 and Bulgaria in 1393. Constantinople itself was blockaded in 1397 and saved only by the fact that the Mongols under Timur Lenk (Tamburlaine) attacked the Turks' eastern front and drew the besieging army away.

As Ottoman forces progressively overran eastern Europe, leaving only the capital and the despotate of the Morea in Byzantine hands, the hated west remained the sole possible source of help, and desperate appeals were duly made, including a personal tour of western capitals by Manouél II Palaiológos (ruled 1391–425) in 1399. But the enduring schism between the eastern and western churches proved to be an insuperable problem. Proclamation of union on the basis of accepting the *filioque* clause in the creed was the price demanded for western aid, and this Byzantium could not pay in the face of resolute popular feeling against it.

The respite from the final act of Turkish aggression lasted for some fifty years and during this period several more attempts were made to achieve church union and so draw in the west. A draft agreement was eventually reached in 1438 by the emperor Ioánnes VIII Palaiológos, who had led a delegation to the Council of Ferrara–Florence, but he was still unable to impose the terms on his defiant subjects, whose distrust of the 'Franks' persisted unabated. The promised relief army was in any case destroyed by the Turks at Varna in 1444, and no further help was then forthcoming.

Byzantium therefore had to meet the final attack alone, though with the courageous assistance of the remaining Italian residents of the city. The Ottoman sultan, Mehmet II ('the Conqueror'), prepared his forces meticulously and the siege began on 6 April 1453. Huge cannon blasted holes in the land walls but the defenders, only some 7,000 in number, consistently managed to fill the breaches with rubble. A crucial moment came when the sultan opened a second front by bringing his ships into the Golden Horn overland on a primitive railway, so bypassing the defensive mole across the entrance to this waterway and threatening the harbour walls directly.

By the last week in May the defenders could offer little further resistance and huge crowds gathered in Hagía Sophía on 28 May, despite their previous boycott in the face of the attempted imposition of church union. That same night the final assault was launched and the Turks eventually broke through a small gate near the Blachernai palace just before sunrise on 29 May. The last Roman emperor, Konstantínos XI Palaiológos, a former despot of the Morea who had been crowned at Mystrás in 1449, died in the fighting along with some 4,000 others. Approximately 50,000 more were taken prisoner and, in accordance with Islamic custom, three days of looting were permitted, though the destruction of buildings was limited on the orders of the sultan, and some of the churches were left untouched for the future use of the Christian population (see Runciman (1965), Nicol (1992)).

From this time until the proclamation of the independent Greek kingdom in the 19th century there was no autonomous Greek-speaking state, and the vast majority of Greek speakers lived in relative poverty, isolated from the artistic, cultural and technological developments that soon began to reshape the west.

Note

1 The Byzantines, acutely conscious of the linguistic and ethnic differences between themselves and the Latins of the west, will henceforth be referred to by means of conventional transcriptions of their Greek names rather than the Latinized equivalents standardly used by British and American Byzantinists.

8

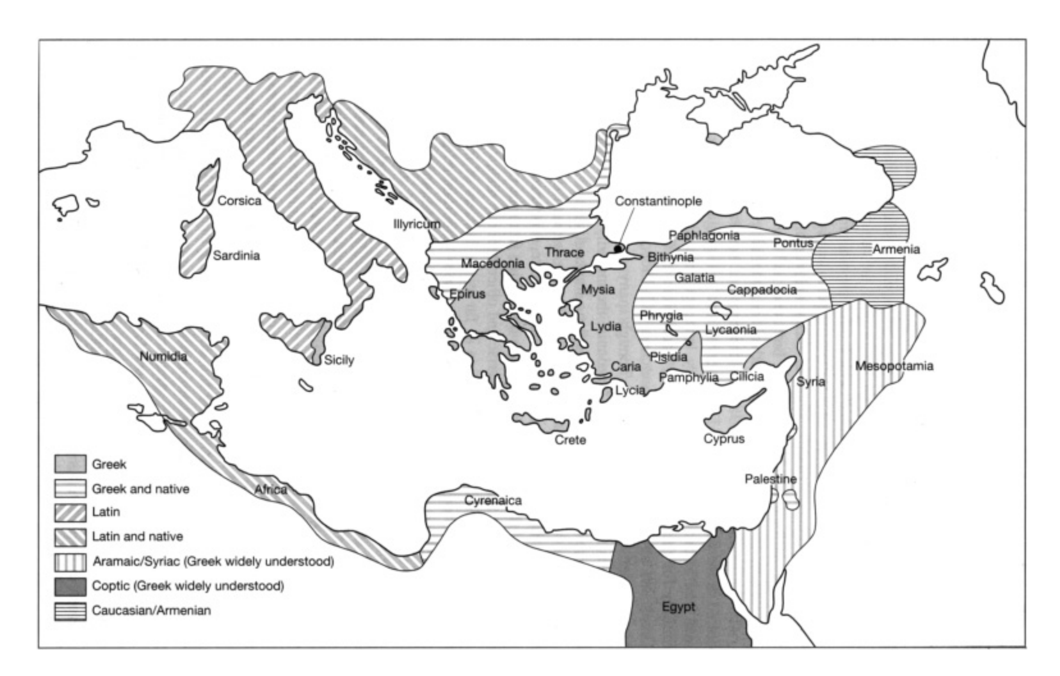
Greek in the Byzantine Empire: The Major Issues

8.1 Introduction

The Byzantine state survived for over a thousand years, and during that time underwent many ethnographic and territorial upheavals. It is perhaps most useful to begin with an account of the status of Greek in the early period, at the time of Ioustinianós' reconquest of Italy and North Africa in the late 6th century (cf. Mango (1980: 13–31)). Some important shifts of outlook began to set in during the course of the successful middle Byzantine period (see 8.3), and we eventually see some limited experimentation with the potential of 'popular' Greek during the 11th/12th-century revival ushered in by the Komnenian dynasty after the catastrophic loss of Asia Minor (see 8.4).

8.2 Greek and Other Languages in the Early Byzantine Period

In Ioustinianós' time Latin and Greek served as the primary cultural and the sole official languages of the Roman empire, and in the cities would have served adequately for purposes of communication, written and spoken, at all levels. Linguistically, the empire was divided by a line running above Thrace, Macedonia and Epirus, and down across the Mediterranean to divide north Africa at the western end of Cyrenaica: north and west of this line Latin was the common language, elsewhere Greek fulfilled this function. Each was spoken competently in its respective part of the empire by all educated people and the majority of city-dwellers, even if neither Latin nor Greek was their native language. Before the fall of the west, universal Roman institutions and general mobility guaranteed that many people had at least a working knowledge of the 'other' official language as well, though this was already becoming rarer by the 6th century. The rural majority, of course, remained largely uneducated, and many of those who came from areas where other languages were learned natively would have known neither Greek nor Latin well, if at all.



Map 2 Linguistic map of the Byzantine empire c.560

Constantinople had been a cosmopolitan city from its foundation, and now included communities of Jews, Goths, Huns, Thracians, Syrians, Egyptians, other north Africans, Illyrians (including the emperor Ioustinianós himself) and Italians. The last three groups still spoke Latin among themselves, but despite the residual role of Latin in the army, the law and the administration, Greek had always been the first language of the majority in the city and was already in practice the official language of the state; all who aspired to high office were obliged to know and use it.

The coastal areas of Asia Minor had been culturally and linguistically Hellenized (and then Romanized) for nearly a millennium and a half. Though the Anatolian plateau inland had begun to come under the influence of this dominant culture only after Alexander's conquests, the descendants of indigenous peoples such as the Lycians, Pamphylians (Sidetians), Isaurians, Pisidians, Lycaonians, Carians, Lydians, Phrygians and Cappadocians, as well as immigrant groups of Celts, Goths, Jews and Persians, were also fairly well Hellenized by the 6th century, as evidenced not only by the many thousands of public and private inscriptions in Greek from all areas in Hellenistic and Roman times, but also by the survival of pockets of Greek in villages right across Asia Minor until the 19th or early 20th centuries. By that time these were located primarily in Pontus, Cappadocia and the district around Phárasa, but isolated settlements also survived in Bithynia, Lydia, Caria, Lycia and Sílli, close to Konya in Lycaonia (Dawkins (1916)). Though some of the most western Greek settlements, particularly in Bithynia and Caria, originated in Turkish times with the transfer of people from Europe, there is good evidence that the majority of these Greek dialects in fact represented a fragmented residue of the Asiatic Koine as it developed through the middle ages. By contrast, though some of the native languages of Asia Minor are attested epigraphically (Neumann (1980), Brixhe (2002), Rutherford (2002)), the material becomes quite

meagre by the later Hellenistic period and dies out completely in early Christian times. Some of these languages presumably continued as spoken patois for a considerable time after that, but the evidence for the dominant position of Greek by the early Byzantine period is overwhelming.

To the east of Cappadocia lay the provinces of Armenia, which had been acquired in the 4th century AD and served as a northern buffer against Persia. Here Armenian had been developed as a literary language from the 5th century onwards, initially for the purpose of providing translations of Christian texts composed in Greek and Syriac, and this, in conjunction with Monophysite belief, had fostered the retention of a strong sense of national identity. Though many Armenians migrated westwards into Asia Minor and as far as Thrace and Macedonia, becoming thoroughly Hellenized and serving the empire as soldiers (and some even as emperors), the majority in Armenia itself proved consistently resistant to cultural and linguistic imperialism; cf. the emperor Mauríkios' proposal, quoted by the 7th-century Armenian historian Sebeos (Macler (1904: 30–1)), to resettle these 'unsubmissive scoundrels', or the uniformly hostile references in Anna Komnené's 12th-century *Alexiad*.

To the south of the Armenian provinces lay the western tip of Mesopotamia, where Syriac, the lingua franca of the Persian empire, remained the dominant language as part of the legacy of the Parthian occupation from the mid-2nd century BC to the mid-2nd century AD. Syriac and other Aramaic dialects extended southwards through Syria and Palestine as far as the borders of Egypt, and from the 4th century onwards, Syriac had also become an important religious and literary language in line with the growing importance of local cultures in the east following the upheavals of the 3rd century and the weakening of central Roman control.

Despite intensive colonization in the Macedonian period, and the continuous operation of a Greek-speaking administration, Greek in Syria and western Mesopotamia was still primarily confined to the major cities, where the upper classes at least were bilingual. The urban centres of the Phoenician coast, however (Byblos, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre), were more heavily Hellenized, and bilingualism in Greek and Phoenician had gradually given way there to the use of Greek alone, at least as a written language. To the south too, where Palestine enjoyed great prosperity because of pilgrimage to the holy places, Greek was widely known among the native population at all levels of society (cf. Rosén (1980)), though we should not forget the testimony of the 4th-century Spanish pilgrim Egeria (*Peregrinatio Egeriae*) that church services in Jerusalem were translated into both Latin and Aramaic for the benefit of western visitors and locals who did not know Greek.

In Egypt, Greek was naturally the dominant language of Alexandria and the other Hellenistic foundations of Naucratis and Ptolemais. Administrative documents intended for the population as a whole, however, were standardly published in both Greek and Coptic, and it seems certain that a great many Greeks and Egyptians remained virtually monolingual. But though the urban upper classes kept themselves very much to themselves (indeed intermarriage was expressly forbidden in certain cities), social interaction between ordinary Greeks and native Egyptians was more routine, and this, along with the widespread employment of Egyptians as local administrators, promoted some degree of bilingualism, as evidenced by the vast numbers of papyri written in Greek by Egyptians. Official documents in particular are routinely composed in an excellent

Koine, and it is only in examples of private correspondence that any real variations in competence are revealed (cf. Teodorsson (1977: 11–24), Lüddeckens (1980: 248–60)).

Egyptian/Coptic, however, had always enjoyed high status among the native Egyptians because of its long written tradition and its association with the old religion. This prestige was enhanced from the end of the 3rd century BC onwards, when a 'native reaction' to Ptolemaic rule began, reflected in uprisings, strikes and the growing power of the priesthood. From c. AD 300 Coptic became a major vehicle for Egyptian Christianity in a period when the local church, again committed to Monophysite doctrine, had begun to dissociate itself from the orthodoxy of the capital, and Greek was often presented as the language of an alien hierarchy imposed from Constantinople.

The western provinces of north Africa had all been thoroughly Romanized in classical times, though Phoenician (residually in Carthage) and Berber (in country areas generally) remained in use alongside 'official' Latin. Across the Mediterranean, Latin naturally remained the principal language of Italy, and served as the official language in the new western capital of Ravenna, though Greek survived strongly in the south of Italy and in eastern Sicily. The Balkans, however, were overrun by successive groups of Huns, Goths, Avars, Bulgars and Slavs, and the native population of Illyrians, Dacians, Moesians, Thracians and Greeks was in great distress. By the early 7th century only major coastal cities such as Thessaloniki, Athens and Corinth had been able to resist the barbarian influx intact, and many people sought refuge on offshore islands or simply emigrated to safer territory. One can only assume from the fact of the survival of Greek and the eventual elimination of Slavic dialects from the southern part of the Balkan peninsula that a majority there continued to speak the language at this time.[1]

8.3 The Prestige of Greek

If we follow Mango (1980: 23), and take the approximate population of the eastern empire in the mid-6th century to have been around 30 million (8 million in Egypt, 9 million in the Middle East, 10 million in Asia Minor, and 3 million in the Balkans), then Greek, despite its supreme status as the only international cultural language, the sole language of higher education, the universal language of imperial administration and the spoken lingua franca, would probably have been a true first language for only about one third of that population, the majority of these in the Balkans and Asia Minor.

This can be explained partly by traditional Greek exclusiveness, which inhibited the Greco-Macedonian aristocracies of the Hellenistic age from pursuing an active policy of Hellenization among their subject peoples (despite the founding of major cities), and partly as a result of the retention of a sense of national consciousness on the part of major ethnic groups such as Egyptians, Syrians and Armenians throughout the Roman period. But while it is certain that many of the poorest peasants outside Greece and coastal Asia Minor knew little or no Greek, the fact that a great deal of popular Christian literature (e.g. martyrdoms and saints' lives) was composed in a non-classicizing form of the language throughout the east in the late antique and early Byzantine periods (see 8.5.6) implies an extensive knowledge of spoken and basic

written Greek at other levels of society. This was the inevitable product of long-term Roman/Byzantine administration, primary education, routine employment in the bureaucracy, and intermarriage. Similarly in the middle Byzantine period, the standard use of Greek for the evangelization of non-Christian peoples who had settled within imperial territory, e.g. the Slavs in the Balkans, evidently presupposes some prior familiarity with at least the spoken language among the target audience, even if the process was painfully slow, cf. Mango (1980: 28–9).

Nevertheless, in the early Byzantine period, when the empire still included the Middle East and Egypt, there could be no question of the development of any specifically 'Greek' national consciousness. The local elites, once so conscious of the cultural and ethnic differences between themselves and their Roman rulers, had been steadily recruited into the higher levels of Roman society, where their pervasive influence transformed the old Roman ruling class and facilitated the creation of a genuinely Greco-Roman civilization. But in the course of this blending process the Greek-speaking upper classes had themselves been transformed. As the traditionally dominant group in the east, they had been able to retain a unique position of prestige and influence, and by exploiting these advantages, had once again come to dominate much of the political and economic life of the eastern provinces. They thus gradually became 'Romans' not merely in law but also in sentiment, as the principal beneficiaries of an administration which, with the passage of time, they could increasingly view as being under their own, rather than alien, control.

This growing identification of the Greek-speaking aristocracy with the interests of the Roman state inhibited the development of any clear sense of apartness. By the 6th century Greek, as we have seen, was not merely the native language of 'Greeks', but the universal spoken, cultural and official language of the upper classes in four-fifths of what remained of the Roman empire. Unlike Coptic, Syriac or Armenian, therefore, it could never be seen simply, or even primarily, as a defining characteristic of a particular national group or region. Indeed, since the Byzantines, irrespective of ethnic background, quite reasonably referred to themselves as Romans, the contemporary form of their language also came to be known as 'Roman' (ρωμαίικα [ro'meika]), a name routinely used for spoken Greek until the 19th century, and sometimes still employed today.

Thus even though Greek was without question the dominant language, the early Byzantine empire remained a multiethnic and multilingual state in which traditional Greco-Roman culture, reshaped within the context of Christian Orthodoxy, played the major unifying role (despite the periodic emergence of 'heretical' movements). Before the final breakdown of settled urban civilization in the 7th century, this culture was still largely common to east and west (cf., for example, the great Byzantine churches of Ravenna), despite the Latin/Greek divide and the emergence of differences in liturgical practice.

But the isolation of the Byzantine 'dark age' during the 7th and 8th centuries inevitably led to greater cultural and religious divergence, and this ushered in the long process of political and ecclesiastical alienation that was finally to culminate in the disaster of 1204. By the beginning of the middle period, two hundred years of autonomous development had led to a growing awareness that contemporary 'Romania' (now deprived of Egypt and Syria) was something very different from the Frankish

'Holy Roman Empire' that had been constructed out of the ruin of the west. The scholar-emperor Konstantínos VII Porphyrogénnetos (reigned 913–59), for example, notes in the introduction to his work *On the Themes* (Pertusi (1952)) that his predecessors in the time of Herákleios 'had been Hellenized and discarded the language of their fathers, the Roman tongue'. Konstantínos' assertion is true to the extent that this period indeed marks the final abandonment of Latin in even its residual functions, but it also confirms that by the 10th century a distinct 'east Roman' identity had been constructed by the Byzantine aristocracy.

This marks a shift towards the closer identification of eastern Romanness with the specifically Greek contributions to the Byzantine cultural heritage, and it became a major preoccupation of the Byzantine elite throughout the history of the middle and later empire, pursued with great determination in periods of military and economic stability, to preserve and contribute to what was perceived as a continuous tradition incorporating ancient Greek, Hellenistic and Orthodox Christian components. They may still have been Romans, with an unbroken line of emperors in Constantinople going back 600 years, but they were also the trustees of ancient Hellenism and Orthodox Christianity, with their own language and cultural and religious traditions increasingly distinct from their western counterparts. The text of the patriarch Michaél Keroullários' anathematization of the papal legation in 1054 (Will (1861: 155–68)) already refers to the latter as 'men coming out of the darkness', and imperiously dismisses the pope's letter of excommunication as blasphemous.

8.4 Greek in the Later Empire

8.4.1 Introduction

The end of the middle Byzantine period is usually associated with the loss of eastern and central Anatolia to the Seljuks, and of Sicily and southern Italy to the Normans (e.g. Kazhdan and Franklin (1984: 14)). Thereafter, educated Byzantines of the 11th and 12th centuries, conventional rhetoric about universal empire notwithstanding, were obliged to rethink their place in the world (see Beaton (1996: 7, 207–27), Magdalino (1991, 1992, 1993), Ricks and Magdalino (1998) for a range of views). The immediate effect of the disastrous territorial losses at the end of the 11th century was to reduce the Byzantine state to an area comprising parts of the Balkans (essentially Greece, including Macedonia and Thrace) and the western coasts of Asia Minor, an area in which a majority were native speakers of Greek (Bryer (1981)). Under threat from Muslim Turks and Catholic Franks, it was natural that the Byzantine elite should have sought a fresh demonstration of the continuing cultural vigour of the New Rome, and one manifestation of this aspiration was a heightened interest in the literary traditions of ancient Greece. In the Komnenian period (1081–1180), therefore, rhetoric returned to centre stage and there was a renewed engagement with long-neglected fields such as romantic fiction and satire – alongside the appearance of an entirely new genre of wryly comic begging poetry reflecting the more hierarchical structure of society and the development of a system of patronage. But there were other factors at work besides. Although the shift from the more profound intellectual climate of the 11th century has

been associated with the re-emergence of an audience for popular forms of secular literature (Mango (1980: 237)), we should not forget that Aléxios I Komnenós was a ruthless autocrat who had terminated the revival of pagan philosophy by staging the trial of the then professor, Ioánnes Italós, on charges of heresy. In an increasingly totalitarian environment a return to literary preoccupations and a retreat into the fantasy world of romance are not difficult to understand.

8.4.2 Byzantine Atticism

After the excesses of 2nd-century Atticism, the prose writers of late antiquity had combined features of classical Attic and higher registers of the Koine into a more-or-less sustainable literary standard (see 5.5). This sort of style returned to favour following the dark age of the 7th and 8th centuries, and in the absence of a wider reading public in the early middle ages, began to influence forms of composition that had traditionally employed a more popular register (cf. 8.5 below). Collections of martyrologies and saints' lives, for example, were transposed into a higher register by the civil servant and monk Symeón Metaphrastés ('Translator', second half of the 10th century), and even chronicles came to be written in a more learned form of Greek. Henceforth the continuum of normal written Greek ranged from an updated literary Koine with Attic-style flourishes down to plainer official and academic varieties, including the language of ecclesiastical discourse. Great efforts were made to sustain these forms of writing, which remained a powerful symbol of cultural prestige, and after the military disasters of the late 11th century we see, as noted, a renewed interest in classical models, but also in elaborated stylistic and rhetorical flourishes that widened still further the gap between spoken and literary Greek.

It should be emphasized, however, that even the most literary of Byzantine writers did not think of themselves as actually writing classical Attic (cf. Renauld (1920), Dawkins (1953: 256), Ševčenko (1981)). Those who strove for a 'classical' style still saw themselves as contributing to a continuous tradition, and so felt free to model their usage as much on the practice of the writers of the Second Sophistic, or on that of their immediate predecessors, as on that of classical writers *sensu stricto*. The complex intertextuality of literary work of this period has often been underestimated because of the misconception that medieval writers remained in a fixed linguistic relationship with models taken from the golden age of Athens. The form of language used, for example, in the histories of Anna Komnené (dealing with the reign of her father Aléxios I, 1081–1118) or Nikétas Choniátes (recounting the period from 1118 up to the capture of Constantinople by the fourth crusade in 1204), is best seen, rather like that of the original Atticists, as an affirmation of the continuing importance of a cultural tradition threatened by external forces. It cannot be overemphasized that these writers did not merely perpetuate the language and genres of the past in an attitude of mindless servility; their approach was motivated by considerations of national pride, and their usage involved a consciously creative blending of all the rich and diverse materials at their disposal (see chapter 9).

Accusations of pastiche, therefore, or of failure to write 'correctly' in the Attic of the 5th century BC (see, for example, Mango (1980: ch. 13)), are largely beside the point. All Greek literary dialects, beginning with that of the Homeric epic, evolved

'artificially' in the hands of later practitioners, since we are dealing in each case not with slavish attempts to copy, but with the creative redeployment of learned forms of the language in new cultural contexts. Nor should we forget that stylization of diction and content along generic lines was a key characteristic of ancient writing; the apparent 'timelessness' of much Byzantine work (Mango (1980: 241)) simply shows that its authors had also followed the conventions of a medium whose role in the present demanded continuity with the practice of the past. It is pure anachronism to blame Byzantine writers for facilitating the transmission of a state of mind that spawned the now reviled *katharévousa* (the 'purified' written language adopted as a national standard in the 19th century, cf. Part III, chapter 17).

It is, none the less, undeniable that Byzantine literary prose, with its recherché vocabulary, elaborated word orders, rhetorical tropes and abundant literary quotation, today tends to convey an impression of verbose and clichéd opacity. But Byzantine tastes and expectations were very different; in particular, rhetorical manipulation was greatly enjoyed, and overt originality (as opposed to inventive redeployment) was less highly valued in a cultural context in which the authority of the tradition remained paramount. Nor should we forget that the ancient classics, with which Byzantine writing is often disparagingly compared, represent the merest fraction of total output, surviving in large part precisely because of their exceptional merit. The significant fact about Byzantine literature is not that mediocrity predominates (a universal state of affairs), but that works of distinction were composed in every period in which intellectual life was able to flourish. Taking historiography as our example, we may mention Prokópios from the time of Ioustinianós, Michaél Psellós from the dying years of the Macedonian period, Anna Komnené and Nikétas Choniátes from the Komnenian period, and Nikephóros Gregorás and Michaél Kritóboulos from the Palaiologan Renaissance and the first years of Ottoman rule.

8.4.3 The first experiments with the vernacular

The learned romances of the Komnenian period were naturally written in a traditional form of archaizing Greek and looked back to antiquity for much of their inspiration. But the revival of interest in the genre may also owe something to the model provided by the 'popular' tale of *Digenés Akrítes*, which celebrates in verse the exploits of a Roman hero against the Arabs on the old Euphrates frontier (Alexíou (1985), Beaton (1996), Ricks (1990), Beaton and Ricks (1993), Jeffreys (1998), and see 12.2.1). Though six versions survive, the earliest and most important are the vernacular version of the Escorial manuscript (E) and the more learned version of the Grottaferrata manuscript (G). The text of the former, dating to the end of the 15th century, has an episodic character with many serious distortions, including unmetrical lines, that require painstaking reconstruction on the part of modern editors. Alexíou and Ricks have none the less argued for an original composition of the 12th century, now lost, whose style and content are best reflected in E, while the more unified account of G is seen as the result of transposition into a middle written register in conformity with the literary expectations of the period. Others are more cautious (e.g. Jeffreys (1998)): the issue of priority between vernacular and learned versions is unlikely to be settled definitively without significant new information, and even if the vernacular

version does prove to be the earlier, the reliability of a problematical 15th-century manuscript as a witness to a supposed 12th-century original cannot be taken for granted.

If, however, we adopt the existence of such an original as a working hypothesis,[2] its author may have been a refugee, living in the capital after the battle of Manzikert (1071), who wished to preserve examples of oral heroic poetry from his Anatolian homeland through a 'literary' compilation of thematically linked tales (hence the episodic character of E, cf. Beaton (1996), Ricks (1990)). A possible example of the putative ballad-style source material is provided by the surviving *Song of Armoúres*, which shares the use of the unrhymed 15-syllable 'political' verse (on which see 12.1.3). It is proposed that the literarization of this previously oral/popular genre was validated through deployment of thematic and structural conventions taken from the hagiographic tradition (cf. 8.5.6, 10.3), through the incorporation of material familiar from the secular novels of antiquity (the renewed interest in which is reflected in the learned romances), and even by a comparison with Homer. Though much necessarily remains uncertain, this scenario offers an appealing, and not altogether implausible, reconstruction of the background to E.

The language is certainly consistent with such a view of the poem's genesis, showing *inter alia* such oral features as formulaic repetition, preference for parataxis (i.e. avoidance of complex subordination) and the grammatical and lexical heterogeneity typical of an oral tradition, including the metrically motivated preservation of variant forms. It is also overwhelmingly 'popular' in character (Mackridge (1993a)) and, as far as we can tell, dialectally non-specific. The presence of archaizing elements of grammar and diction, especially in religious contexts, is also consistent with the proposed supplementation from written sources involved in developing a new literary language out of the traditional diction of oral poetry (Ricks (1990: 24)).

But even if we assume that this account approximates to the reality of the times, the potentially revolutionary use of the vernacular for the literary composition of verse romances seems not to have had widespread or immediate impact. Only in the later Palaiologan period, in a cultural climate in which western influences, affecting *inter alia* attitudes to language, were pervasive, was the blending of popular and learned components reintroduced on a significant scale, specifically as the standard form of language for fictional literature (cf. 8.4.5, 12.3.1 and 12.3.4). There was, however, a brief period of experimentation with the vernacular in court circles prior to the capture of Constantinople by the fourth crusade in 1204. This small body of work is thematically unrelated to heroic/romantic fiction, but again uses the 'popular' 15-syllable verse form, presumably in line with its own non-traditional subject matter. It comprises the four comic begging poems (*Poems of Poor Pródromos*) often attributed to the court poet Theódoros Pródromos (Eideneier (1991), Alexíou (1994)), and a composition entitled *Verses Written while Held Imprisoned* by the chronicler and imperial civil servant Michaél Glykás. The *Poems of Poor Pródromos* exhibit a vernacular style that incorporates a great deal of contemporary urban vocabulary, but they also include elements from the language of the court, and the deliberate juxtaposition of the two registers is exploited as a source of humour (cf. 12.2.2). Glykás' usage is also mixed, varying according to whether he is making serious pleas to the emperor (in a rhetorically elaborated and learned style), narrating his own racy anecdotes (in a register

perhaps reflecting the aristocratic vernacular), or quoting and elaborating on proverbial words of wisdom (apparently in a more popular variety).

The restricted and predominantly comic use of the vernacular at this time indicates that a written language based on spoken Greek (even the spoken Greek of the aristocracy) was not yet a serious long-term option. Though there is no reason to doubt that the conversational Greek of the upper classes was closer to spoken norms than the formal language of the court (cf. Dawkins (1953: 258)), or indeed that the Greek written for everyday purposes was significantly less conservative than the conventional language of literature and scholarship, the literary exploitation of such varieties could only have seemed an amusing distraction to an elite whose education and instincts led them to seek validation by reference to tradition, and for whom the capacity to read and write the forms of Greek supplied by that tradition remained fundamental to their sense of who they were. The beginnings of a readjustment to traditional Byzantine perceptions were initiated by the catastrophe of 1204, and promoted thereafter by the ever greater influx of western ideas and practices occasioned by the decentralization of power following the advent of western rule and western settlers in much of the former territory of the empire.

8.4.4 The vernacular literature of the 14th and 15th centuries

Though all serious literature continued to require traditional media within the residual Byzantine state, western use of the modern Romance languages for writing, especially the writing of romances, was influential in the development of a corresponding Greek idiom for the kind of fictional literature that was once again in demand during the 14th and 15th centuries (cf. 8.4.5 and 12.3). Other vernacular work of this period includes a collection of political allegories ostensibly dealing with animals, birds, fruit and fish, the last two of which are, for the first time, written in prose (Beck (1971: 173–9)).

A further consequence of western rule was an extension of the vernacular style to compositions with near-contemporary historical content, such as the *Chronicle of the Tocco*, celebrating the exploits of the ruling dynasty in Epirus, and the *Chronicle of the Morea*, an early 14th-century account of the capture of Constantinople and the subsequent deeds of the de Villehardouin family in the Peloponnese (cf. 12.3.3). To judge by its anti-Byzantine views, the latter is probably by a writer of French immigrant stock who cared little for the Greek literary tradition (cf. Shawcross (2009)) and introduced elements of his own spoken Greek, presumably reflecting the Peloponnesian vernacular of the era, into language otherwise reminiscent of traditional forms of popular verse.

Another, long-term, consequence was the eventual emergence of distinctively dialectal literature in major cultural centres such as Cyprus and Crete (cf. 12.4, and see Part III, 14.2.4). There can be no doubt that the spoken Greek of the middle ages, particularly among the lower social classes, was already well-diversified by region (cf. chapter 11). But the decisive break with traditional cultural values occasioned by western government brought local varieties into prominence as written (official and literary) media in an unprecedented way, particularly in the two greatest of the Greek islands, both of which had already experienced disruption in the continuity of Byzantine

rule prior to 1204. We therefore have poetry with recognizably Cretan characteristics from the latter part of the 14th century, marking the beginning of a literary tradition that culminates in the masterpieces of the 16th/17th-century 'Cretan Renaissance'. From Cyprus there is the translation of a corpus of French legal texts (*Assizes*, 14th century), a collection of poems in the manner of Petrarch, and prose chronicles by Geórgios Boustrónios and Leóntios Machairás (*Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus*) all composed in an early form of Cypriot.

8.4.5 The romances

The period of literary experimentation with spoken registers in the 12th century was brief, dying out some twenty years before the capture of Constantinople in 1204. When the vernacular reappears in work of the mid-13th, 14th and 15th centuries, including both original romances and tales translated from western originals, it is as an increasingly uniform art-language with little regional variation or local character and a mixed (vernacular/learned) appearance. It is immediately clear from the array of variant readings in the surviving manuscripts that the verbal accuracy expected in the copying of classical or learned texts did not extend to such work. These linguistic and textual issues merit consideration.

The story of *Líbistros and Rodámne* perhaps belongs to the mid-late 13th century (Agapitós (2006), Lendári (2007: 65–71)), those of *Kallímachos and Chrysorróe* and *Bélthandros and Chrysántza* to the first half of the 14th century; the *Tale of Achilles* is now thought to date to the mid-14th century. Of these original romances, only the tale of *Kallímachos and Chrysorróe* can be attributed with any confidence to a known author, namely Andrónikos Palaiológos, nephew of the first Palaiologan emperor, Michaél VIII. They display affinities with both earlier vernacular work and the learned romances of the 12th century, and probably once again represent the work of a literary circle closely connected with the imperial court in Constantinople (see Beaton (1996)).

By contrast, such evidence as we have suggests that the translated romances originated in Latin-dominated lands. The *War of Troy* (from the *Roman de Troie* by Benoît de St Maure) is perhaps the earliest of these, dating to around 1350. It involves some reduction of the original, and also shows evidence of influence from the learned verse chronicle composed in 12th-century Constantinople by Konstantínos Manassés (8.5.5). *Phlórios and Plátzia-Phlóre* (translated from a Tuscan version of the French *Fleur et Blanchefleur*) is usually assigned to the late 14th/early 15th century, and the translator seems most probably to have lived in the French-occupied Peloponnese. Its relatively simple language and versification reflect a popular/vernacular style in some ways reminiscent of the *Chronicle of the Morea*, but the composition is more accomplished, with evidence of borrowing from the didactic poem *Spanéas* (a 12th- or 13th-century transposition into the vernacular of an earlier Byzantine collection of moral precepts). *Impérios and Margaróna* is more a précis than a translation of its apparent source (*Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelonne*), though the Greek text may well predate the earliest surviving French manuscript, dated 1453, and so be based on a version now lost. Both this tale and that of *Apollónios of Tyre* (translated from a 14th-century Italian prose text some time before 1450) enjoyed great popularity down into the early modern period, as evidenced by the publication in Venice of a new Greek translation

of *Apollónios*, in rhyming couplets, c.1525, and a rhymed version of *Impérios* in 1543. The Greek translation of Boccaccio's *Theseid* was also printed in Venice in 1529, though the translation itself was most probably carried out in the late 15th/early 16th century in Venetian-ruled Crete. In language and style it shows influence from the earlier romances but also links the 14th/15th-century tradition with the later dialect literature of the Cretan Renaissance (14.2.4).

By contrast, the poem conventionally called *The Old Knight* (the manuscript offers no title) belongs to the very different tradition of the Arthurian cycle, a collection of stories that normally lacked any Greek connection. This particular tale, however, makes reference to 'Palamedes from Babylon', a minor character who first appears in the Arthurian tradition in the early 13th century, and this seems to have motivated an isolated translation from an otherwise alien corpus. The Greek text is thought to date from the early 15th century and to be based on a French or Italian version derived from an 'introduction' added to the French romance *Guiron de Courtois* (or *Palamedes*) in the late 13th century. Its language and style are markedly more archaic than those of the other romances, and its allusions to Homer are alien to both the western tradition and the mainstream Greek romance.

The chief issue for historians of the Greek language, however, is that of the origin and development of the mixed language of the romances. This is intimately connected with the question of why the romances display so many common themes and so much common diction, and why there are so many textual discrepancies among different versions of the same story. Competing theories are surveyed by Beaton (1996), whose principal conclusions are summarized here.

M. and E. Jeffreys have argued individually (e.g. M. Jeffreys (1973, 1974, 1987), E. Jeffreys (1979, 1981)) and jointly (e.g. 1971, 1979, 1983, 1986) that the textual discrepancies are the product of partially oral transmission involving a mind-set on the part of copyists that led them to 'improve' their material in the manner of the epic rhapsodes of pre-classical Greece. According to this approach, the metre and diction of written vernacular poetry (though not its subject matter) were modelled on a centuries-old oral tradition of narrative verse that had produced a linguistic amalgam of archaisms and more contemporary forms. Others have argued that some of the poems may be the direct products of such an oral tradition (e.g. Trypánis (1981: 535–43), or that different manuscript readings reflect different performances of orally transmitted texts (e.g. Eideneier (1987), Smith (1987)). By contrast, Spadaro (1966, 1975, 1976a, 1976b, 1977, 1978a, 1978b, 1981, 1987) has sought to explain these common features as the product of straightforward plagiarism by literate writers lacking creative talent, while van Gemert and Bakker (1981), Bakker (1987), Bakker and van Gemert (1988), prefer an account in terms of scribal interpolation and contamination, the occurrence of which is well supported by the conspicuous sharing of verbal characteristics by two or more poems in a single manuscript to the exclusion of other versions of the same poems.

The latter approach is clearly valid in specific cases, but the overall similarities of structure, theme and diction must ultimately be due to factors of the kind proposed by the Jeffreys and Spadaro, namely widespread borrowing, including the incorporation of traditional Greek elements into the translated romances. But elements that are ultimately of oral origin might easily have become the subject of fully literate borrow-

ing and further development at a later date, as suggested by connections between the original romances and poetry of the 12th century, and by the fact that some of the 'oral' phraseology in the romances appears to be compositionally non-functional or even original (Baüml (1984)). In all probability, then, the literate authors/translators of the romances appealed simultaneously to traditional oral poetry, to learned and vernacular literary compositions of the 12th century, and to the contemporary fictional literature of the west, sometimes developing new turns of phrase of their own that were in turn borrowed and adapted in a process leading to the development of a 'modern' literary vernacular. Furthermore, since these were far from being classic works of an established literary canon, their status remained correspondingly low and transmission often lay in the hands of copyists who also composed (Eideneier (1982/3)), thus allowing for easy adaptation and redeployment of other people's material in their own work, or of their material in the work of others.

From this perspective, the mixed language of the romances may well reflect a distant oral background, but is not itself primarily or exclusively of oral origin. After all, the principal initiative for using a written version of the vernacular came 'from above' in both the 12th and the 14th centuries, and the earliest authors, all members of the metropolitan elite, seemingly forged a new literary language with a vernacular base out of the heterogeneous spoken and written varieties familiar to them. With the passage of time, however, the language of romances became steadily more popular, as vernacular forms replaced learned counterparts in the context of the breakdown of political and educational institutions in the Greek-speaking world, a process applying both to later compositions/translations and to later copies of earlier texts.

But this process was never taken to completion in Byzantine lands, where, in the wake of Turkish occupation, the survivors instinctively reverted to traditional forms of written expression. In Venetian Crete, by contrast, where the evolution of a modern written style continued until the island fell to the Turks in 1669, a literary vehicle of great range and subtlety was developed out of just such a blend of learned and spoken (now specifically dialectal) elements, cf. 14.2.4. But Crete alone could not provide a standard for the fragmented Greek world as a whole, and when partial Greek independence came in the 19th century, the debate about the form a modern standard language should take was undertaken virtually *ab initio* (cf. Part III, 15.4 and chapter 17).

8.4.6 Other vernacular material

In the later middle ages basic literacy began once again to extend down the social scale in a process reflected in a steady demand for written material of a practical kind. From around the beginning of the 14th century, therefore, we have the renewed appearance, in both Byzantine and Latin-dominated territories, of homilies, sermons, reference works (e.g. home cures, horoscopes and travel guides) and assorted low-level documentation (e.g. personal letters, local archives, wills and other private legal documents), all composed in forms of language significantly closer to the spoken norms of the age than traditional written varieties hitherto (see, for example, Panayiotákis (1993)). Much of this was inevitably produced by people who were unable to write in a more learned fashion, but there may also be a few texts written by members of

the elite on practical matters, such as the three letters of Cardinal Bessaríon (1403–72) discussed in Lámbros (1908), which contrast starkly with his Atticizing literary letters (see Mohler (1942), Trapp (1993)).[3] The volume of such vernacular prose material is still considerable, though its inherent banality militated against general survival. In areas later subject to Ottoman rule the trend to wider literacy was in any case slowed. This is, none the less, an important corrective source of information about the state of spoken Greek in the period, which has traditionally been based heavily on the evidence of vernacular poetry (cf. Manoléssou (2003a)).

8.5 'The Koine' in Byzantium

8.5.1 The inheritance from antiquity

The Koine in late antiquity already represented a wide range of written and spoken styles whose use passed seamlessly into the early middle ages. At the top end of this spectrum was the heavily Atticized Greek used for literary composition and epistolography. This shaded downwards into the official language of imperial and patriarchal administration and the more free-flowing style of academic and theological debate (see Hinterberger (2006) for the notion of a high Byzantine *Schriftkoine*). All of these varieties retained an essentially ancient form on the surface, especially in morphology, but in different degrees incorporated elements of contemporary syntax and lexicon through natural interference with spoken Greek, many of which then became standard in the relevant style through imitation and repeated use.

In the centre of the linguistic spectrum was the more routine language of day-to-day administration, which was syntactically simpler, and, in the interests of wider intelligibility, allowed a greater degree of compromise with spoken Greek. Alongside this was the 'literary' colloquial based on the practice of the New Testament and other early Christian writing, which was much more lively and varied in its usage, and at least in the early stages of its development, permitted a fairly direct interface with the spoken language.

Although the social and regional dialects of spoken Greek in late antiquity were also treated as varieties of the Koine in Part I, it is customary, as above, to refer to the spoken Greek of the Byzantine period, and to the written varieties eventually based on it, as 'the vernacular'. Since the elaborated literary language of the elite also stands apart from the norms of the written Byzantine Koine, this term ('the Koine') will be used henceforth to refer specifically to the spectrum of established but non-belletristic varieties of written Greek that were inherited from the ancient world and then adapted and developed in their new medieval context.

8.5.2 Academic and ecclesiastical Greek

Alongside the Atticized writings of authors such as Michaél Psellós (see Böhlig (1956) for discussion), there was an 'academic' style that continued the technical, philosophical and scientific Koine of late antiquity. This is well illustrated by the *Bibliotheca* of the 9th-century patriarch Phótios, certain sections of the private works of the emperor Konstantínos VII in the 10th century (see 8.5.4 and 10.4.1), the miscellaneous writings

of the churchman Eustáthios from the 12th century (though not his historiography), and the scholarly works of Máximos Planoúdes and Theódoros Metochités from the Palaiologan period. This practical style of the educated elite, employed for discussion of matters of a learned nature, shows a steady pattern of retarded compromise with the evolution of educated varieties of spoken Greek, as we shall see in chapter 10.

The church hierarchy also employed a plainer continuation of the Koine for most purposes, including ecclesiastical administration, since the recherché classicizing of higher forms of secular writing was felt to characterize literature associated with pagan antiquity (see Hunger and Kresten (1981), Cupane et al. (1995), Koder et al. (2001) for a full edition of the documents of the 14th century). A distinctively ecclesiastical variant of scholarly Greek also evolved during the middle and late Byzantine periods, involving its own characteristic vocabulary, but similarly lacking the more 'elegant' (i.e. Attic/literary) features of secular belles lettres and the 'livelier' (i.e. vernacular) elements of popular forms of written Greek. A good example of this style is provided by the work of the 14th-century theologian Gregórios Palamás, bishop of Thessaloniki and author of the work *Defence of the Holy Hesychasts* (Chréstou (1962, 1966, 1970)).

In the Ottoman period the Greek intelligentsia increasingly identified itself with the Orthodox church, which at that time offered the only institutional structures capable of sustaining scholarly activity. The language of ecclesiastical administration and the language of academic, now primarily theological, discourse therefore developed hand in hand, until eventually Greek speakers, first in western and then in Ottoman territories, began to assume positions of influence and responsibility in contemporary politics and commerce and more generally to broaden their intellectual horizons. Under the impact first of the Renaissance (mainly in the west) and then of the European Enlightenment, the normal written language of the educated classes started to develop in line with the revival of secular learning and the emergence of new perspectives. Many elements of contemporary spoken Greek were now absorbed, together with a great deal of new terminology calqued on the usage of western languages, especially French. By the latter part of the 18th century this had led to the emergence of a common rhetorical style among Greek intellectuals which, acrimonious debate notwithstanding, formed the *de facto* basis for the official language of the independent Greek kingdom in the early 19th century (see chapter 15).

8.5.3 Official and administrative Greek

The Egyptian papyri peter out in the 8th century in the wake of the Arab conquest and inscriptions of all kinds become exceedingly rare after c.600 (see 12.1.2 for the major exception). Our knowledge of official writing in the middle ages therefore depends almost exclusively on the survival of manuscript copies of imperial and ecclesiastical decrees, diplomatic documents and correspondence. Such archive material begins to be preserved in ever greater quantity from the latter part of the 10th century onwards (see, for example, the collections in Miklosich and Müller (1860–90)), and is composed for the most part in a modernized version of the high administrative Koine of late antiquity, providing eloquent testimony to the ingrained conservatism of the Greek-speaking establishment (see 10.7).

During the period of western rule after 1204, however, and even in the Ottoman period, Greek retained something of its status as a diplomatic language in the eastern Mediterranean, and the style employed for such purposes by foreigners and Greeks operating outside the sphere of the Constantinopolitan establishment was rather closer to that of the educated speech of the relevant periods (cf. 15.1).

8.5.4 Practical writing in the middle period

Given the dearth of relevant documentary material, we are obliged, in attempting to trace the development of less elevated forms of Greek through the middle Byzantine period (i.e. from the 7th to the 12th centuries), to rely on those literary sources which, for traditional or generic reasons, permitted rather higher levels of compromise with developments in the spoken language than the varieties considered so far.

In the secular domain we have a number of texts dealing with practical rather than scholarly matters, and designed exclusively to inform rather than to entertain. These typically employ a more basic style than that of strictly academic discourse, and especially when not intended for general publication, provide valuable insights into the educated colloquial Greek of their times. Notable in this connection are the confidential works attributed to the emperor Konstantínos VII Porphyrogénnetos (905–59), which originally circulated privately among the members of the imperial household.[4] The *De Caeremoniis*, for example, is a guide to court ceremonial, while the *De Administrando Imperio*, composed in the form of an advisory memorandum to his son, Romanós II, includes much secret information about foreign policy. In the introductions to both works, the emperor justifies, in a literary style, the deliberate avoidance thereafter of 'Atticized' writing in the interests of clarity and effective instruction (cf. 10.4.1). Collectively, however, they remain the works of educated men, ranging stylistically from a near-academic register, with influences from the language of imperial administration, to a more basic variant that owes much to the conventions of the chronographic tradition (see 8.5.5 below).

There are also military handbooks (the *Corpus Tacticorum*), and a late 11th-century piece entitled *Strategikón* ('generalship/strategy') by a man named Kekauménos, a landowner in northern Greece who belonged to a family of Armenian origin. He may or may not be the distinguished Byzantine general Katakálon Kekauménos, but he certainly based his manual of advice to his son on personal experience as a military commander and provincial governor. Besides military counsel, the book also offers guidance on aspects of daily life, and reveals the conservative piety and deep-seated suspicion of a landed aristocrat who believed the old order was passing away. He professes not to have received a literary education (191), and writes accordingly in a simple style (see 10.4.2), providing valuable insights into the educated colloquial of the period, and revealing a written language poised between the constraints of ancient written precedent and contemporary spoken norms.

8.5.5 Chronicles

Perhaps the most important genre falling within the general category of middle-to-popular writing, however, is the world chronicle or chronography, in which secular

and religious interests combine (cf. Croke (1990), Scott (1990), and see 10.2). Work of this kind had its origins in the Hellenistic period, when the clash of Greek, Egyptian and Jewish traditions in the great cosmopolitan cities had first highlighted the need for the synchronization of different traditions and the establishment of chronological priorities. Subsequent Christianization brought an increased sensitivity to such questions, centring on the origins of particular beliefs and principles of behaviour. But once the Christian Greco-Roman world, including its classical past and traditional mythology, had been 'successfully' synchronized with the Hebrew world of the Old Testament, the focus was transferred, towards the end of the 3rd century, to the construction of an absolute chronology of 'events', from the creation, via the incarnation, to the present, and the development of a framework for the calculation of future events prophesied in scripture (above all the second coming and the end of the world). Many of the great Christian writers of the Roman imperial period (e.g. Clement, Origen and Eusebius) played an important role in these enterprises, and by the 6th century a large body of relevant work had been compiled, which then served as source material for the eclectic chronographers of the subsequent era.

We should note at the outset that chronicles and histories had fundamentally different purposes. Narrative history in the classical tradition, composed in an Atticizing style and carefully distinguishing 'history' from 'myth', dealt with designated periods in a spirit of enquiry, and was intended to provide knowledge and recreation for an educated elite while simultaneously praising the achievements of emperors. The last example before the Byzantine dark age is the history of the reign of the emperor Mauríkios (582–602) by Theophýlaktos Simokáttes. Chronicles on the other hand had universal scope, treated the creation and the wars of Ioustinianós alike as 'events' in time, and were intended to serve as works of reference for literate Christians of all ranks. In general they do little more than list occurrences by year, although religious and political polemic became an established component of the tradition.

This rather sharp distinction became somewhat blurred during the Iconoclastic period, when the widespread collapse of urban civilization occasioned by the Arab conquests led to the demise of narrative history and other scholarly activity, and traditionally popular forms of writing were raised stylistically as the reading public became increasingly restricted. Consequently, even as times improved, a rather high chronographic style prevailed, so that Michaél Psellós, for example, was able to call his highly literary biographical memoirs of the emperors and empresses from 976 to 1078 a *Chronographía* (perhaps in part because it lacked the distanced formality of the Thucydidean tradition). But connected historical narratives dealing with specific periods were again attempted from the time of the patriarch Nikephóros (served 806–15), with a true revival of historiography in the 10th century under the patronage of Konstantínos VII (e.g. the *History of the Emperors* by Iosépḥ Genésios, covering the years 813–86, or the anonymous continuation of Theophánes' chronicle to 961). Historical writing in the classical tradition, however, resumed in earnest with Michaél Attaleiátes (c.1028–c.1085), and, as noted, such work continued into the age of the Palaiológoi.

The early Byzantine chronicles reflect an emerging interpretation of history as the working out of God's plan for mankind, in which the emperor is seen as the instrument of divine will, and the empire as an earthly reflection of the divine kingdom (a

Hellenistic conceit first adapted to the Christian/Roman context by Eusebius). There is no good reason to think, as was often supposed in the past, that they were typically compiled by poorly educated provincial monks in an effort to present a Christian view of world history to the rural masses (cf. Beck (1965: 188–97), Mango (1980: 189–200) for discussion of this important point). Though they may sometimes seem naive and uncritical to a modern reader (Nicol (1991: 77)), many were put together by high-ranking officials (some of whom were also, or later became, monks), and they reflect, in the context of a conceptual framework of considerable sophistication and complexity, the same intellectual preconceptions and preoccupations as seen in contemporary histories (see, for example, the papers in Jeffreys et al. (1990)). As practical works of reference, however, they reflect, at least in the earlier periods, a range of unpretentious styles directly related to the diverse sources from which the material was typically excerpted, particularly those of day-to-day administration and the popular Christian tradition.

Important examples from the early and middle Byzantine periods include the work of the 6th-century Syrian Ioánnes Malálas, dealing with the period from the creation to 565 (*malal* is Syriac for ῥήτωρ ['ritor] 'orator/sophist', i.e. someone with a good education); the anonymous 7th-century *Paschal Chronicle*, designed to provide an accurate framework for calculating the dates of Easter and other Christian festivals by setting out events from the creation down to 629; the continuation of the work of Geórgios Sýnkellos (monk and secretary to the patriarch), compiled by the Constantinopolitan aristocrat (later monk) Theophánes in the early 9th century, and covering the period 284–81; the mid 9th-century *Chronicle* of Geórgios Monachós ('Monk'), covering the creation down to 842 (later extended to 948); the various versions of the 10th-century work most frequently attributed to Symeón Logothétes ('Chancellor', conceivably the same man who transposed the saints' lives into 'better' Greek), which provide a further extension down to 948 of an earlier chronicle that had originally covered the period from Adam to 714, but had already been extended to 842 (Scott (1990: 46–7)); and finally, in the 11th century, the chronicle/history of Ioánnes Skylítzes, covering the years 811–1057 (later extended to 1079), and the chronicle of Geórgios Kedrenós, dealing with the period from the creation to 1057.

As expected, the linguistic register of such work rose as the literate population contracted, and the chronographic style, originally quite closely related to the language of day-to-day administration (as seen most clearly in Malálas, for example), begins to merge with that of academic discourse from the 10th century onwards. Theophánes, working in the final years of Iconoclasm, is an important transitional figure in this development. In the later Byzantine period, therefore, we have the rather scholarly work of Ioánnes Zonarás, a 12th-century court official, who again became a monk in later life. This covers the years from the creation to 1118, and uses many sources that are now lost. There is also the less impressive, though very popular, verse chronicle entitled *Sýnopsis Istoriké* by the government official Konstantínos Manassés (who was also the author of one of the 'learned' verse romances mentioned above), dealing with the same period, but presumably intended to entertain as much as to inform the growing reading public of the period. Both suggest an elaborated middle style, in line with the conventions of the period, though Zonarás also reflects the more Atticized

style of some of his sources (e.g. in his paraphrase of Cassius Dio in books 7–9, dealing with the period from the landing of Aeneas in Italy to 146 BC).

Subsequent chronographic work, however, suffered a marked decline in quality, a process that can perhaps be explained by the strong revival of 'literary' historiography in the Palaiologan period, as represented by the works of writers such as Geórgios Akropolítes (1217–82), Nikephóros Gregorás (1290–1360), Ioánnes VI Kantakouzenós (died 1382), ?Michaél Doúkas (c.1400–c.1470) and Michaél Kritóboulos (c.1400–post 1467). None the less, chronicles continued to be written after the fall of Constantinople, and such works supplied the basic 'historical' reading matter for the bulk of the Greek people until the beginnings of the modern era. Their still essentially medieval world view was severely limited by the superficiality of much of the ancient research on which the tradition was based, but they did help to foster an attitude of unquestioning piety that was actively promoted by the church in the Ottoman period (Mango (1980: 199–200)).

8.5.6 Christian exegetical literature and hagiography

The linguistic precedent provided by the Septuagint and the New Testament, backed up by the works of the early church fathers, offered a continuing validation for thematically related compositions in a basic style aimed at the still quite extensive reading public of late antiquity and the early middle ages.

Some of this popular Christian work was strictly exegetical in character, and was often originally delivered in the form of sermons composed to explain the mysteries to the masses who had begun to flock to the churches with the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman state. Leading figures such as Cyril of Jerusalem and John Chrysostom played a central role in this enterprise, and collections of their works were circulated widely in a style which, while retaining a biblical feel, was clearly designed to be accessible. An important example of work in this tradition from the Iconoclastic period is the *Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation* of St Germanós, patriarch of Constantinople from 715 to 730 (Meyendorff (1984)), which offers an allegorical account of the Orthodox liturgy which soon assumed near-definitive status. Its language remains close to that of the scriptures, and indeed the author quotes widely from them, though it has been updated in a number of minor details and displays evidence of the author's considerable learning (see 10.3.2).

Hagiographic works (cf. 10.3.1) also continued to be composed in a basic written style, and it should be noted that many were still being written by leading members of the church hierarchy in the early Byzantine period. A major example is provided by the *Life* of St John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria, composed by his friend and fellow-Cypriot Leóntios, bishop of Neápolis (c.590–c.650). This presents an attractive picture of the flamboyant churchman on his daily rounds, protecting refugees from the Persian invasion of Syria against unscrupulous predators and founding hospitals and poor-houses for their long-term safety.

Other works of this kind were written by educated monks, including the collection of edifying tales in the *Leimón* (*Spiritual Meadow*) of Ioánnes Móschos (c.550–619), and the lives of the Palestinian saints by Kýrillos of Skythópolis (c.524–c.558). Once again, it should not be assumed that the use of a more popular form of Greek at this

time reflects anything other than a desire to communicate widely. Móschos, for example, travelled with Sophrónios, later patriarch of Jerusalem, before his death in Rome in 619, while many other 'monkish' writers in the genre were in fact employed in the church administration or had enjoyed high-ranking civil-service careers before their retirement from the world.

During the middle Byzantine period, as noted, many lives were transposed into a higher style in order to bring them into line with the expectations of the now small and exclusively well-educated reading public that survived in the cities. Thereafter, the Greek of this tradition tends to merge with that of the previously more elaborated ecclesiastical style to form a single spectrum (cf. the similar approximation of the chronographic and academic varieties in the same period).

The hagiographic tradition continued into the 11th century, when a steep decline set in reflecting the greater sophistication of an age in which secular scholarship was reviving strongly. The exegetical tradition, however, underwent something of a revival from the latter half of the 15th century, when the first examples of homiletic in a truly modern vernacular style, composed by the clergyman Nathanaél (or Neílos) Bértos, make their appearance in lands still ruled by western powers,[5] where the successful use of contemporary Romance by Catholic priests had doubtless made a powerful impression on their Orthodox counterparts (see Panayiotákis (1993: 255–6), Schartau (1974: 11–85, 1976: 70–5)).

8.5.7 A new written standard in the later empire

Taking a general overview of the evolving Koine of the later middle ages, it is perhaps best to think in terms of the steady evolution, from heterogeneous sources, of a single 'standard language' for educated discourse. This employed classical morphology overall, but had eliminated certain classical categories, and could be stylistically varied by the adoption or avoidance of particular sets of differential 'markers' (mainly lexical and phraseological). Increasingly, we see in such middle-register writing the crystallization of a common syntactic framework, defined more and more for such fundamental properties as word order and pronoun placement by the norms of the modern language, but still requiring the mechanical addition and/or substitution of learned vocabulary items, and the use, in varying degrees, of traditionally or generically established realizations of particular construction types.

In this connection, we should note especially the regular use of the dative to mark the indirect object and the instrument, the occasional appearance of optatives in hypothetical conditionals and other prospective subordinate clauses, the use of the accusative and infinitive construction and especially the articular infinitive after prepositions, and the retention of the full array of inflected participles, though even these, when not nominalized, appear mainly in the nominative (subject-orientated adjuncts) or the genitive (the traditional absolute construction). Only the highest literary varieties deviate markedly from this norm through a more thoroughgoing adherence to classical diction and rules of syntax, thus falling outside the boundaries of the late medieval Koine.

From the Komnenian period onwards, therefore, between the extremes of Atticized belles lettres and vernacular experimentation, a partially homogenized middle range

of written styles, drawing on both secular and religious traditions, continued to be used whenever communication was felt to be more important than a show of learning (cf. Browning (1978)). Many important writers of the period, including Theódoros Pródromos, Michaél Glykás, Konstantínos Manassés and Ioánnes Tzétzes, used both high and middle styles (and in some cases also the vernacular) in their literary and scholarly output, the choice determined in part by their attitude and intended audience, in part by their subject matter.

The standard character of this register is reflected directly in the continued practice of transposition, seen previously in the work of Symeón Metaphrastés, who applied the practice 'upwards' to the traditionally low-brow language of saints' lives, apparently aiming for a minimally Atticized but still non-vernacular variety with mainly classical morphology but simplified (albeit archaizing) syntax and non-recherché (if also traditional) vocabulary. In the Palaiologan period, however, we also find examples of transposition 'down' from classicizing Greek, as (probably) in the moralizing poem *Spanéas*, of which there is also a truly vernacular version (cf. Spadaro (1982–3)), and in the metaphrases of literary histories, in which the transposers seem to have aimed for the educated idiom of the urban middle class, a style which, unsurprisingly, has much in common with the language of the chronographic tradition in its later manifestations (see 10.5).

8.6 The Balkan *Sprachbund*: Future Formations

No discussion of Greek in the middle ages would be complete without mentioning the convergence phenomena that are exhibited by the languages of the Balkans and whose origins go back to the Byzantine political and cultural domination of the region from the 9th century onwards.

Such convergence occurs naturally when bi- or multi-lingualism is widespread in a given region, and if that contact is prolonged, and the social networks that bind the speakers of the different languages are sufficiently tight, a set of characteristic areal phenomena may eventually emerge, irrespective of genetic relationships. The Balkans provide one of the most famous examples of this phenomenon, and the discipline of Balkan linguistics has been developed to try to address the problems raised (see e.g. Schaller (1975), Solta (1980), Joseph (1983), Friedman (2000), Tomič (2006)).

The languages centrally involved in the Balkan *Sprachbund* are Greek, Albanian, Romanian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Macedonian (i.e. the Slavic language closely related to Bulgarian which is spoken in the northern part of ancient Macedonia, formerly a republic within Yugoslavia). All are spoken in lands which were either once administered by Constantinople or at least adjacent to former Byzantine territory, and their speakers were all under long-term Byzantine cultural influence, particularly that of the Orthodox church. It is no accident that Croatian, despite its near identity with Serbian in most other respects, is excluded from the group, since the bulk of Croatia beyond southern Dalmatia (Ragusa/Dubrovnik) was never a Byzantine possession.

Sandfeld (1930) argued on the basis of the spatial extension of these features and their relative order of acquisition that Greek was the ultimate source of most of the innovations, though this conclusion has not commanded universal assent. The obvious

setting for the beginning of the process is the middle Byzantine period, after the loss of North Africa and the Middle East, when relations with the re-emerging west were tentative and sometimes hostile, and the main thrust of Byzantine foreign policy and missionary activity was redirected northwards through the Balkans, towards the Black Sea and to Russia. And as with many such cultural influences, it appears to have continued for many centuries, even after the collapse of Byzantine power and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks. Accordingly, local varieties of Turkish appear to be involved in some of the later developments.

Among the syntactic features typically discussed are two which exclude Greek and show that Sandfeld's thesis cannot be the whole story:

(1) (a) Postposed definiteness marking (including suffixation), though with each language using an indigenous morpheme/ending.
(b) The numerals 11 to 19 formed to the pattern 'one-upon-ten', etc.

The first is a feature of Albanian, Bulgarian/Macedonian (the other Slavic languages lack an article) and Romanian. Its source remains disputed, though the suffixation of a definiteness marker to object nominals in Turkish is advocated by some and the postposed article of Romanian by others.[6] The second unites the Slavic languages, Albanian and Romanian, but since the formation is shared by Russian outside the Balkan area (but not, for example, by extra-Balkan Romance) a Slavic source seems most likely.

There are, however, other characteristics which support the view that Greek played a central role in the convergence process. The most important of these is the tendency for infinitival complements to control verbs to be replaced by finite clauses with subjunctive verb forms. This had its origins in the Hellenistic Koine, as we have seen, and continued to spread thereafter (cf. chapter 11 for the Byzantine developments), to the point where the infinitive now survives only vestigially in the perfect system. The phenomenon also spread through Macedonian and Bulgarian, but it peters out in areas more remote from Greek-speaking populations. The southern dialects of Albanian, for example, use the finite construction, but the northern dialects have kept their infinitives. Similarly, Serbian follows the areal pattern, but Croatian, like the rest of Slavonic outside the Balkans, continues to use infinitives. Romanian is interesting in that, though the spoken language also follows the areal pattern, the more conservative written form of the language retains the usual infinitival constructions of Romance. It has been objected that non-Balkan Romance and much of Germanic also employ such finite complements with control verbs when the subjects of the main and subordinate clauses are referentially distinct. But the key innovation is the use of finite complements when the subjects are identical, and this is a peculiarly Balkan feature for the periods under investigation.

A particularly important example of infinitival replacement is provided by the constructions used to express futurity. Beginning in the 11th century, θέλω ['θelo] 'I wish' began to replace ἔχω ['exo], lit. 'I have', as the regular future auxiliary with an infinitival complement. This periphrasis, however, also retained its volitional use, and in the middle Byzantine period was used alongside both θέλω *νά* ['θelo na] + subjunctive to mean 'wish' and bare *νά* [na] (< *ἵνα* ['ina] 'that') + subjunctive to mean 'will'. Starting in the 14th century, however, at least some present-tense forms of θέλω ['θelo]

underwent an optional phonological reduction in the volitional construction, with 3sg θέ [θe] eventually being generalized to all persons and numbers (thus effectively becoming an uninflected volitional particle; see Joseph (1990: chs. 5, 9), Pappas (1999), Pappas and Joseph (2001), Joseph and Pappas (2002), and Markópoulos (2009) for a range of views about the origins of θέ [θe] and the development of future periphrases). Both the full-form θέλω *νά* ['θelo na] and the reduced θὲ *νά* [θe na] constructions then began to be used also as futures, and in the case of the latter this use eventually became the dominant one. It is already widespread in this function, alongside the infinitival construction, in Cretan Renaissance literature (see Holton (1993); variants such as θε*νά* [θena], θα*νά* [θana] and even θελά [θela] are also attested dialectally and in folk songs). Θὲ *νά* [θe na] was eventually simplified to θά [θa],[7] and this is already established as one form of the future in Cretan Renaissance comedy (though not yet in more 'serious' genres), where it outnumbers examples of both θέλω ['θelo] + infinitive and θὲ *νά* ['θe na] + subjunctive. The distinction between the full-form and the reduced-form construction was finally polarized to distinguish the volitional from the future, and θά [θa] is now the standard marker of futurity in modern Greek (cf. 11.3–4).

Significantly, while non-Balkan Romance and northern Albanian dialects form futures with 'have', just like post-classical and early medieval Greek and Latin, Romanian, the southern Albanian dialects, Macedonian and Bulgarian all form their futures with a reduced and uninflected auxiliary element derived from the verb 'wish', exactly like Greek in the later medieval and modern periods. This is partly true also of Serbian, but with the difference that the auxiliary is inflected for person. There is some reason, then, to believe that Greek may have been the source of this key areal characteristic on both chronological and geographical grounds, since the emergence of such an uninflected clitic auxiliary in the later middle ages (from the 14th century onwards) is unique to Greek within the Balkan territories of the former Byzantine empire.

8.7 Conclusion

In the Byzantine period the higher written forms of Greek, comprising both classicizing and more practical styles, were the only varieties to achieve 'standard' status, because they were the only varieties associated with high culture, education and the official functions of the state and its institutions. For the most part, naturally acquired varieties of the spoken language, even those used by the elite, were not considered worth cultivating as literary or official media.

But Greek speakers who were at all literate were also necessarily diglossic in some degree, because literacy could only be acquired through the study of learned written forms distinct from the vernacular. And since the norms and conventions of written Greek were primarily rooted in tradition and not in native linguistic competence, it was inevitable that all forms of writing, even those based on some form of the spoken language, would show evidence of inconsistency and variation. First and foremost, the spoken language necessarily interfered with composition in even the highest styles of writing, and even the best-educated had to work hard to maintain the various norms associated with specific genres in specific periods (which in any case were themselves

the hybrid creations of a long tradition). But writing in 'vernacular' Greek was correspondingly affected by the acquisition of literacy, through interference with the linguistic and textual conventions associated with 'higher' genres; and in this case the tendency to variation was massively reinforced by the fact that there was no prior tradition to conform to.

It is therefore imperative to keep in mind that 'Greek' in the middle ages represents a broad continuum between two extremes ('classicizing/literary' and 'popular/spoken'), a situation reflected directly in the many different written registers that are attested, and which remain our only source of information, even for spoken Greek. Lack of consistency in writing at all levels is a natural by-product of such diglossia, and it remains a characteristic feature of the medieval Koine even as this begins to develop into a more uniform, multi-purpose variety in the later Byzantine period. It also remains characteristic of vernacular writing in post-Byzantine times, as we shall see, at least until such time as the non-linguistic attributes of a standard language came to be associated with written forms linked to natively acquired spoken varieties. See Manoléssou (2008) and Toufexís (2008) for full discussion of these important issues and their implications.

Notes

1 Treadgold (1997: 427–8) argues for re-Hellenization through forced migration from Asia Minor in the early 9th century, though the reality of the situation is far from clear.

2 We may note here a mention of 'Digenen' in a Dutch text of the 13th century (M. Janssen, personal communication), which confirms that at least some version of this story had by then been widely disseminated.

3 There is a distinct possibility that the three non-literary letters are forgeries, however, given the contrast between Bessaríon's high level of learning and the rather clumsy form of Greek employed in these documents.

4 Most of these were in fact commissioned rather than written by him and embrace a range of source material and styles (see Ševčenko (1992)).

5 Bértos lived in both Crete and Rhodes.

6 In Turkish the suffix in question is in fact an object marker for definite nouns, and so hardly qualifies as an article. Romanian may be the better option in that Latin allowed the demonstrative *ille* (the principal source of the Romance article) to precede or follow modified nouns, with proto-Romanian apparently generalizing the latter.

7 Presumably via assimilation > [θa na] and apocope of the second [a] before verb forms beginning with a vowel, followed by generalization of [θa(n)] and loss of final [n].

9

Byzantine Belles Lettres

9.1 Introduction

Throughout the Byzantine era educated writers were imbued with a classicizing spirit, and though the standard for official documents and scholarly discourse remained a high Koine, literary writers were always eager to display their ancient learning in more flamboyant ways when circumstances permitted. This retrospection was fostered in the middle period by a developing pride in the continuity of their culture, which in turn promoted a sense of otherness vis-à-vis 'barbarian' peoples and lent to the language of the writers, scholars and saints in the unbroken chain linking the ancient to the medieval world a near-sacred authority.

The most obvious consequence of this continuing commitment to classical ideals is that the language of the historian Prokópios, writing in the reign of Ioustinianós in the 6th century, can in some respects be hard to distinguish from that of Michaél Kritóboulos, writing of the sack of Constantinople in the 15th. We should not, however, overlook the very considerable shift of outlook between the sophistication of late antiquity and the rather narrow piety of the early medieval period, or forget that, despite the re-emergence of a more inquisitive scholarly outlook in the 11th century, much of the literary composition of the later part of the middle Byzantine period was less strictly 'classical' in style (despite its liberal use of Attic phraseology) than that of the Palaiologan period. This resurgence of classical learning eventually (and thanks in part to the input of Byzantine refugees) led to the Renaissance in Italy, but it was never carried through to its conclusion in Byzantine lands, despite the remarkable artistic achievements of the Palaiologan period, because of the empire's desperately reduced circumstances after 1204 and the subsequent loss of the little that remained to the Ottoman Turks.

In the sections below, the literary styles of authors belonging to the three major periods of Byzantine history are exemplified and analysed.

9.2 The Early Period: Prokópios (First Half of the 6th Century)

Prokópios was a staff officer to Ioustinianós' general Belisários, and his history of the wars of reconquest is a vivid eye-witness account modelled largely on Thucydides (speeches and all), but with many features of Herodotean style and vocabulary. He was also a fine practical linguist, with a working knowledge of Latin, Syriac, Gothic, Armenian and Persian, and his account of the peoples of the empire and their enemies

constitutes a uniquely important source for the history of the period. Though he also wrote a monograph about the buildings which Ioustinianós had constructed throughout the empire, including the new Hagía Sophía, he is perhaps best known for his *Secret History,* which flatly contradicts his public view of Ioustinianós, and contains much vicious invective against the emperor's wife Theodóra. See Haury (1905–13), Hunger (1978: I, 291–300), Cameron (1985), Treadgold (2007) for further background to the man and his work.

The piece that follows comes from the *History,* and explains how the secret of silk production, a major source of future Byzantine prosperity, was first brought to Constantinople:[1]

(1) Ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν τινες μοναχῶν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἥκοντες, ... ἐς βασιλέα γενόμενοι οὕτω δὴ τὰ ἀμφὶ τῇ μετάξῃ διοικήσεσθαι ὡμολόγουν, ὡς μηκέτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκ Περσῶν τῶν σφίσι πολεμίων ἢ ἄλλου του ἔθνους τὸ ἐμπόλημα τοῦτο ποιήσωνται ... ἐνδελεχέστατα δὲ διερευνωμένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀναπυνθανομένῳ εἰ ὁ λόγος ἀληθής εἴη ἔφασκον οἱ μοναχοὶ σκώληκάς τινας τῆς μετάξης δημιουργοὺς εἶναι ... ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν σκώληκας ἐνθάδε ζῶντας διακομίζειν ἀμήχανα εἶναι ... εἶναι δὲ τῶν σκωλήκων τῶνδε τὸν γόνον ᾠὰ ἑκάστου ἀνάριθμα ... ταῦτα εἰπόντας ὁ βασιλεὺς μεγάλοις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοῖς δωρήσασθαι ὁμολογήσας τῷ ἔργῳ πείθει ἐπιρρῶσαι τὸν λόγον. οἱ δὲ ... τά τε ᾠὰ μετήνεγκαν ἐς Βυζάντιον, ἐς σκώληκάς τε ... μεταπεφυκέναι διαπραξάμενοι τρέφουσί τε συκαμίνου φύλλοις, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι μέταξαν τὸ λοιπὸν κατεστήσαντο ἐν Ῥωμαίων τῇ γῇ. (*History*, 8.17.1–7)

[i'po 'tuton toŋ 'xronon 'ton dines mona'xon eks in'don 'ikondes, ...
Around this the time of-the some monks(gen) from Indians having-come ...
ez vasi'lea je'nomeny 'uto ði t(a) am'fi ti me'taksi ðjy'cisesθe
to king becoming thus indeed the-things about the silk to-administer(fut)
omo'loɣun, os mi'ceti ro'mey ek per'son ton sfisi pole'mion i 'alu
promised, so-that no-longer Romans from Persians the to-them enemies or other
tu 'eθnus to em'bolima 'tuto py'isonde ... endele'çestata ðe
some race the purchase this may-make ... Most-persistently but
ðjerevno'meno to vasi'li ce anapynθano'meno i o 'loɣos ali'θis
examining(dat) to-the emperor(dat) and inquiring(dat) whether the story true
'ii 'efaskon y mona'çy 'skoli'kas tinas tis me'taksis ðimiur'ɣus 'ine ...
was(opt) said the monks worms certain of-the silk creators to-be ...
a'la tuz men 'skolikas en'θaðe 'zondas ðjako'mizin a'mixana 'ine ...
But the EMP worms here living(acc) to-convey impossible to-be ...
'ine ðe ton sko'likon 'tonde ton 'ɣonon o'a e'kastu a'nariθma ...
To-be but of-the worms these(gen) the offspring eggs of-each numberless ...
'tafta i'pondas o vasi'lefs me'ɣalys tus 'andras aɣa'θys
These-things having-said(acc) the emperor with-great the men(acc) benefits
ðo'risasθe omolo'jisas to 'erɣo 'piθi epir'rose tol 'loɣon. y ðe ...
to-reward having-promised(nom) in-the deed persuades to-confirm the story. They and ...
'ta te o'a me'tineŋgan ez vy'zandion, es 'skoli'kas te ... metapefy'cene
the both eggs brought to Byzantium, into worms and ... to-transform
djapra'ksameny, 'trefu'si te syka'minu 'fylys, c ap af'tu
having-effected, ... they-nourish and of-mulberry with-leaves, and from this
'jinesθe 'metaksan to ly'pon kate'stisando en ro'meon ti ji.]
to-happen silk for-the future they-established in of-Romans the land.

> 'Around this time some of the monks came from India (*in fact Sogdiana, where Nestorian missionaries were active*) … and, having presented themselves before the emperor, promised to manage the silk business so that the Romans need no longer purchase this commodity from their enemies the Persians, or from any other race … When the emperor interrogated them persistently and inquired whether their story was true, the monks replied that certain worms were the makers of silk … but that it was impossible to bring them there alive; … the offspring of these worms, however, were eggs produced by each in countless numbers … After they had spoken in this way the emperor promised to reward the men with great benefits and urged them to confirm their story in practice … They then … brought the eggs to Constantinople, and having effected their transformation … into worms, fed them on mulberry leaves and thus established the production of silk in Roman lands for the future.'

Apart from the typically Herodotean word order in τῶν τινες μοναχῶν ['ton dines mona'xon] 'some of the monks' and similar phrases in which a pronoun is sandwiched, the language is very largely based on the thousand-year-old literary Greek of classical Athens, with even the Thucydidean ἐς [es] for εἰς [is] '(in)to'. The contrast with contemporary private papyrus letters reflecting the basic spoken language of Egypt could not be starker. Over and above the wholly classical lexicon and morphology, we may note the frequent use of verb-final word order; the free use of participles and infinitives in all their classical functions, including the accusative and infinitive to mark the reported speech after ἔφασκον ['efaskon] 'they said'; the routine, non-emphatic preposing of possessive genitives; the appearance of a neuter plural adjective (ἀμήχανα [a'mixana] 'impossible') in impersonal constructions where logically the singular would be expected (a favourite Thucydidean trait); and the use of the optative εἴη ['ii] in the past-time context of the indirect question after ἀναπυνθανομένῳ [anapynθano'meno] 'inquiring'.

9.3 The Middle Period: Michaél Psellós (1018–78 or 1096)

Michaél Psellós served the empire both as an administrative officer and as a minister, and was also appointed professor of philosophy in the imperial university, a post that was re-established at his instigation.

Among his voluminous writings the *Chronographía*, in which he recounts the history of his time in the form of vivid memoirs and character sketches, is perhaps the most famous (see Renauld (1926–8), Sewter (1966), Hunger (1978: I, 372–81), Wilson (1983: 156–66), Pietsch (2005)). This work represents one of the high points of Byzantine prose writing, and the author's personal involvement in the events described imparts an unusual degree of vitality to the narrative. In line with what was said above ((8.4.2) his Atticized high style comprises not only strictly classical forms and constructions but also many elements of Hellenistic or Roman origin beside the tangled Byzantine word orders and over-complex phrases encouraged by the rhetorical bias of the higher education system.

Though he generally sticks to classical rules of morphology and syntax, including a particular liking for the dual, his work also displays evidence of development in the formation and use of some elements of classical Greek that had long been abandoned in the spoken language. The irregular athematic verbs with 1sg present indicative in

-μι [-mi], for example, show a markedly reduced and simplified paradigm, while the perfect is often employed as a simple substitute for the aorist, and the pluperfect, widely replaced by periphrases with 'be' + aorist participle by the 6th century, normally lacks its classical augment (if the tradition is to be trusted). He also employs a number of characteristic Byzantinisms that were well established through classroom teaching, such as the free use of the optative as a 'marked' variant of the subjunctive even in non-past contexts (much as 'may' and 'might' are now used almost interchangeably by most speakers of English; see also 10.4.1). An example occurs at the beginning of chapter 66 of the *Chronographía,* where Psellós describes how the empress Zoé made a 'living' icon of Christ:[2]

(2) ἀμέλει τοι καὶ τὸν ἐκείνης, ἵν' οὕτως **εἴποιμι**, Ἰησοῦν διαμορφώσασα ἀκριβέστερον, καὶ λαμπροτέρᾳ ὕλῃ ποικίλασα, μικροῦ δεῖν ἔμπνουν εἰργάσατο τὸ εἰκόνισμα.

[a'meli ti ce ton e'cinis, ina 'utos **'ipimi,** ji'sun
without-doubt surely both the of-her, that thus I-might-speak(opt), Jesus
ðjamor'fosasa akri'vesteron, ce lambro'tera 'ili pi'cilasa,
having-shaped more-accurately, and with-brighter material having-decorated,
mi'kru 'ðin 'empnun ir'ɣasato to i'konizma.]
a-little short-of breathing she-made the image.

'Certainly, having given a more accurate shape to "her" Jesus, so to speak, and embellished it with brighter materials, she made the icon almost breathe.'

Since the optative appears in an authorial parenthesis, it cannot be justified by the rules of classical syntax. Indeed, the normal classical construction uses an infinitive (ὡς εἰπεῖν [os i'pin] 'so to-say'), so the construction has apparently been influenced by contemporary spoken usage, in which the subjunctive had already replaced the infinitive in many functions, but with the choice of the optative giving a more 'learned' gloss.

The following extract, describing the uprising against the emperor Michaél V Kalaphátes ('Caulker', his father's trade), gives a typical sample of Psellós' writing. Michaél had been adopted by the empress Zoé (cf. above), who was the widow of his predecessor, but when, having come to the throne in 1041, he tried to have her shut away in a convent, the people deposed him:

(3) Ὥσπερ γάρ τινος ξύμπαντες κρείττονος μετεσχηκότες πνεύματος, οὐκ ἔτι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων ἑωρῶντο τῆς ψυχῆς καταστάσεων, ἀλλ' οἵ τε δρόμοι αὐτῶν μανικώτεραι καὶ χεῖρες ἐρρωμενέστεραι, καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αἱ βολαὶ πυρώδεις τε καὶ ἐνθουσιῶσαι, οἵ τε τοῦ σώματος τόνοι ῥωμαλεώτεροι, μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι δὲ πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημονέστερον ἢ μετατίθεσθαι τῶν βουλευμάτων οὐδεὶς τῶν πάντων ἐβούλετό γε, ἢ τοῦ συμβουλεύοντος ἦν.

Δόξαν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ πρῶτα ἐπὶ τὸ γένος ἐκείνου χωρεῖν καὶ τοὺς σεμνοὺς ἐκείνων οἴκους καταστρέφειν καὶ ὑπερόγκους, ἔργου τε εἴχοντο, καὶ ὁμοῦ προσέβαλλον, καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν εἰς ἔδαφος κατερρήγνυτο, καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων τὰ μὲν ἐπικεκάλυπτο, τὰ δ' ἀνακεκάλυπτο· ἐπεκαλύπτοντο μὲν ὀροφαὶ εἰς γῆν πίπτουσαι, ἀνεκαλύπτοντο δὲ κρηπῖδες γῆθεν ἀναρρηγνύμεναι, ὥσπερ αὐτῶν τῆς γῆς τὸ ἄχθος ἀποφορτιζομένης καὶ ἀπορριπτούσης τοὺς θεμελίους. (*Khronographía*, 28–9)

['osper ɣar tinos 'ksimbandes 'kritonos metesçi'kotes
as-if for some(gen) all-men(nom) greater(gen) having-shared(nom)
'pnevmatos, uk 'eti epi tom bro'teron eo'rondo tis psi'çis kata'staseon,
spirit(gen), not still in the former they-seemed of-the soul states,
al i te 'ðromi afton mani'kotere ce 'çires erome'nestere, ce ton
but the both runnings of-them more-frantic and hands stronger, and of-the
ofθal'mon e vo'le pi'roðis te ce enθusi'ose, 'i te tu 'somatos 'toni
eyes the blows fiery both and impassioned, the and of-the body cords/sinews
romale'oteri, metariθ'mizesθe ðe pros to efsçimo'nesteron
more-powerful, to-be-reformed and towards the more-dignified
i meta'tiθesθe tom vulev'maton u'ðis tom 'bandon e'vule'to je,
or to-change from-the plans none of-the all (would-have-)wished at-least,
i tu simvu'levondos in.
or of-the(-man) advising would-have-been.
'ðoksan ðe aftis ta 'prota epi to 'jenos e'cinu xo'rin
it-having-seemed-good and to-them the first against the family of-that(-man) to go
ce tus sem'nus e'cinon 'ikus kata'strefin ce iper'oŋgus, 'erɣu te 'ixondo,
and the grand of-them houses to-overturn and over-sized, task both they-held-to,
ce o'mu pros'evalon, ce to 'ksimban is 'eðafos kate'riɣnito,
and together they-attacked, and the all to ground was-torn-down,
ce ton ikoðomi'maton ta-men e'pice'kalipto, ta-ð
and of the houses some (parts) became-covered, other (parts)
anace'kalipto; epeka'liptondo men oro'fe iz jin 'piptuse,
became-uncovered; were-covered on-the-one-hand roofs to earth falling,
aneka'liptondo ðe kri'piðes 'jiθen anariɣ'nimene, 'osper afton
were-uncovered on-the-other-hand basements from-earth erupting, as-if of-them
tiz jis to 'axθos apofortizo'menis ce apori'ptusis tus θeme'lius.]
the earth the burden(acc) unloading and casting-away the foundations.

'As if sharing in some greater inspiration, they seemed no longer to be in their former state of mind; their running was more frantic and their hands stronger, their glances fiery and impassioned, and their sinews more powerful. Not one of the whole mass of people (?would have) wished in any way to revert to more dignified behaviour or to depart from his intentions, nor would any have been on the side of a man who so advised them.

Having resolved first to march against the emperor's family and to tear down their grand and over-sized houses, they stuck to their task and made a general attack. Everything was razed to the ground, some parts of buildings becoming covered with debris, others exposed to the heavens; thus roofs falling to the ground were covered over, basements erupting from the earth were exposed, as if the soil were unloading the burden of them and casting away the foundations.'

Most of the vocabulary here is familiar from classical Attic writers, and ξύμπας ['ksimbas] 'all' and κρείττων ['kriton] 'greater', are specifically Attic forms (with ξ- [ks-] for regular σ- [s-] and -ττ- [-tt-] for regular -σσ- [-ss-] respectively). But faithful copying of the style of any one ancient model was not the objective, as shown most clearly by the density of unusual vocabulary (e.g. in the first paragraph, the use of the passive ὁρῶμαι [o'rome] 'I am seen', in the sense 'seem'; ἐρρωμένος [ero'menos] 'healthy, vigorous'; ῥωμαλέος [roma'leos] 'strong of body'; μεταρρυθμίζομαι [metariθ'mizome]

'I reform/am reformed'), the co-presence of ξυν- [ksin-] and συν- [sin-] in different compounds, and the use of poetic phraseology as pure embellishment, rather in the manner of the 'shiny materials' used to decorate the empress's icon in (2). Ὀφθαλμῶν βολαί [ofθal'mon vo'le], for example, lit. 'blows of the eyes', i.e. 'glances', occurs only in Homer and tragedy, while γῆθεν ['jiθen] 'from the ground' is exclusively tragic: but the archaic ablatival suffix -θεν [-θen], restricted to a handful of words in normal Greek of the classical period, regained a wider use in post-classical prose writers, who borrowed freely from the poets and provided a model for Byzantine writers. By contrast, ἀποφορτίζομαι [apofor'tizome] 'I unload' makes its first appearance in non-literary prose writers of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (in passages dealing, for example, with the unloading of cargoes, or the contents of the stomach!) and was perhaps just an item of ordinary vocabulary for Psellós. Despite the striving for effect in certain phrases, there is no systematic effort to avoid the many normal words whose appearance justifies Psellós' own description of the language of the *Chronographía* as 'the Koine'.

None the less, the overall impression is broadly traditional, and few constructions are entirely unprecedented in ancient writers, even if the result is not a consistent style by classical standards. Here, for example, Psellós follows the Ionic practice seen in Herodotus of using the imperfect as an 'eye-witness' tense, its imperfective aspect seemingly involving readers directly in a situation being replayed before them. But occasionally he aims for apparently contrived special effects, such as the 'interwoven' word order of the initial clause of the first paragraph, and the odd construction at the end (assuming the text is sound), which combines 'be' with the genitive of a substantivized participle, apparently in the sense 'be (on the side) of-the(-one) advising', and there are a number of non-classical grammatical features, such as the absence of augments in the pluperfects of the second paragraph (a common morphological property in Byzantine writing): cf. ἐπι/ἀνα + (ἐ-)κε-κάλυπτο [epi/ana + (e-)ce-'kalipto], 'became covered/ uncovered'. This may be due to the belief that reduplication was functionally a marked equivalent to the augment, a consequence of the functional overlap and eventual merger of the reduplicated perfect and augmented aorist as simple past tenses in post-classical Greek.

An important feature of Medieval Greek is the modal use of the imperfect, as apparently in the final sentence of the first paragraph. This development is discussed further in 9.4 and 11.8.3 (cf. Horrocks (1995) for a full treatment). Here we may simply note that interpretation of ἦν [in] as a true past tense (i.e. 'was on the side of those who so advised') is precluded by the sense of the preceding clause, which asserts that no one 'wished' (or, taking the imperfect ἐβούλετο [e'vuleto] as modal too, 'would have wished') to change his plans, so that the possibility of there being a party present that actually advised such a course of action is ruled out. The required meaning is clearly counterfactual: 'if any one had so advised, no one would have agreed with them'. In classical Greek, modal uses of past indicatives required the support of the apodotic particle ἄν [an] (marking a hypothetical consequence), but this became confused, after the loss of distinctive vowel length, with one of the words for 'if', namely ἄν, originally [a:n], and gradually disappeared from conditional apodoses where its apparent sense rendered it inappropriate. Consider the example in (4) from the New Testament:

(4) εἰ τὰ ἔργα μὴ ἐποίησα ..., ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ εἴχοσαν (John 15. 24)

[i ta 'erga mẹ e'pyẹsa ... , amar'tian uk 'ik^hosan]
if the deeds not I-had-done ... , sin not they-would-have-had(impf)

'if I had not done these deeds ... , they would have had no sin'

With the disappearance of modal ἄν [an] the bare imperfect takes over as the universal marker of potentiality in all such hypothetical clauses, regardless of time reference. This development requires careful explanation, and is therefore considered separately in 9.4.

9.4 The Modal Imperfect

Unlike real events, hypothetical situations are not inherently located in time. But the past-tense forms of classical Greek could double as hypotheticals in conditional protases because the occurrence of the 'event' described logically (rather than strictly temporally) precedes the consequence expressed in the apodosis: cf. the two readings of *if (ever) she came, I would go*.[3] The choice between aorist and imperfect here was purely aspectual, with the aorist normally taking a past-time reading because of the incompatibility of perfective aspect with present time reference, and the imperfect generally favouring, but by no means requiring, a present reading because of the association of the present moment with progressiveness (one meaning of the imperfective aspect). This atemporal modal use of the imperfect was also compatible with future interpretations, and the imperfect eventually came to be used in future-referring conditionals in place of the moribund optative (cf. again the two readings of *if (ever) she came, …*). We therefore move into a situation in which imperfect indicatives in the protases of hypothetical conditionals could have past, present or future time reference, promoting a reinterpretation of the imperfect, in this context, as a general marker of hypothetical/counterfactual modality, rather as if a clause such as *if she came* could mean not only 'if she were to come', but also 'if she were coming' and 'if she had come'.

But the imperfect was also used *inter alia* to denote indefinite frequency in the past, and this notion overlaps with that of hypothetical consequentiality in apodoses; compare again the two readings of *(if she came,) I would go*. Thus when ἄν [an], the classical marker of hypothetical consequentiality, disappeared, it was again the atemporal modal imperfect that replaced the optatives (future), imperfects and aorists (present/past) that had previously been used there in combination with it. We move, therefore, from a pseudo-temporal system, which marked logical precedence in protases and hypothetical consequence in apodoses with a 'past' followed by a 'future of a past' (imperfect/aorist + ἄν [an]), to a system in which the imperfect alone marked the hypothetical character of the two situations through the modal reinterpretation of its imperfectivity. The perfective aorist therefore quickly disappeared, first from apodoses and then from protases.

Consider the following example from Callinicus' *Life of Hypatius* (5th/6th century):

(5) εἰ γὰρ ἀνήγγειλας, παρεκαλοῦμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς (*Vita Hypatii* 98.4)

[i gar an'iŋgilas, pareka'lumen ce i'mis]
if for you-called (aor), we-were-comforting(impf) also we

'For if you had appealed to us, we too would have comforted you'

Classical usage would demand the aorist + *ἄν* [an] in the apodosis in order to express the intended perfectiveness (and indirectly the pastness) of the hypothetical consequence, but this option was no longer available to an author of the late antique period writing in more popular forms of the Koine. There was, however, some risk of ambiguity in the absence of overt modality marking in such cases and this soon led to the reintroduction of a pseudo-temporal system of marking hypothetical consequentiality involving a 'conditional' periphrasis (= 'would X') consisting of the imperfect of the future auxiliaries μέλλω ['melo] or ἔχω ['exo] + infinitive. These were then used in hypothetical apodoses, alongside bare modal imperfects, from late antiquity onwards. For other developments, including the emergence of the modern pluperfect from this periphrasis, see 11.8.3. This 'low-brow' periphrastic option was not, of course, available to Psellós, but since the modal imperfect remained in use throughout the middle ages (perhaps even in educated speech), the sentence in the extract above can reasonably be assumed to contain an example of such usage, as the sense demands.

9.5 The Late Period: Anna Komnené (1083–c.1153)

Anna Komnené was the eldest daughter of Aléxios I Komnenós and Eiréne Doúkaina. When her father died in 1118, she attempted unsuccessfully to prevent her younger brother Ioánnes II from coming to the throne in the hope that her husband Nikephóros Bryénnios, the son of an earlier pretender, might succeed. She was then forced to retire to a convent, but maintained social contacts, not only founding a philosophical discussion group but compiling the material for her dramatic account of how her father saved the empire from its enemies in both the east (the Seljuks and Petcheneks) and the west (the Normans and the knights of the first crusade). Her unashamedly encomiastic narrative provides an invaluable insight into the contemporary medieval world in a language that is more consistently classical than that of Psellós, and replete with learned quotations and allusions (see Buckler (1929), Leib (1937–45), Sewter (1969), Hunger (1978: I, 400–9), Gouma-Peterson (2000)).

The following extract describes the impact of the announcement of the Norman invasion led by Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, who had sailed from Bari to Avlona, south of Dyrráchion (modern Durrës), in 1107:

(6) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς, ἔτι εἰς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἐνδιατρίβων, μεμαθηκὼς διὰ γραφῶν τοῦ δουκὸς Δυρραχίου τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διαπεραίωσιν ἐπετάχυνε τὴν ἐξέλευσιν. ἀνύστακτος γὰρ ὢν ὁ δοὺξ Δυρραχίου, μὴ διδοὺς τὸ παράπαν ὕπνον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, ὁπηνίκα διέγνω διαπλωσάμενον τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ πεδιάδα καὶ τῆς νηὸς ἀποβεβηκότα καὶ αὐτόθι που πηξάμενον χάρακα, Σκύθην μεταπεμψάμενος ὑπόπτερον δή, τὸ τοῦ λόγου, πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν τούτου διαπεραίωσιν ἐδήλου. ὃς ἐπανιόντα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ κυνηγεσίου καταλαβών, δρομαῖος εἰσελθὼν καὶ προσουδίσας τὴν κεφαλήν, τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου διαπεραίωσιν τρανῶς ἐβόα. ἅπαντες μὲν οὖν οἱ τότε παρόντες ἐπάγησαν, οὗπερ ἕκαστος ἔτυχε, καὶ πρὸς μόνην τὴν τοῦ Βαϊμούντου κλῆσιν ἀποναρκήσαντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ, πλήρης θυμοῦ καὶ φρονήματος ὤν, λύων τὸν ἱμάντα τοῦ ὑποδήματος 'Πρὸς ἄριστον,' ἔφη, 'το παρὸν τραπώμεθα· τὰ δέ γε κατὰ τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον αὖθις κατασκεψόμεθα.' (*Alexiad* 12.9)

[o ðe vasi'lefs, 'eti is tim vasi'levusan enðja'trivon, memaθi'kos
The but emperor, still in the ruling (city) staying, having-learned
ðja ɣra'fon tu ðu'kos ðira'çiu tin du vai'mundu ðjape'reosin
through letters of-the duke of-Dyrrachium the of-the Bohemond crossing
epe'taçine tin e'kselefsin. a'nistaktos ɣar on o ðuks ðira'çiu,
hastened the departure. Vigilant for being the duke of-Dyrrachium,
mi ði'ðus to pa'rapan 'ipnon tis ofθal'mis, opi'nika 'ðjeɣno
not giving the altogether sleep to-the eyes, at-the-moment-when he-learned
ðjaplo'samenon tom vai'mundon para tin du iliri'ku pe'ðjaða
had-sailed-over(pple) the Bohemond(acc) beside the of-the Illyricum plain
ce tiz ni'os apovevi'kota ce af'toθi pu pi'ksamenon
and from-the ship had disembarked(pple) and there somewhere had-pitched(pple)
'xaraka, 'sciθin metapem'psamenos i'popteron ði, to
camp, Scythian having-summoned 'winged' indeed, (as) the(-thing)
tu 'loɣu, pros ton afto'kratora tin 'dutu ðjape'reosin e'ðilu.
of-the saying, to the emperor the of-this-man crossing revealed.
os epani'onda ton afto'kratora tu cinije'siu katala'von, ðro'meos
Who returning(acc) the emperor(acc) from-the hunt finding(nom), at-a-run
isel'θon ce prosu'ðisas tin ɟefa'lin, tin du vai'mundu ðjape'reosin
entering and bowing-to-the-ground the head, the of-the Bohemond crossing
tra'nos e'voa. 'apandes men un i 'tote par'ondes e'pajisan,
clearly he-shouted. All on-the-one-hand then the at-that-time present were-fixed,
'uper 'ekastos 'etiçe, ce proz 'monin tu vai'mundu 'klisin
exactly-where each happened (to be)/was, even at mere of-the Bohemond calling
aponar'cisandes. o ðe afto'krator, 'pliris θi'mu ce fro'nimatos on,
having-become-stupid. The but emperor, full of-spirit and courage being,
'lion ton i'manda tu ipo'ðimatos pros 'ariston, 'efi to pa'ron
untying the strap of-the shoe, 'To lunch,' he-said, '(for-)the present
tra'pomeθa; ta ðe je kata tom vai'mundon 'afθis
let-us-turn; the(-things) but by-contrast concerning the Bohemond later
katasce'psomeθa.]
we-shall-review.'

'When the emperor, who was still in the imperial city, learned of Bohemond's crossing from the letters of the duke (*military commander*) of Dyrráchion, he hastened his departure. For the duke had been vigilant, having altogether denied sleep to his eyes, and at the moment when he learned that Bohemond had sailed over beside the plain of Illyricum, disembarked, and set up camp thereabouts, he sent for a Scythian "with wings", as the saying goes, and informed the emperor of the man's crossing. The messenger found the emperor returning from his hunting party, and, entering at a run and bowing his head to the ground, shouted in a clear voice that Bohemond had crossed over. All those present at the time were rooted to the spot, exactly where they were, stupefied at even the mere mention of Bohemond. But the emperor, full of spirit and courage, untied the strap of his shoe and said, "For the present let us turn to our lunch; and as for Bohemond, we shall review the matter later."'

Classically rare and/or 'poetic' vocabulary is certainly not avoided here (e.g. τρανής [tra'nis] 'clear'), and, as often in Byzantine historiography, there is an Ionic colouring due to the influence of Herodotus, so some of the words that seem poetic from a strictly Attic perspective occur in Ionic prose and in later classicizing writers (e.g. the feminine

adjective πεδιάς [peðj'as] 'of the plain', *sc.* γῆ [ji] 'land', and ὑπόπτερος [i'popteros] 'winged' are both used by Herodotus,[4] while the form of διαπλωσάμενον [ðjaplo'samenon] 'having sailed across', and the word προσουδίζω [prosu'ðizo] 'dash to the ground', are of Ionic origin). There are also words of post-classical origin that belong to the mainstream Byzantine tradition (e.g. δούξ [ðuks] 'military governor'; ἐξέλευσις [e'kselefsis] 'departure'; διαπεραίωσις [ðjape'reosis] 'crossing'; ἀνύστακτος [a'nistaktos] 'vigilant'; ἀποναρκῶ (< -άω) [aponar'ko] 'be stupid'). Clearly Anna, using the 'living' literary language of educated Byzantines, no more intended to copy the style of the ancients than did Psellós, but the overall effect of her language is considerably more 'natural' than that of Psellós from a classical point of view, especially in its avoidance of dense accumulations of recherché vocabulary.

But in matters of grammar Anna is very much a purist, showing an excellent control of classical morphology (though νηός [ni'os] 'of-ship', for Attic νεώς [ne'os], is perhaps a back-formation to dative νηί [ni'i] rather than a deliberate Homerism), and carefully employing such ancient syntactic rules as that requiring an accusative and participle complement after verbs of knowledge and perception, cf.διέγνω διαπλωσάμενον τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον ['ðjeɣno ðjaplo'samenon ton vai'mundon], lit. 's/he-found-out having-crossed Bohemond'. Overall, the attention to classical detail and the avoidance of contorted word orders and overelaborated constructions makes her Greek somewhat easier to read than that of Psellós for those trained only in the classical language. She does, however, follow established Byzantine practice in her free use of optatives as 'marked' subjunctives in subordinate clauses, and we may also note in the passage above the presumably accidental use of εἰς [is] + accusative (originally = '(in)to') as a substitute for ἐν [en] + dative in the locative sense of 'in' (always asssuming that this is not simply a scribal error). This was already an established feature of the New Testament and the popular Greek of personal papyri, so it seems that interference from contemporary speech led to occasional lapses in even the most learned compositions. There is also some functional confusion of future indicatives with aorist subjunctives. The subjunctive and the future indicative in Aléxios' dismissive remarks have been translated as such, but they could well have been intended to be equivalent, since there are many other passages in which they are used side by side in contexts where the classical language would demand one to the exclusion of the other. This functional overlap, based on formal collapse caused by sound change and analogical levelling in late antiquity, was a major feature of Medieval Greek in its middle and popular registers too (cf. 11.8.3, 11.8.6 (a) for the details), and though the two paradigms were kept formally distinct in the learned written language, contemporary perceptions of their functional equivalence, reinforced by the dual use of νά [na]-constructions as both subjunctives and futures in the spoken language (11.8.3), are often apparent in the writing of even the most learned of Byzantine writers, with optatives also introduced as occasional variants for both (cf. the discussion of (2) above).

9.6 After the Fall: Michaél Kritóboulos (15th Century)

Kritóboulos belonged to an aristocratic family from the island of Imbros at the mouth of the Dardanelles, and was permitted by the Turks to rule the island after 1456. His

history of the period 1451–67 is dedicated to Sultan Mehmet II (the Conqueror), and is a pro-Turkish account of the fall of Byzantium and the transition to Ottoman rule. He clearly had access to Greek and Turkish sources, and his work provides an indispensable survey of this most critical period of Greek history (see Riggs (1954), Reinsch (1983)).

In the following extract, Kritóboulos describes how the Ottoman army, after 50 days' bombardment of the land walls, stormed into Constantinople in the early morning of 29 May 1453:

(7) Οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται ἐσεχέοντο ἤδη διὰ τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦ κατερριμμένου μεγάλου τείχους ἐσέπιπτον· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στράτευμα πᾶν ἑπόμενον ὠθισμῷ καὶ βίᾳ ἐσεχεῖτο λαμπρῶς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν σκεδαννύμενον. Βασιλεὺς δ' ἑστὼς πρὸ τοῦ μεγάλου τείχους, ἵνα καὶ ἡ μεγάλη σημαία ἦν καὶ τὸ ξύνθημα, ἀπεσκόπει τὰ δρώμενα· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινεν. ἔνθα δὴ φόνος πολὺς τῶν προστυγχανόντων ἐγίνετο, τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν (ἤδη γὰρ ἐξῄεσάν τινες τῶν οἰκιῶν θέοντες πρὸς τὴν βοήν, καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπροόπτως ἐνέπιπτον), τῶν δὲ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις αὐταῖς ...., τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν τρεπομένων, τῶν δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἱεροῖς καταπεφευγότων τε καὶ ἱκετευόντων, ἀνδρῶν, γυναικῶν, παίδων, πάντων ἁπλῶς, μηδεμιᾶς οὔσης φειδοῦς. (*Histories* 1, 61)

[i ðe o'plite ese'çeondo 'iði ðja tis pi'liðos epi tim 'bolin,
The and heavy-infantry poured-in already through the postern against the city,
i-ðe ce ðja tu kateri'menu me'ɣalu 'tixus es'epipton; to ðe
others also through the cast-down great wall poured; the and
'alo 'stratevma pan e'pomenon oθiz'mo ce 'via ese'çito lam'bros
other army all following with-pushing and force poured-in gloriously
a'na 'pasan tim 'bolin sceða'nimenon. vasi'lefs ð e'stos pro
through all the city spreading. Emperor but standing before
tu me'ɣalu 'tixus, 'ina ce i me'ɣali si'mea in ce to 'ksinθima,
the great wall, where both the great standard was and the signal-flag,
ape'skopi ta 'ðromena; 'iði ɣar ce i'mera i'pefanen. 'enθa ði
surveyed the events; already for also day was-just-appearing. Then indeed
'fonos po'lis tom brostiŋxa'nondon e'jineto, tom-men kata
slaughter much of-those chancing-upon-them took-place, some(gen) along
tin o'ðon - 'iði ɣar e'ksie'san dines ton i'con 'θeondes pros
the street (already for were-going-out some from-the houses running towards
tin vo'in, ce tis 'ksifesi ton stratjo'ton apro'optos e'nepipton -
the shouting, and the swords(dat) of-the soldiers unwarily fell-on),
ton-ðe en des i'cies af'tes ..., ton-ðe ce es al'cin trepo'menon,
others(gen) in the houses themselves ..., others(gen) also to defence turning(gen),
ton-ðe ce pros ie'ris katapefe'vɣoton te ce icete'vondon,
others(gen) also at churches having-taken-refuge(gen) both and beseeching(gen),
an'dron, jine'kon, 'peðon, 'pandon a'plos, miðe'mjas 'usis fi'ðus.]
men(gen), women(gen), children(gen), all (gen) simply, none (gen) being(gen) restraint (gen).

'The heavily armed soldiers were already pouring through the postern to attack the city, while others also burst in through the great wall where it had been torn down; and the rest of the army, following *en masse*, pushing and forcing its way, streamed in triumphantly and spread throughout the city. The emperor stood before the great wall, where

> the royal standard and the signal-flag were raised, and surveyed what was happening; for day was now just beginning to dawn. There then followed the wholesale slaughter of those the Turks encountered, some in the streets (for a number of people were already leaving their houses and, running towards the shouting, fell unprepared on the swords of the soldiers), others in their own homes … , others turning to defend themselves, others taking refuge at the churches and begging for mercy, men, women and children, the whole population in short, since there was no restraint.'

Overall, both vocabulary and grammar are natural from the perspective of historiography of the classical period, though the phrase ἐσεχέοντο … ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν [ese'çeondo … e'pi tim 'bolin] 'they-streamed-in … against the city' is almost certainly meant to recall the Homeric ἐσέχυντο ἐς πόλιν [esékʰynto es pólin] 'they-streamed-in into city' (*Iliad* 21. 610), since this verb is otherwise rare and exclusively poetic. The noun ἀλκή [al'ci] 'strength, defence, battle' is also chiefly poetic from the point of view of mainstream Attic, though the phrase πρὸς ἀλκὴν τρέπεσθαι [pros al'cin 'trepesθe] 'to defence to-turn' occurs in Herodotus (3. 78), and is also used by Thucydides (2. 84), though with ἐς [es] for πρός [pros] as here. This narrative is very much in the tradition of work from the Palaiologan period, but if we set Kritóboulos beside Prokópios from the time of Ioustinianós, there could hardly be a more graphic illustration of the centrality of the ancient Greek literary tradition in high Byzantine culture at both the highest and lowest points in the empire's fortunes.

9.7 Conclusion

As with the Atticists of old, the temptation to parade learning and to incorporate rare and unusual usage can lead to effects that may seem harsh and forced to those with a classical training. But these were an expected and enjoyable feature of high-style writing for the Byzantines, and once the modern reader has grown accustomed to them, the overall impression given by the best medieval historians is of a tastefully embellished Thucydidean style. But few had the educational background necessary to read, still less the talent to write, such virtuoso compositions, and even if we allow that the formal spoken language of the court remained highly conservative, as suggested by the conversation reported by the 13th-century historian and statesman Geórgios Akropolítes (*History* ch. 39) or Filelfo's letter of 1451 describing the seclusion of aristocratic Byzantine women (1478 edition, p. 183), more routine forms of writing could scarcely avoid the influence of developments in the normal spoken language, and it is to these middle varieties that we must now turn our attention in chapter 10.

Notes

1 There is no evidence that commitment to classical standards in writing ever entailed a parallel commitment to the preservation of ancient pronunciation, as even the most conservative varieties progressively fell into line with the changes that had affected ordinary spoken Greek in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times. It is therefore assumed, perhaps prematurely, that the standard pronunciation of the 6th century was that summarized at the end of chapter

6, i.e. the Modern Greek system except that /y/ (written υ and οι) still survived in educated usage. In this connection, Browning (1983: 56–7) notes that even in the 10th century transliterations of Greek names into Georgian consistently represent υ and οι with a different letter from that used to transcribe ι, η, ει (i.e. /i/), and that the metropolitan elite could still make fun of a visiting church dignitary at that time because of his failure to discriminate between /i/ and /y/. It is also assumed that final -ν [-n] was regularly pronounced in educated varieties, subject to some assimilation, despite the evidence for its sporadic loss in the popular language of many private papyri.

2 It is assumed in the transcriptions that /y/ had by now merged with /i/, but that final [n] was still retained in formal educated speech.

3 The overlap is between indefiniteness of occurrence in real past time and the inherent temporal indefiniteness of hypothetical events which, in protases, logically precede (i.e. are in some sense 'past' in relation to) the hypothetical consequences of apodoses.

4 The whole expression seems to have been proverbial, however.

10 The Written Koine in Byzantium

10.1 Introduction

The early Byzantine period, as we have seen, was important for the production of chronicles and religious works in simpler forms of Greek that tolerated greater compromise with developments in the spoken language. In the middle period, once Egypt had been lost and the administrative practice of setting up inscriptions had been largely abandoned, it is mainly from texts of this kind, despite a general raising of the linguistic level, that we obtain indirect knowledge of the development of more colloquial varieties of Greek (10.2, 10.3).

There are, however, a number of secular works in related styles, including (in part) the private work commissioned by the emperor Konstantínos VII Porphyrogénnetos (10.4.1) and the *Strategikón* of Kekauménos (10.4.2). A later version of this middle style is represented below by an extract from the metaphrase of the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnené (10.5). Konstantínos' writings also employed a more elaborated non-literary style (10.4.1), akin to the language of academic discourse employed by scholars throughout the middle and later periods. This continued the philosophical and scientific Koine of antiquity, and is represented here by an extract from the writings of the 13th-century scholar Máximos Planoúdes (10.6).

For the later Byzantine period there is a considerable volume of 'official' administrative material, both imperial and ecclesiastical (10.7). Much of this belongs to the higher end of the linguistic spectrum, and may sometimes be strikingly archaic in usage.

Overall, the development of the middle ranges of written Greek in the later part of the Byzantine period (i.e. after the 10th century) involves a gradual coming together of the different forms of writing inherited from antiquity. The process was initially facilitated by the collapse of literacy in the 7th and 8th centuries, which greatly reduced the audience for compositions in the most basic styles and led to the generalization of higher registers across the board. Thereafter, the revival of secular learning, the essential unity of the political, academic and theological establishments, and the eventual re-emergence of an urban bourgeoisie all worked together to promote the development of a common, practical written language to meet the varied and expanding needs of the educated classes, the whole process taking place under the influence of higher registers of the naturally evolving spoken language. The later medieval Koine therefore

continues the tradition of somewhat more elaborated Koine composition in earlier periods rather than that of chronography and hagiography, though from the 12th century onwards, this vacuum at the lower end of the spectrum was progressively filled by the revival of writing in the vernacular (albeit in very different genres, see chapter 12).

10.2 Chronicles in the Early and Middle Periods

10.2.1 Malálas (c. 491–c.578): generics

The chronicle by the Syrian Ioánnes Malálas, covering the 'period' from the creation to the reign of Ioustinianós, is the earliest surviving example of the genre, and graphically illustrates the impact of the newly emerging conception of the Roman empire on the typical Byzantine's interpretation of the past. The contemporary state, seen as a stable reflection on earth of the heavenly harmony embodied by Christ, becomes a universal model, so that heads of state from the beginning of time are referred to as *basileîs* ('emperors'), who, *inter alia,* summon *conventus* ('assemblies') and defend the *limites* ('borders') of their empires.

This chronicle profoundly influenced later work in the genre, not only in Greek but also in Latin, Syriac, Georgian, Old Church Slavonic and Ethiopic. Unfortunately, only one surviving Greek manuscript covers the whole period of the original composition, and this is in part an abbreviation, presenting major textual difficulties, including a number of serious lacunae. The standard edition is now Thurn (2000); see also Helms (1971/2), Jeffreys et al. (1986), and Jeffreys et al. (1990: esp. ch. 8 on language, with contributions by A. James, M. Jeffreys, and E. and M. Jeffreys).

It is immediately clear from a comparison with contemporary papyri that, while Malálas' Greek is a great deal closer to the spoken language than that of his contemporary Prokópios, it is still very much a written style. In particular, he employs current technical terminology and bureaucratic clichés incessantly alongside more traditional features of the official Koine (such as the articular infinitive with prepositions), and, in a period of transition from Latin to Greek governmental terminology, still uses the established Latin loanwords alongside their Greek replacements. In view of his apparently 'administrative' take on history, it is now widely believed that he was employed in the middle-to-upper echelons of the imperial civil service in Antioch before moving to Constantinople, perhaps after the Persian sack of the Syrian capital in 540.

This basic administrative style is characterized syntactically by familar markers such as parataxis and co-ordination in place of subordination; the use of ἵνα ['ina]-clauses alongside infinitives to complement control verbs, with the latter sometimes strengthened by ὥστε ['oste] 'so that', or the pleonastic genitive article τοῦ [tu] (4.6.2–3, 6.5.1); confusion between final and consecutive clauses, evidenced by ἵνα ['ina]/ὥστε ['oste] overlaps; the functional merger of perfect and aorist, involving many hybrid formations, and the use of 'be' + aorist participle to convey the sense of the 'true' perfect/ pluperfect (cf. 6.5.2); and the virtual abandonment of the optative (cf. 4.9).

Particularly important is the evidence for a shift in the use of inflected participles in middle-to-low registers of written Greek at this time. Though neuter singulars

occasionally show the default forms in -οντα/-αντα/-εντα [-onda/-anda/-enda] in place of the paradigmatically isolated, and by now exclusively learned, 3rd-declension suffixes -ον/-αν/-εν [-on/-an/en] (cf. 6.5.3), the more interesting developments are in fact syntactic. Malálas' sentences typically consist of a nucleus containing a single finite verb, surrounded by a set of loosely attached participial adjuncts: a standard pattern is 'having-W-ed, having-X-ed s/he-Yed, having-Z-ed'. The genitive absolute is frequently mishandled by classical standards, being used where the participle might agree with a noun phrase in the main clause, and nominative absolutes are not infrequent, sometimes giving the impression that participles are being used in a variety of clause types as a substitute for finite verbs (Weierholt (1963: 69–78)). The following is a good example:

(1) καὶ πέμψας αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς ... στρατηλάτας τρεῖς ... , καὶ συγκρούσαντες πόλεμον, ἔπεσον ... πολλοί. (*Khronographía* 18.4)

[ce	'pempsas	ato	o	vasi'lefs ...	strati'latas	tris ... ,	ce
And	having-sent(nom)	to-him	the	emperor(nom) ...	*magistri militum*	three ... ,	and

siŋ'grusandes	'polemon, ...	'epeson	pol'ly]	
having-joined(nom)	war, ...	fell	many	

'And the emperor having sent him three *magistri militum* (*commanders*) ... , and these having joined battle, ... many fell.'

On the face of it, this practice suggests a growing unfamiliarity with traditional forms of participial subordination in the contemporary spoken language, and might also imply that the target style was beyond the author's capabilities. But it is in fact a characteristic hallmark not only of Malálas but of the form of writing used quite generally in chronography (and, we may assume, in many of the archival sources from which material was excerpted); similar phenomena recur, for example, in the work of the well-educated Theophánes (see 10.2.2), who we know was capable of reading and paraphrasing the learned histories of Prokópios and Theophýlaktos Simokáttes.

The monotonous cumulative use of participial adjuncts seems, then, to be a marker of the note-like style of administration, deemed appropriate also for the listing of events in chronography, and it apparently reflects the more restricted range of participial syntax associated with the breakdown of purely formal long-distance agreement[1] in contemporary Greek: thus autonomous nominative expressions, often with subjects, often replace syntactically integrated oblique case forms in anticipation of the emergence of the indeclinable subject-orientated gerund in -οντα(ς) [-onda(s)] (cf. 6.5.3, 11.8.2), while the genitive, once the case of absolute adjuncts, can be used for any adjunct in apparent free variation, regardless of whether agreement is in principle possible.

In the area of nominal syntax, the dative is still routinely and correctly used in both grammatical and adverbial functions, though there is a general advance of the accusative against both the dative and the genitive as the primary prepositional case (cf. 6.5.4), and locative/allative 'confusion' between ἐν [en] + dative and εἰς [is] + accusative is common. The use of εἰς [is] to introduce locative as well as goal expressions is already familiar from antiquity, and is standard in Modern Greek. Both this and its

converse, the allative use of ἐν [en], derive from a natural indeterminacy in the interpretation of prepositional phrases with verbs expressing spatial transition. Such phrases may be seen as denoting either the location reached after movement ('come to be at', cf. *arrive at*) or the goal of the movement itself ('come to'). The dual use of locative and allative prepositions in late antique and early Medieval Greek follows directly, though εἰς [is] finally ousted its rival because of the independent decline of the dative.

We also find the legal(istic) expression ὁ αὐτός [o af'tos], and its equivalent ὁ ἴδιος [o 'iðios], lit. 'the same', endlessly repeated in discourse deictic function (= 'the aforementioned'), though αὐτός [af'tos] is also frequently used before the definite article, just as in Modern Greek, in recognition of its shift towards full demonstrative, i.e. truly deictic, status: cf. the pattern of οὗτος ὁ X ['utos o X], lit. 'this the X', ἐκεῖνος ὁ X [e'cinos o X], lit. 'that the X'. These and other formulaic clichés (emperors are routinely θεῖος ['θios] 'sacred', and writers σοφός [so'fos] 'learned', for example, while proper names are endlessly qualified by λεγόμενος [le'ɣomenos] 'called' or ὀνόματι [o'nomati] 'by name'), reflect the combination of pedantic verbiage and hyper-precision characteristic of official and legal documents throughout history.

There are several other respects in which Malálas appears to follow the written practice of the administrative/official Koine rather than that of the vernacular. For example, despite the widespread use of 'weak' aorists in -α [-a] in place of classical 'strong' aorists in -ον [-on] in popular compositions from Hellenistic times onwards (cf. 4.9, 5.8), there is a clear preponderance of the traditional forms in the chronicle. There are also many examples of the use of regular 'perfect' active forms in place of both irregular classical aorist actives, e.g. ἔγνωκα ['eɣnoka] for ἔγνων ['eɣnon] 'I got to know', and, to a lesser extent, of strong aorist middles that had not already been replaced by aorist passives, e.g. γέγονα ['jeɣona] for ἐγενόμην [eje'nomin] 'I became'. Innovative 'perfect' participles are similarly used on occasion in place of strong aorists with the apparently anomalous 'present' ending -ων [-on], e.g. ἐλθώς/gen ἐλθότος [el'θos/el'θotos] for ἐλθών/gen ἐλθόντος [el'θon/el'θondos] 'having come'. Forms of this kind also recur in more elaborated styles.

Malálas also makes regular use of the classical forms of conditional and temporal conjunctions rather than their popular counterparts. In the classical period the clitic particle ἄν [an] '-ever', used to supplement the subjunctive in timeless/future-referring conditional and temporal clauses (e.g. *if (ever)/when(ever) s/he comes*), became formally attached to the preceding conjunction: cf. ἐ-άν [eá:n] < εἰ ἄν [e: á:n] 'if ever'; ὅτ-αν [hótan] < ὅτε ἄν [hóte an] 'whenever', etc. From Hellenistic times onwards, the subjunctive was often replaced by the present indicative, with the generic sense transferred to the compound conjunction alone, and we soon start to find imperfects used to denote indefiniteness in the past in a parallel way (replacing the classical optative): cf. ὅταν ... ἐθεώρουν [ótan ... et^he'orun] 'whenever ... they-saw', Mark 3. 11. Eventually, however, a generic sense came to be seen as a matter of purely contextual interpretation, with the imperfective aspect of the present or imperfect indicative taken to indicate either repetition/indefiniteness or progressiveness. At this point the compound conjunctions could be used interchangeably with the simple forms, and with all tenses, finally superseding their rivals in the spoken language because of their greater phonological bulk.

In the case of free relative clauses, however, Malálas favours the popular construction of his time. Originally there was a choice between ὅστις ['ostis] + present indicative (strictly speaking indefinite, 'anyone who') and ὃς ἄν ['os an] + subjunctive (strictly speaking generic, 'whoever') in the sense 'whoever (does X)'. But the former came increasingly to be used as a simple relative in late antiquity, as the classical relative ὅς, ἥ, ὅ [os, i, o] (masc, fem, neut) was prone to loss through contraction with the initial/final vowels of adjacent words. This practice is widespread in Malálas, who therefore employs the alternative construction in indefinite/generic relatives. In this case ὅς [os] and ἄν [an] had remained discrete, perhaps because of the inflecting pronoun, while the conjunction ἐάν [e'an] 'if' had begun to replace the increasingly anomalous free-standing use of the particle in the late Hellenistic period. This curious-seeming development was based in part on the merger of the generic particle, following the loss of distinctive vowel length, with the contracted form of the conditional conjunction ἄν , originally [a:n]. But it also depends on conflation of the functionally equivalent constructions *if anyone knows* ... and *whoever knows* ... Consider Matthew 11. 27:[2]

(2) οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι.

[u'de tom ba'tera tis epiji'nosci i mẹ o y'os ce o ean 'bulẹte
Nor the father(acc) anyone knows if not the son and to-whom if/ever wishes
o y'os apoka'lypse]
the son to-reveal

'No one knows the father except the son and whoever the son is willing to reveal him to.'

Here, the conditional clause of ***if the son is willing to reveal him*** *to anyone, that person knows* has been substituted (minus its indirect object) for the clause following the relative in *anyone to-whom* [***the son is willing to reveal him***] *knows,* in order to give *anyone to-whom* [***if the son is willing to reveal him***] *knows.* The conditional conjunction was then quickly reinterpreted as an indefiniteness marker attached to a relative or other pronoun (cf. εἴ τις ἐάν ... [i tis ean] 'if someone-ever ...', as used by the Greens in their dialogue with Ioustinianós' herald, recorded in Theophánes' chronicle (AM 6024, de Boor (1963: 181)). This type of generic construction remained a characteristic of the popular Koine into the Byzantine era, and is routine in Malálas, though it was eventually superseded in the later middle ages by the use of the indefinite relative ὅποιος ['opjos] (cf. 11.7.8 (c)).

In general, the impression created by Malálas' style is one of simplicity, reflecting a desire for the straightforward communication of information in the language of everyday business. There is therefore a large stock of Latin loanwords, originating with the imposition of Roman rule in the east but long established in popular use (Körting (1879)), though many other words have modern meanings unfamiliar from classical literature or inscriptions. Examples of the latter include (cf. Festugière (1978)): ζώννυμι ['zonimi] = 'appoint' not 'gird'; δημοκρατῶ [ðimokra'to] = 'riot' not 'live in a democracy' (the classical verb is used only in the middle); λείψανον ['lipsanon] = 'corpse' not 'remnant'; φανερός [fane'ros] = 'a certain/some' not 'evident', etc.

The following passage, which deals with the prelude to the famous Nika riot, provides a typical example of Malálas' language, which, it is important to re-emphasize,

closely reflects contemporary norms for the conduct and recording of day-to-day business:

(3) Ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς δεκάτης ἰνδικτιῶνος συνέβη ὑπό τινων ἀλαστόρων δαιμόνων πρόφασιν γενέσθαι ταραχῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, Εὐδαίμονος ἐπάρχου πόλεως ὄντος καὶ ἔχοντος ἀτάκτους ἐν φρουρᾷ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, καὶ ἐξετάσαντος διάφορα πρόσωπα εὗρεν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματα ἑπτὰ αἰτίους φόνων, καὶ ψηφισάμενος τῶν μὲν τεσσάρων καρατόμησιν, τῶν δὲ τριῶν ἀνασκολοπισμόν. καὶ περιβωμισθέντων αὐτῶν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περασάντων αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν κρεμασθέντων, ἐξέπεσαν δύο τῶν ξύλων ῥαγέντων, ἑνὸς μὲν Βενέτου, καὶ ἑτέρου Πρασίνου. καὶ ἑωρακὼς ὁ περιεστὼς λαὸς τὸ συμβὰν εὐφήμησαν τὸν βασιλέα. ἀκηκοότες δὲ οἱ πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου Κόνωνος μοναχοὶ καὶ ἐξελθόντες, εὗρον ἐκ τῶν κρεμασθέντων δύο ζῶντας κειμένους εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος. καὶ καταγαγόντες αὐτοὺς πλησίον θαλάσσης καὶ ἐμβαλόντες ἐν πλοίῳ, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Λαυρεντίῳ ἐν ἀσύλοις τόποις. (*Chronographía* 18.71)

[en af'to ðe to 'xrono tiz ðe'katis indikti'onos syn'evi ypo tinon
In this and the year of-the tenth indiction it-happened by some
ala'storon ðe'monon 'profasin je'nesθe tara'çis em vyzan'dio,
avenging demons (an) excuse to-occur of-rioting in Byzantium,
ev'ðemonos e'parxu 'poleos 'ondos ce 'exondos a'taktus em
Eudaímon(gen) eparch of-city being(gen) and having(gen) criminals in
fru'ra eks amfo'teron dom me'ron, ce ekse'tasandos 'ðjafora
prison from both the factions, and having-examined(gen) various
'prosopa 'evren eks af'ton o'nomata ep'ta e'tius 'fonon, ce
people he-found from them names seven guilty of-murders, and
psifi'samenos tom men de'saron kara'tomisin, ton
having-decreed(nom) of-the on-the-one-hand four beheading, of-the
de tri'on anaskolopiz'mon. ce perivomi'sθendon aton ana
on-the-other-hand three impaling. And having-been-led-around(gen) them through
'pasan dim 'bolin ce pera'sandon aton, ce tom-men grema'sθendon,
all the city and having-crossed(gen) them, and some(gen) having-been-hanged,
e'ksepesan 'ðyo toŋ 'gzylon ra'jendon, e'nos men ve'netu,
fell-from two(nom) the timbers having-broken, one(gen) on-the-one-hand Blue,
k e'teru pra'sinu. k eora'kos o peri'stos la'os to sym'van
and other(gen) Green. And seeing the standing-around crowd the event
e'fimisan tom basi'lea. aciko'otes ðe y pli'sion tu a'jiu 'kononos
they-acclaimed the emperor. Having-heard(nom) and the by the St Kónon
mona'çy ce eksel'θondes, 'evron ek toŋ grema'sθendon 'ðyo
monks and having-come-out(nom), they-found from the hanged two
'zondas ci'menus is to 'eðafos. ce kataɣa'ɣondes atus pli'sion
living lying on the ground(acc). And having-taken-down them beside
θa'lasis ce emva'londes em 'blyo, 'epempsan atus en do a'jio
sea and having-put-on on boat, they-sent them in the St
lavren'dio en a'sylys 'topys.]
Lauréntios(dat) in inviolable places(dat).

'And in this year of the tenth indiction (*AD 531–2*) there happened to occur through the agency of certain avenging demons a pretext for a riot in Byzantium. Eudaímon was city prefect (*governor*) and holding criminals from both factions in custody. Having examined various people, he found seven individuals from among them to be guilty of murder,

sentencing four of them to be beheaded and three to be impaled. After they had been paraded through the whole city and crossed over (*the Golden Horn*), and some had been hanged, two fell from the wooden scaffold as it broke, one a Blue the other a Green. The people standing around saw the occurrence and acclaimed the emperor. But the monks near St Kónon's, hearing this and coming out, found two of those who had been hanged still alive lying on the ground. And bringing them down to the sea shore and putting them on a boat they sent them to St Lauréntios' to places of sanctuary.'

Dating at this time was by 'indictions', i.e. 15-year cycles originally introduced for taxation purposes, and Malálas retains the Latin term, even though shortly afterwards he uses the Greek ἔπαρχος ['eparxos] in place of the Latin *praefectus*. We may first note here the demonstrative use of αὐτός [af'tos] 'this' and χρόνος ['xronos] used in its modern sense of 'year' rather than 'time'. The words ἀνασκολοπισμός [anaskolopiz'mos] 'impaling' and περιβωμίζομαι [perivo'mizome], lit. 'be paraded around the altars', i.e. be publicly displayed in a ritualized way, are both first attested in Malálas, the former showing the productivity in the Koine of the suffix -ισμός [-iz'mos] in the derivation of action nouns from verbs in -ίζω/-ίζομαι [-'izo/-'izome], the latter the productivity of this verbal suffix itself (cf. 11.8.5 (c)). The use of ὀνόματα [o'nomata], lit. 'names', in the sense of 'individuals' probably derives ultimately from legal practice, involving the identification of those charged or making complaints with the names on the list of cases to be tried.

The most striking feature of the grammar of this piece, however, is its participial syntax, so that Eudaímon, for example, having initially served as the subject of a series of genitive absolute constructions, suddenly becomes the subject of a finite verb (εὗρεν ['evren]), whereupon the last participle (ψηφισάμενος [psifi'samenos]), which we might ordinarily have expected to be a finite verb, appears in the nominative. We should also note the almost complete absence of the discourse particles and connectives so characteristic of the ancient language, and the regularity with which object and other pronouns are used in contexts where zero-anaphora might have been more usual in earlier periods.

Though the use of the accusative and infinitive had in general been a marker of higher-register writing for many centuries, the construction was still used in the popular written tradition to complement impersonal verbs meaning 'it happened', as here with συνέβη [syn'evi] (cf. 5.11.3). The old perfect forms of certain verbs are sometimes used interchangeably with, or indeed instead of, their aorists (this is particularly true of the -μι [-mi] verbs, where δέδωκε ['ðeðoce], for example, is used regularly in the sense 's/he gave', cf. 6.5.2). The perfect participles in this extract (ἑωρακώς [eora'kos] 'having seen', ἀκηκοότες [aciko'otes] 'having heard'), also seem to be used in this way rather than to emphasize any resultant state of new awareness.

We may also note here:

(4) (a) The regular positioning of 'weak'/clitic 3rd-person pronouns in second position after their governing verbs, which stand initially (ignoring conjunctions) in their respective clauses (cf. 4.8, 6.5.1, 11.4).

(b) The use of εἰς + accusative in a locative phrase (εἰς τό ἔδαφος [is to 'eðafos] 'on the ground') and ἐν + dative in an allative expression (ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ Λαυρεντίῳ [en do a'jio lavren'dio], 'to St Lauréntios').

(c) 3pl aorist ἐξ-έπεσ-αν [eks-'epes-an] 'they fell from', showing the 'weak' ending -αν [-an] for the original -ον [-on], beside the classically correct ending of εὗρ-ον ['evr-on] 'they found' (the augment having been dropped from this word in this basic form of the written language much earlier).

10.2.2 Theophánes the Confessor (c.760–818)

Theophánes was born during the Iconoclastic period into a wealthy metropolitan family with well-concealed iconophile sentiments. After he was orphaned, the arch-iconoclast emperor Konstantínos V oversaw his education and upbringing, and he was briefly married, despite his inclination towards the cenobitic life, in order to circumvent the government's hostility to monasticism. When the movement lost momentum with the death of Léon IV, Theophánes founded a monastery on the Asian shore of the Sea of Marmara, where he lived until 815 or 816. His refusal to sanction the destruction of images at the time of the revival of iconoclasm under Léon V ('the Armenian') led to his exile on Samothrace, where he died in 818. There is an engaging *Life* by the patriarch Methódios (died 847; see Spiridinov (1913)).

The chronicle which he compiled continues that of Geórgios Sýnkellos ('private secretary'), beginning with the accession of Diocletian (284) and ending with that of Léon V (813). Its popularity is attested not only by the numerous surviving manuscripts, the earliest of which dates to the 9th century, but also by the fact that it was translated into Latin by the pope's librarian Anastasius in 837–5. The standard edition is that of de Boor (1963); see also Hunger (1978: I, 334–43), Turtledove (1982).

It seeems that Theophánes largely paraphrased, or sometimes simply copied from, his very diverse source material, and the resulting work was aimed at what was by now a smaller and more educated audience. The chronicle itself reintroduces a range of themes and a level of detail not seen since the work of writers such as Eusebius in the 3rd/4th century, drawing also on techniques from ancient biography in its portrayal of leading characters. The result is something of a blend between history, biography and chronography, and this important work marks the beginnings of the harmonization of the formerly more popular language of chronography with the more learned language traditionally associated with the other two genres. But even though the language of Theophánes' chronicle is probably more classically correct overall than that of Malálas, it still reflects many of the same stylistic traits, ample confirmation of the entrenched nature of the conventions for drafting records and of their continued acceptability in chronography.

Each year's events are prefaced by an *annus mundi* ('year of the world' since the creation), calculated according to the Alexandrian system that placed this event on 1 September 5493 BC (the Byzantine year began on 1 September). Theophánes sometimes also provides his own dates AD, which are 7/8 years earlier than ours, together with the regnal year of the reigning emperor, the ruler of Persia (first the Sassanid king, later the Arab caliph) and the patriarch of Constantinople, and sometimes adds details of the other four patriarchs (of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem), though the Arab conquests and the Slavic invasions of the Balkans eventually led to gaps and inaccuracies from the 7th century onwards. All of this is combined with the traditional system of reference to the indiction cycle, though there are real difficulties in reconcil-

ing this method with the *annus mundi* for the periods 609/10–714/15 and 725/6–772-3 (Ostrogorsky (1928/9)).

The following extract deals with the emperor Herákleios' triumphal return from his Persian campaigns:

(5) Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει εἰρήνης γενομένης μεταξὺ Περσῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων, ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Θεόδωρον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφόν, μετὰ γραμμάτων καὶ ἀνθρώπων Σιρόου, τοῦ βασιλέως Περσῶν, ὅπως τοὺς ἐν Ἐδέσῃ καὶ Παλεστίνῃ καὶ Ἱεροσολύμοις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς πόλεσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων Πέρσας μετὰ εἰρήνης ἀποστρέψωσιν ἐν Περσίδι, καὶ ἀβλαβῶς παρέλθωσι τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἓξ ἔτεσι κατεπολεμήσας τὴν Περσίδα, τῷ ζʹ ἔτει εἰρηνεύσας μετὰ χαρᾶς μεγάλης ἐπὶ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ὑπέστρεψε μυστικήν τινα θεωρίαν ἐν τούτῳ πληρώσας. ἐν γὰρ ἓξ ἡμέραις πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν δημιουργήσας ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἑβδόμην ἀναπαύσεως ἡμέραν ἐκάλεσεν· οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἓξ χρόνοις πολλοὺς πόνους διανύσας τῷ ἑβδόμῳ ἔτει μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ χαρᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑποστρέψας ἀνεπαύσατο. (*Chronographía* AM 6119 (AD 627/8), de Boor (1963: 327–8))

['tuto to 'eti i'rinis jeno'menis meta'ksy per'son ce ro'meon,
(In-)this the year, peace coming-about between Persians and Romans,
ap'estilen o vasi'lefs θe'oðoron, ton eaf'tu aðel'fon, meta
sent the emperor(nom) Theódoros(acc), the of-himself brother, with
ɣra'maton c an'θropon si'rou, tu vasi'leos per'son, opos tus
letters and men of-Siróes, the king of-Persians, so-that the(acc)
en e'ðesi ce pale'stini ce jeroso'lymys ce tes ly'pes 'polesi
in Edessa and Palestine and Jerusalem and the other cities
ton ro'meon 'persas meta i'rinis apo'strepsosin em ber'siði,
of-the Romans Persians(acc) with peace they-may-return(subj) in Persia(dat),
c avla'vos par'elθosi tin don ro'meon jin. o ðe vasi'lefs en
and without-harm they-may-pass-through(subj) the of-the Romans land. The and emperor in
eks 'etesi katapole'misas tim ber'siða, to ev'ðomo 'eti iri'nefsas
six years having-warred-down the Persia, (in-)the seventh year having-brought-to-peace
meta xa'ras me'ɣalis epi konstandi'nupolin y'pestrepse
with joy great to Constantinople returned
mysti'cin dina θeo'rian pli'rosas. eŋ ɣar eks i'meres 'pasan
mystic some contemplation having-fulfilled. In for six days all
diŋ 'ktisin ðimjur'jisas o θe'os tin ev'ðomin ana'pafseos
the creation having-made the God, the seventh of-rest
i'meran e'kalesen; 'uto ce af'tos en dys eks 'xronys po'lus 'ponus
day he-called; thus also himself in the six years many labours
dja'nysas to ev'ðomo 'eti met i'rinis ce xa'ras en di 'poli
having-completed (in-)the seventh year with peace and joy in the city
ypo'strepsas ane'pafsato.]
having-returned he-rested.

'In this year, with the advent of peace between the Persians and the Romans, the emperor sent his own brother Theódoros with letters and men of Siróes the Persian king, so that they might send home to Persia in peace the Persians in Edessa, Palestine, Jerusalem and the other cities of the Romans, and these might cross the land of the Romans unharmed. The emperor, having crushed Persia by war in six years, enforced a peace in the seventh

> and returned to Constantinople, performing a mystical celebration in this year. For God, having made all creation in six days, called the seventh day that of rest; so he too, having completed many labours in six years, rested, having returned to the city with peace and joy in the seventh.’

As noted, the material is put together in a somewhat more ‘classical’ manner than in Malálas, and more learned features of vocabulary and syntax are apparent, partly deriving from the sources, which included non-excerpted versions of historical texts. The accusative and infinitive construction is used quite freely, for example, verb-final orders are not unusual, and even that literary favourite hyperbaton, typically involving the insertion of a verb in penultimate position between the component parts of its direct object, is occasionally encountered. In the passage above, the verbal and nominal morphology is consistently classical, the bare dative is regularly used to mark time ‘at which’, and the extreme separation of article and noun in the description of the Persians in Roman lands is pure official Koine.

Though the concord of participial adjuncts in (5) conforms to the classical rules, the chronicle also has examples of the nominative absolute construction (e.g. κλιθὲν τὸ δένδρον προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ, [kli'θen to 'ðendron prose'cynisen ato], lit. ‘having-been-bent the tree (nom), he worshipped it (dat)’, AM 5854, de Boor (1963: 49)), while the generic convention of accumulating subject-orientated participles around a single indicative verb is very much in evidence in the passage above. There are also cases of such non-classical usages as that of ἐν [en] + dative to mark both time ‘during which’ (instead of the bare genitive) and the ‘goal’ of a movement (in place of an allative preposition + accusative). Similarly, the conjoined verbs in the ‘literary’ ὅπως ['opos]-clause of the first sentence are still subjunctive rather than optative, despite the fact that the main verb refers to the past (the most usual form of final clause in this kind of writing is still an allative preposition + articular infinitive). The 3pl aorist subjunctive ἀποστρέψωσιν [apo'strepsosin], incidentally, appears in two manuscripts as future indicative ἀποστρέψουσιν [apo'strepsusin], which may reflect the fact that the two paradigms had long been indistinguishable in the spoken language (cf. 11.8.3, 11.8.6 (a)), or even reveal the influence of the high-style use of the future with predicates of ‘taking precaution’.

In general, then, Theophánes’ chronicle reflects many characteristic features that derive partly from the sources (including earlier chronicles) but which remained equally at home in the chronographic genre itself. None the less, its language overall is already moving in a more learned direction as different varieties of the medieval Koine start to shape themselves into a stylistically more coherent form of written language for the educated classes.

10.3 Hagiography and Exegetical Works

10.3.1 Ioánnes Móschos (c.550–619)

Móschos was a monk in the monastery of St Theodósios near Jerusalem, but travelled with Sophrónios, later to become patriarch of Jerusalem, around Egypt, the Middle East and Cyprus, finally coming to Rome in 614, where he died. His *Spiritual Meadow*, a collection of engaging moral tales about the exploits of monks, hermits and ordinary

folk in the eastern Mediterranean, provides a vivid picture of the social conditions of the time. It was enormously popular, and survives in several recensions, as well as in Latin, Old Church Slavonic and Arabic translations. The critical edition being prepared by P. Pattenden is still awaited. In the meantime the text has to be read in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* (87, part 3). See also Hesseling (1931), Baynes (1955), Beck (1959: 412–13).

The continued influence of the 'popular' literary tradition deriving from the Septuagint and New Testament is always apparent, but this work also represents an important source for the development of Greek in the early Byzantine period, especially in the passages of direct speech, which often display a more contemporary colloquial style. The following extract tells what happens after the author and Sophrónios, temporarily at a loose end in Alexandria, have made their way to a colonnade in the centre of the city and found a group of blind men:

(6) ἐλάλουν δὲ οἱ τυφλοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ λέγει ὁ εἷς τῷ ἄλλῳ: Ὄντως σοι, πῶς γέγονας τυφλός; καὶ ἀπεκρίθη λέγων: Ναύτης ἤμην νεώτερος· καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀφρικῆς ἐπλέομεν, καὶ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ὀφθαλμιάσας καὶ μὴ ἔχων πῶς περιοδευθῶ, τὰ λευκώματα ἔσχον ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μου καὶ ἐτυφλώθην. λέγει καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ: Σὺ πῶς γέγονας τυφλός; ἀπεκρίθη κἀκεῖνος: ὑαλοψὸς ἤμην τὴν τέχνην καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπίχυσιν ἔσχον οἱ δύο ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ἐτυφλώθην. λέγουσιν ἄλλῳ κἀκεῖνοι: Σὺ πῶς γέγονας τυφλός; ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίθη: Ὄντως ἐγὼ λέγω ὑμῖν· ὅταν ἤμην νεώτερος, ἐμίσησα τὸν κάματον πάνυ· γέγονα δὲ καὶ ἄσωτος. οὐκ ἔχων οὖν πόθεν φάγω – λοιπὸν, ἔκλεπτον. ἐν μίᾳ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν μετὰ το ποιῆσαι με πολλὰ κακὰ ἱστάμην οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ θεωρῶ νεκρὸν ἐξοδιζόμενον καλῶς φοροῦντα. ἀκολουθῶ οὖν ὀπίσω τοῦ ἐξοδίου ἵνα θεωρήσω ποῦ μέλλουσιν αὐτὸν θάπτειν ... ἐγὼ δὲ ... εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ μνημεῖον καὶ ἀπέδυσα αὐτὸν εἴτι ἐφόρει ... καὶ ὡς ἀπέδυον αὐτὸν τὸ ὀθόνιον ... , ἀνακάθηται ὁ νεκρὸς ἔμπροσθέν μου καὶ ἐκτείνας τὰς δὺο χεῖρας αὐτοῦ ἐπ' ἐμὲ τοῖς δακτύλοις αὐτοῦ ἔξεσέν μου τὴν ὄψιν και ἐξέβαλεν τοὺς δύο μου ὀφθαλμούς ..."
(*Leimón* 77, Migne p. 2930)

[e'lalun ð y ty'fly pros a'lilus ce 'leji o is to 'alo, 'ondos sy,
Were-talking and the blind(pl) to each-other and says the one to-the other, 'Truly for-you,
pos 'jeɣonas ty'flos? c ape'kriθi 'leɣon, 'naftis 'imin 'njoteros;
how you-became blind?' And he-replied saying, 'Sailor I-was younger;
c apo afri'cis e'pleomen, c en do pe'laji ofθal'mjasas ce mi
and off Africa we-were-sailing, and in the sea having-got-eye-infection and not
'exon pos perjoðef'θo, ta lef'komata'esxon en dys ofθal'myz
having how I-may-be cured, the cataracts I-got in the eyes
mu c ety'floθin. 'leji ce to 'alo, sy pos 'jeɣonas ty'flos?
of-me and I-was-blinded.' He-says and to-the other, 'You how you-became blind?'
ape'kriθi ka'cinos 'leɣon, yalo'psos 'imin tin 'dexnin c ek tu
Answered and-that-one saying, 'Glass-maker I-was the trade and out-of the
py'ros e'piçysin 'esxon y 'ðyo ofθal'my c ety'floθin. 'leɣusin
fire splash got the two eyes and I-was-blinded. They-say
'alo ka'cini, sy pos 'jeɣonas ty'flos? o ðj ape'kriθi, 'ondos
to-other and-these, 'You how you-became blind?' He and replied, 'Truly
e'ɣo 'leɣo y'min; otan 'imin 'njoteros, e'misisa toŋ 'gamaton 'pany;
I I-say to-you; when I-was younger, I-hated the work completely;

'jeɣona ðe c 'asotos. uk 'exon un 'poθen 'fa(ɣ)o – ly'pon, 'eklepton.
I-became and even irredeemable. Not having then from-where I-may-eat – well, I-used-to-steal.
em 'mia un ton ime'ron meta to py'ise me po'la ka'ka i'stamin
on one then of-the days after the doing me many wicked (things) I-was-standing
un epi tin aɣo'ran ce θeo'ro ne'kron eksoði'zomenon ka'los
then at the market and I-see corpse being-taken-for-burial finely
for'unda. akolu'θo un o'piso tu ekso'ðiu ina θeo'riso pu
wearing. I-follow then behind the procession that I-may-see where
'melusin aton 'θaptin ... e'ɣo ðe ... is'ilθon is to mni'mion c
they-will him bury ... I and ... entered into the tomb and
ap'eðys aton 'iti e'fori ... c os a'peðyon aton t o'θonjon ... ,
I-stripped him whatever he-was wearing ... And as I-was-stripping him the linen ... ,
ana'kaθite o ne'kros 'embro'sθem mu c ek'tinas taz 'ðyo 'çiras
sits-up the corpse in-front of-me and stretching-out the two hands
atu ep e'me tyz ðak'tylys atu 'ekse'sem mu tin 'opsin c
of-it against me with-the fingers of-it it-scratched of-me the face and
eks'evalen tuz 'ðyo mu ofθal'mus ...]
threw-out the two of-me eyes ... '

'The blind men were talking among themselves and one said to another, "On your word, how did you go blind?" And he replied, "I was a sailor as a young man, and we were sailing off Africa when I caught an eye infection at sea, and having no means of finding a cure, I got cataracts on my eyes and went blind." He then asked the other, "How did you go blind?" And he replied, "I was a glassmaker by trade, and both my eyes got a splash from the fire and I was blinded." And then they asked the third, "How did you go blind?" And he replied, "I will tell you honestly. When I was a young man, I really hated work; I became completely dissolute. And since I had no way to get food – well, I used to steal. So, one day, after I had done many wicked things, I was standing by the market when I saw a body being taken for burial, very well-dressed. I followed behind the funeral procession to see where they were going to bury him … Then I … went into the tomb and stripped him of everything he was wearing … And as I was taking off his underwear … , the corpse sat up in front of me and, reaching out for me with its two hands, it scratched my face with its fingers and pulled out my two eyes …"

While there is nothing here that could be directly attributed to the influence of the literary tradition, gross errors of morphology and syntax, as seen in some personal correspondence from Egypt from the same period, are completely absent. This is the simple narrative style of educated speakers of the period, modelled on that of the only vernacular-based literary tradition and including features that were almost certainly in decline in the popular speech of Móschos' own time:

(7) (a) The standard use of the dative in its core grammatical (indirect object) and adverbial (instrumental) functions, even in passages of dialogue.
(b) The classical use of inflected participles in certain functions (e.g. circumstantial and temporal adjuncts, and complements to verbs of perception), and the use of the articular infinitive after μετά [meta] as a temporal clause.

Other features, however, reflect the later evolution of the language of the popular Christian tradition under the impact of spoken Greek. We may note, for example:

(8) (a) The standard use of δύο ['ðyo] 'two' with natural pairs, where Attic would have employed the dual number.

(b) The substitution of εἰ+τις ['itis]/εἰ+τι ['iti], lit. 'if anyone'/'if anything', for the indefinite/generic relatives ὅστις ['ostis] 'whoever' and ὅσος ['osos] 'everyone who' (cf. the functional parallelism of indefinite/generic and conditional expressions in *whoever/everyone who does X; if anyone does X*); this is analogous to the substitution of a conditional conjunction in indefinite relative clauses introduced by ὅς ἄν ['os an] 'whoever' (cf. 10.2.1).

(c) The absence of OV orders, and the associated positioning of clitic pronouns in second position in their clauses, immediately after their governing verbs, which stand initially to provide the standard head–clitic order seen also in NPs with dependent possessive pronouns. The 'displacement' of possessives into this sentential slot (cf. ἔξεσέν μου τὴν ὄψιν ['ekse'sem mu tin 'opsin] 'he-scratched of-me the face') again illustrates one of the bases for the replacement of the dative with the genitive, though this further development has not yet affected the style used here.

(d) The use of the infinitival future periphrasis with μέλλω ['melo] 'be about to'. Elsewhere Móschos also uses the more popular periphrasis with ἔχω ['exo], and occasionally a periphrasis with the future of 'be' + present participle. But the regular expression of futurity, particularly in overtly future contexts, is the present indicative, already a marked possibility in classical Greek, and now supported by the merger of the present indicative with the present subjunctive in the spoken language; aorist subjunctives are also used as futures, following the parallel merger of this paradigm with that of the future indicative, cf. 11.8.3, 11.8.5 (a).

(e) The generalization of μή [mi] as the negative for non-finite verb forms regardless of their function (cf. μή ἔχων [mi 'exon] 'not having'); this began in Hellenistic times and became standard during the early centuries AD. In general terms, classical Greek negated factual statements with οὐ(κ) [u(k)], and used μή [mi] for clauses with a modal interpretation.

(f) Middle forms of the verb 'be' (cf. ἤμην ['imin]), as often in papyri and earlier Christian texts (cf. 5.11.1, 11.8.5 (a)); note also the use of ὅταν ['otan] as a simple ('when') rather than a generic ('whenever') conjunction (10.2.1).

(g) Avoidance of the aorist middle, cf. 'perfect' γέγονα ['jeɣona] for ἐγενόμην [eje'nomin] 'I became', aorist 'passive' ἀπεκρίθην [ape'kriθin] for ἀπεκρινάμην [apekri'namin] 'I replied'; such replacement originated in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times, with the aorist passive generally favoured, though an existing perfect sometimes predominated (following perfect–aorist merger, cf. 6.5.2).

10.3.2 St Germanós (c.640–733)

Germanós' father was a relative of the emperor Herákleios, but having become implicated in the assassination of Herákleios' successor Kónstas, he was put to death by

the latter's son, Konstantínos IV. Though allowed to keep his inheritance, Germanós was castrated because of his disastrous family connections and sought a career in the church, eventually becoming patriarch of Constantinople in 715 just before the first iconoclastic crisis. When Léon III ordered the destruction of images in 725, Germanós refused, and in 730 he was deposed in favour of the iconoclast Anastásios.

Germanós wrote a major historical work on the six ecumenical councils that had then been held (*On Heresies and Synods*), and a large collection of sermons, letters and poems survive in manuscript form, though it is far from certain that all of these were written by him. He is best known for his commentary on the Orthodox liturgy (*Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation*), a radical and influential synthesis of Alexandrian and Antiochene interpretations belonging to the tradition of exegetical writing. It was aimed at a general reading public, and composed in a traditional but accessible middle style, somewhere between the popular-biblical and more learned ecclesiastical registers (cf. 8.5.2, 8.5.6).

The standard text is that of Borgia (1912); see also Meyendorff (1984) for further background, bibliography and translation. The following extract, in which the absence of the kind of colloquial features seen in Móschos is immediately apparent, explains the practice of praying towards the east:

(9) Τὸ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς εὔχεσθαι παραδεδομένον ἐστίν, ὡς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων· ἐστὶν οὕτως διὰ <τὸ> τὸν ἥλιον τὸν νοητὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ γῆς φανῆναι ἐπὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς ἀνατολῆς τοῦ αἰσθητοῦ ἡλίου, κατὰ τὸν προφήτην τὸν λέγοντα, Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ πάλιν, Προσκυνήσατε τῷ Κυρίῳ πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, τῷ ἐπιβεβηκότι ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατὰ ἀνατολάς, καὶ, Προσκυνήσωμεν εἰς τόπον οὗ ἔστησαν οἱ πόδες αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν, Στήσονται οἱ πόδες τοῦ Κυρίου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν κατὰ ἀνατολήν. ταῦτα φασὶν οἱ προφῆται καὶ διὰ τὸ καραδοκεῖν ἡμᾶς πάλιν τὸν ἐν ἐδὲμ παράδεισον τὸν κατὰ ἀνατολὴν ἀπολαμβάνειν καί, ὡς συνεχομένους, τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς φωτοφανείας τῆς δευτέρας τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν παρουσίας. (*Ecclesiastical History and Mystical Contemplation* 11)

[to kat anato'las 'efçesθe paraðeðo'menon estin, os ce ta ly'pa
The towards east/risings to-pray handed-down is, as also the other(-things)

ton a'jion apo'stolon; estin 'utos ðja to ton 'iljon ton noi'ton
of-the holy apostles; it-is thus because-of the the sun the intelligible

tiz ðiceo'synis xris'ton ton θe'on imon epi jis fa'nine epi tyz
of-the justice Christ the God of-us on earth to-have-appeared at the

'meresi tis anato'lis tu esθi'tu i'liu, kata tom bro'fitin ton
places of-the east/rising of-the perceptible sun, according-to the prophet the(-one)

'leɣonda, anato'li 'ono'ma to, ce 'palin, proscy'nisate to cy'rio
saying, 'East/rising name to-him,' and again, 'Worship(imp) the Lord

'pasa i ji, to epivevi'koti epi ton ura'non t ura'nu kat
all the land, the(-one) having-arrived to the heaven of-the heaven towards

anato'las, ce, proscy'nisomen is 'topon u 'estisan y 'poðes atu,
east/risings,' and, 'Let-us-worship in place where stood the feet of-him,'

ce 'palin, 'stisonde y 'poðes tu cy'riu epi t 'oros ton ele'on
and again, 'Will-stand the feet of-the Lord on the mountain of-the olives

kat anato'lin. 'tafta fasin y pro'fite ce ðja to karaðo'cin
towards east/rising.' These(-things) say the prophets also because-of the to-keenly-expect

imas 'palin ton en e'dem par'aðison toŋ gat anato'lin
us again the in Eden paradise the towards east/rising

apolam'vanin ce, os synexo'menus, tin anato'lin tis fotofa'nias
to-recover and, as linked-together, the east/rising of-the illumination

tiz ðef'teras tu xris'tu ce tu θe'u imon paru'sias.]
of-the second of-the Christ and of-the God of-us presence.

'Praying towards the east is traditional, like all the other practices of the holy apostles. It is so because the intelligible sun of righteousness, Christ our God, appeared on earth in the places where the perceptible sun rises, according to the prophet who says, "East is his name," and again, "Worship the Lord all the earth, who came to the heaven of heaven in the east," and, "Let us worship in the place where his feet stood," and again, "The feet of the Lord shall stand upon the mount of olives in the east." The prophets also say these things because we wait eagerly to receive again the paradise in Eden that is in the east and, since they are bound together, the rising of the dawn of the second coming of our Christ and God.'

Evidently a biblical sort of style (as in the quotations) is the target, with εἰς [is] and ἐπί [e'pi] + accusative used locatively, genitive pronouns employed consistently instead of the possessive adjectives of classical Greek, προσκυνῶ [proscy'no] 'I worship' used with the dative rather than the classical accusative, etc. But the author's learned background and the influence of ecclesiastical officialdom and theological debate are revealed in the continued use of verb-final orders, and in the extended hyperbaton and complex complementation of nominalized infinitivals used after prepositions.

10.4 Paraenetic Literature of the Middle Period

10.4.1 Konstantínos VII Porphyrogénnetos (905–59)

Konstantínos VII Porphyrogénnetos ('Born in the purple') succeeded to the throne at the age of seven, but had no power until 944 when the regent/emperor Romanós I Lakapenós was deposed by his own sons, who resented his preference for Konstantínos, the true heir of the Macedonian dynasty. The coup backfired, since public opinion was strongly in favour of Konstantínos, and the perpetrators were promptly exiled. He proved to be an effective emperor, whose reign saw the conversion of the Russian princess Olga of Kiev, and the safe defence of the northern and eastern frontiers against the Bulgarians and Arabs.

During the regency, however, he had devoted himself to the study of the history of Byzantine institutions, and promoted a renaissance of scholarship and creative writing, including a continuation of Theophánes' chronicle and the compilation of anthologies and encyclopaedias. He himself wrote a history of his grandfather Basíleios I, but is now best known for the treatises he commissioned on the administration of the empire, court ceremonial and the military districts ('themes') of the provinces (see Reiske (1829, 1830), Vogt (1935–40), Jenkins and Moravcsik (1967), Pertusi (1952), Toynbee (1973), Ševčenko (1992)). Much of this work was originally confidential, and circulated only among the members of the royal family and its closest advisers. *On the*

Administration of the Empire, for example, an advisory document addressed to his son Romanós (who almost inevitably turned out to be a hedonistic waster), contains a great deal of classified information about foreign policy which, as a basis for extortion, would have been literally worth its weight in gold to enemies such as the Petcheneks.

A classicizing style was manifestly unsuitable for the straightforward recording and transmission of information, and the prefaces to the works on administration and ceremonial both contain conventional apologies for the form of writing to follow. The piece in (10), from *On the Administration of the Empire*, is composed in precisely the literary style that is subsequently avoided, but it is a revealing statement of Byzantine attitudes:[3]

(10) Εἰ δὲ σαφεῖ καὶ κατημαξευμένῳ λόγῳ καὶ οἷον εἰκῇ ῥέοντι πεζῷ καὶ ἁπλοϊκῷ πρὸς τὴν τῶν προκειμένων ἐχρησάμην δήλωσιν, μηδὲν θαυμάσῃς, υἱέ. οὐ γὰρ ἐπίδειξιν καλλιγραφίας ἢ φράσεως ἠττικισμένης καὶ τὸ διηρμένον διογκούσης καὶ ὑψηλὸν ποιῆσαι ἐσπούδασα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον διὰ κοινῆς καὶ καθωμιλημένης ἀπαγγελίας διδάξαι σοι ἔσπευσα, ἅπερ οἴομαι δεῖν σε μὴ ἀγνοεῖν. (*De Administrando Imperio* (*DAI*) 1)

[i ðe sa'fi ce katimaksev'meno 'loɣo ce 'ion i'ci 'reondi pe'zo ce
If and clear and worn-down-by-wagons diction and like freely flowing prose and
aploi'ko pros tin ton proci'menon exri'samin 'ðilosin, mi'ðen
simple for the of-the subject-matter I-used presentation, in-no-way
θav'masis, i'je. u ɣar e'piðiksin kaliɣra'fias i 'fraseos
may-you-be-surprised, son. Not for display of-fine-writing or phraseology
iticiz'menis ce to ðiir'menon dioŋ'gusis ce ipsi'lon pi'ise
Atticized and (with-)the sublime swelling and lofty to-make
e'spuðasa, ala 'malon ðja ci'nis ce kaθomili'menis apaŋgel'ias
I endeavoured, but rather through common and vernacular exposition
ði'ðakse si 'espefsa, 'aper 'iome ðin se mi aɣno'in.]
to-teach you I-strove, what-things I-think to-be-necessary you not to-be ignorant-of.

'And do not be at all surprised, my son, that I have used clear and well-worn diction and something approaching simple free-flowing prose for the presentation of my subject. For I have not endeavoured to make a display of fine writing or Atticized phraseology, swelling with the sublime and lofty, but rather have striven to teach you the things of which I think you should not be ignorant through a common vernacular exposition.'

Following this we find a mix of styles ranging from something close to the language of scholarship down to the simple language of record-keeping and chronography, and reflecting the heterogeneous character of the different sources used (including imperial archives and earlier chronicles). Consider first the extract in (11), which illustrates a somewhat more elaborated variety:

(11) Ὅτι καὶ οἱ Ῥῶς διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχουσιν εἰρήνην ἔχειν μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν. ἀγοράζουσι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν βόας καὶ ἵππους καὶ πρόβατα ... ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πρὸς ὑπερορίους πολέμους ἀπέρχεσθαι δύνανται ὅλως οἱ Ῥῶς, εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν Πατζινακιτῶν εἰρηνεύοντες, διότι δύνανται (ἐν τῷ ἐκείνους τῶν οἰκείων ὑποχωρεῖν) αὐτοὶ ἐπερχόμενοι τὰ ἐκείνων ἀφανίζειν τε καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι. διὸ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ σπουδὴν οἱ

Ῥῶς τίθενται (διά τε τὸ μὴ παραβλάπτεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθνος) συμμαχίαν παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν καὶ ἔχειν αὐτοὺς εἰς βοήθειαν, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτῶν ἀπαλλάττωνται καὶ τῆς βοηθείας καταπολαύοιεν. (*DAI* 2)

[oti ce i 'ros ðja-spu'ðis 'exusin i'rinin 'eçin meta tom
That also the Russians zealous(lit. through zeal) are(lit. have) peace to-keep with the
batsinaci'ton. aɣo'razousi ɣar eks af'ton 'voas ce 'ipus ce 'provata ...
Petcheneks. They-buy for from them cattle and horses and sheep ...
al u'ðe pros ipero'rius po'lemus a'perçesθe 'ðinande 'olos i ros,
But not-even for cross-border wars to-leave can at-all the Russians,
i-mi meta tom batsinaci'ton iri'nevondes, ðioti 'ðinande (en do
unless with the Petcheneks being-at-peace, because they-are -able (during the
e'cinus ton i'cion ipoxo'rin) af'ti eper'xomeni ta e'cinon
them from-the households to-be-away) these(men) attacking the(-things) of-those-men
afa'nizin te ce li'menesθe. ði'o 'malon a'i spu'ðin i ros 'tiθende
to-destroy both and to-outrage. Therefore more always effort the Russians put
(ðja te to mi para'vlaptesθe par af'ton ce ðja to isçi'ron 'ine
(because-of both the not to-be-harmed by them and because-of the strong to-be
to ti'uton 'eθnos) sima'çian par af'ton lam'vanin ce 'eçin atus
the such nation) alliance from them to-take and to-have them
is vo'iθian, os-an ce tis 'exθras aton apa'latonde ce
for help, so-that both from-the hatred of-them they may-be-released(subjunc) and
tiz voi'θias katapo'lavien.]
the help they-might-enjoy(opt).

'(It is noted) that the Russians too are anxious to keep the peace with the Petcheneks. For they buy cattle, horses and sheep from them … Moreover, the Russians are altogether unable to set out for wars across their borders unless they are at peace with the Petcheneks, because (while they are away from their households) these people may attack, and destroy and vandalize their property. So the Russians make ever greater efforts (both to avoid being harmed by them and because this nation is strong) to retain their alliance with them and to have their support, so that they may both be freed from their hatred and enjoy the benefit of their help.'

This is well below the style of the introduction, but above that of passages consisting mainly of lists of facts (for these, and the use of initial ὅτι ['oti], see (12)). Thus even though the participial adjuncts are nearly all subject-orientated, and despite the fact that the vocabulary is of a routine character (including (ὁ) αὐτός [(o) af'tos], originally 'self/same', and (ὁ) τοιοῦτος [(o) ti'utos], originally 'such', in discourse-deictic function), we should also note the subordinating syntax and learned markers such as the use of ἔχω ['exo] 'have' + adverbial in the sense of 'be' + adjective, the complex nominalized infinitivals with accusative subjects, the verb-final order in subordinate clauses without emphasis on the preceding complements, and, in characteristically high Byzantine fashion, the use of ὡς ἄν ['os an] as a final conjunction with subjunctive and optative in free variation (cf. 9.3, 9.5).

The next passage, describing two of the cities of Dalmatia, is in a more basic style:

(12) Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀσπαλάθου κάστρον, ὅπερ 'παλάτιον μικρόν' ἑρμηνεύεται, ὁ βασιλεὺς Διοκλητιανός τοῦτο ἔκτισεν· εἶχεν δὲ αὐτὸ ὡς ἴδιον οἶκον, καὶ αὐλὴν οἰκοδομήσας ἔνδοθεν και παλάτια, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείονα κατελύθησαν. σώζεται δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦι ὀλίγα, ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον τοῦ κάστρου καὶ ὁ ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Δόμνου, ἐι ᾧ κατάκειται ὁ αὐτὸς ἅγιος Δόμνος, ὅπερ ἦν κοιτὼν τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Διοκλητιανοῦ. Ὑποκάτω δὲ αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχουσιν εἰλληματικαὶ καμάραι, αἵτινες ὑπῆρχαι φυλακαί, ἐν αἷς τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ βασανιζομένους ἁγίους ἐναπέκλειεν ἀπηνῶς ...

Ὅτι τὸ κάστρον τὸ Τετραγγούριν νησίον ἐστὶν μικρὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἔχον δὲ τράχηλον ἕως τῆς γῆς στενώτατον δίκην γεφυρίου, ἐν ᾧ διέρχονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ κάστρον. Τετραγγούριν δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸ μακρὸν δίκηι ἀγγουρίου. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ ἀπόκειται ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς Λαυρέντιος, ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων. (*DAI* 29)

[oti tu aspa'laθu 'kastron, oper pa'lation mik'ron ermi'nevete,
That of-the Aspálathon city, which 'palace small' is-interpreted,
o vasi'lefs ðioklitia'nos 'tuto 'ektisen; 'içen ðe ato os 'iðion
the emperor Diocletian this founded; he-had and it as private
'ikon, ce av'lin ikoðo'misas 'endoθen ce pa'latia, eks on ta
dwelling-place, both court having-built within and palaces, from which the
'pliona kate'liθisan. 'sozete ðe 'mexri tu nin o'liɣa, eks
more have-been-destroyed. Is-saved but until the now few(-things), from
on estin to episko'pion tu 'kastru c o na'os tu a'jiu 'ðomnu,
which is the bishop's-house of-the city and the church of-the St Dóm(i)nos,
en o ka'tacite o af'tos 'ajos 'ðomnos, oper in ci'ton tu
in which lies the same St Dóm(i)nos, which was resting-place of-the
af'tu vasi'leos ðioklitia'nu. ipo'kato ð af'tu i'parxusin
same emperor Diocletian. Below and this there-are
ilimati'ce ka'mare, etines i'pirxon fila'ce, en es tus par af'tu
arched vaults, which used-to-be prison-cells, in which the by him
vasanizo'menus a'jius enap'eklien api'nos ...
being-tortured saints he-used-to-confine cruelly ...
'oti to 'kastron to tetraŋ'gurin ni'sion estin mi'kron en di
That the city the Tetrangoúrin island is small in the
θal'asi, 'exon ce 'traçilon eos tiz jis ste'notaton 'ðicin jefi'riu,
sea, having also neck as-far-as the land very-narrow like bridge,
en o 'ðjerxonde i kati'kundes is to af'to 'kastron. tetraŋ'gurin
by which cross the inhabitants to the same city. Tetrangoúrin
ðe ka'lite ðja to 'ine af'to mak'ron 'ðicin aŋgu'riu. en ðe to
and it-is-called because-of the to-be this long like cucumber. In and the
af'to 'kastro a'pocite o 'ajos 'martis lav'rendios, o arçi'ðjakon.]
same city lies the holy martyr Lauréntios, the archdeacon.

'(*It is noted*) that the city of Aspálathon (*Split*), which means "little palace", was founded by the emperor Diocletian. He had it as his private domus, building both a court and palaces inside it, most of which have been destroyed. But a few things are preserved to this day, among which are the city's bishop's palace and the church of St Domnus, which was the resting-place of the aforementioned Diocletian and in which the same St Domnus lies. Beneath are arching vaults, which used to be prison cells, in which he cruelly confined the saints who were being tortured by him …

(*It is noted*) that the city of Tetrangoúrin (*Sveti Stefan in Montenegro*) is a small island in the sea, but with a very narrow neck reaching to the land like a bridge, over which the inhabitants cross to this city. It is called Tetrangoúrin because it is long like a cucumber (*angoúrion*). In the same city lies the holy martyr Lauréntios, the archdeacon.'

A number of features here are familiar from chronography, most obviously the anaphoric use of ὁ αὐτός [o af'tos] 'the same'. Note too the avoidance of complex subordination other than that involving relative clauses and participles, and the relatively loose syntax of the latter (including elsewhere 'misused' genitive absolutes and syntactically unconnected nominatives). The use of ἐν [en] + dative to denote an instrument or path (common in the New Testament), the nominalized infinitives governed by prepositions (with limited complementation), the definite comparative adjective used as a superlative (τὰ πλείονα [ta 'pliona], lit. 'the more'), the use of ὅσπερ ['osper] and ὅστις ['ostis] as simple relatives to replace monosyllabic forms lacking prepositional support, and the use of initial ὅτι ['oti] 'that', marking excerpts or entries in a ledger, are also characteristic of this basic style, as is the semantically neutral use of neuter diminutives: νησίον [ni'sion] 'island' for νῆσος ['nisos], γεφύριον [je'firion] 'bridge' for γέφυρα ['jefira], and, with loss of the o-vowel, Τετραγγούριν [tetraŋ'gurin] (cf. 6.5.2). These had become established in popular speech and subliterary writing in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times, but took longer to penetrate the middle registers of the written language.

The widespread use of adverbs and adverbial case forms as preposition substitutes with the genitive (e.g. ὑποκάτω [ipo'kato] 'down-under', and elsewhere ἐπάνω [e'pano] 'up-on', κύκλῳ ['ciklo] 'in-circle (of)', i.e. 'around') reflects the beginnings of the disappearance of many of the classical prepositions from ordinary spoken Greek during the middle ages (cf. 11.7.1). Accusative δίκην ['ðicin] 'after-manner (of)/like' is similarly used in (12). In spoken Greek only εἰς (σε) [is (se)] 'at/on/in', ἀπό [apo] 'from/by', για [ja] (< διά [ðja]) 'for/about', and μέ [me] (< μετά [meta]) 'with' eventually remained in general use, and many spatial and other functions came to be expressed instead by adverbials such as those above. These retained the old genitive syntax when they governed a clitic pronoun, but were otherwise complemented by a prepositional phrase headed by one of the four 'survivors', e.g. πάνω στο (< εἰς το) βουνό ['pano sto vu'no] 'up(on) on-the mountain', etc.

Taking (10), (11) and (12) together, we can begin properly to appreciate the skill required to write appropriately in a language that offered such a plethora of stylistic options, and it is a tribute to the efficacy of Byzantine education that the best learned writers were able to compose more or less successfully, and more or less consistently, at a number of different levels defined by different, but overlapping, sets of parameters.

10.4.2 Kekauménos (11th century)

Kekauménos, like many landowners in northern Greece, belonged to a family that came originally from Armenia. The *Strategikón,* probably written in the decade after the battle of Manzikert (1071), provides guidance for his son on public and private conduct. The author's suspicious and devious character provides a sad comment on

life in an era when the empire, threatened on all fronts, was being run as a military dictatorship, and people had to endure not only crippling taxation (sections 50, 68) but the threat of being 'reported' if they dared to complain. His sentiments are sometimes reminiscent of those of Hesiod and Theognis, who wrote in similarly difficult times some eighteen centuries earlier.

He tells us, perhaps disingenuously, that as a mere provincial aristocrat he did not receive a literary education (section 191), but since the work was intended for distribution within his own family, the vocabulary and syntax of the *Strategikón* naturally reflect aspects of contemporary usage quite directly. Δουλεύω [ðu'levo], for example, means 'serve/work (for)', not 'be a slave/subject to', and ὁμιλῶ [omi'lo] means 'speak' rather than 'associate with', while the former final conjunction ἵνα ['ina] (+ subjunctive) is now widely used to replace complement and adjunct infinitivals (complements to modal/aspectual auxiliaries and to 'subject control' verbs being the major survivors). The overall impression is of an updated version of the kind of writing seen in Móschos. The standard edition of the sole manuscript is Wassiliewsky and Jernstedt (1896); see also Moravcsik (1983: 350–2). The extract in (13) is typical in style and content:

(13) Παραιτοῦ δὲ τὸ ὁμιλεῖν μετὰ ἀτάκτων καὶ πρόσεχε ὁπόταν μετὰ τῶν συντρόφων σου ὁμιλεῖς ἢ μετὰ ἄλλου τινός. καὶ εἴπερ ἐμπέσῃ λόγος διὰ τὸν βασιλέα ἢ τὴν δέσποιναν, τὸ σύνολον μηδὲ ἀποκριθῇς, ἀλλ' ὑποχώρησον. πολλοὺς γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο κινδυνεύσαντας εἶδον. λαλεῖ γὰρ ὁ ἄφρων ὡς παίζων, εἶτα μετὰ πανουργίας καὶ στραφεὶς καταψεύσεταί σου ὡς σὺ ταῦτα εἶπες. εἰ δὲ κἀκεῖνος ἐν ἁπλότητι ὡμίλησεν ἄλλος τις πανοῦργος δραμὼν ἀναγγέλῃ ταῦτα, καὶ εὐθυνθήσῃ διότι ἐκεῖσε παρευρέθης, καὶ τοῦ μὲν λέγοντος καταφρονήσουσιν, τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἐπὶ σέ ἀναθήσουσι. πρόσεχε τέκνον, τὰ εὐκαταφρόνητά σοι δοκοῦντα· ταῦτα μεγάλων κινδύνων εἰσὶ πρόξενα. πολλοὺς γὰρ εἶδον κινδυνεύσαντας ἐν τούτοις. (*Strategikón* 6)

[pare'tu ðe t omi'lin met a'takton ce 'proseçe o'potan meta to(n)
Stop and the to-speak with unruly(-people) and beware when with the
sin'drofo(n) su omi'lis i met 'alu tinos. c iper em'besi 'loɣos
friends of-you you-speak or with other some. And if crops-up talk
ðja tom vasi'lea i ti(n) 'ðespinan, to 'sinolon mið apokri'θis, al
about the emperor or the mistress, the altogether not-even reply(imp), but
ipo'xorison. po'lus ɣar is 'tuto cindi'nefsandas 'iðon. la'li ɣar
withdraw. Many for by this having-got-into-danger I-have-seen. Speaks for
o 'afron os 'pezon, 'ita meta panur'jias ce stra'fis kata'psefse'te
the fool as-if playing, then with cunning and having-turned he-will-tell-lies-against
su os 'si tafta 'ipes. i ðe ka'cinos en a'plotiti o'milisen, 'alos tis
you that you these(-things) said. If and even-that(-man) in simplicity spoke, other some
pa'nurɣos ðra'mon anan'ɟeli tafta, c efθin'θisi ði'oti
villain having-run will-tell(subj) these-things, and you-will-be-blamed because
e'cise pare'vreθis. ce tu men 'leɣondos katafro'nisusin, tin
there you-were-found. And the on-the-one-hand speaking(-person) they-will-despise, the
ðe e'tian epi 'se ana'θisusi. 'proseçe, 'teknon, ta
on-the-other-hand blame to you they-will-attribute. Beware, child, the(-things)
efkata'froni'ta si ðo'kunda; tafta me'ɣalon cin'dinon isi 'proksena.
easily-dismissable to-you seeming; these of-great dangers are causing.
po'lus ɣar 'iðon cindi'nefsandas en 'dutis.]
Many for I-have-seen having-got-into-danger by these-things.

'Stop talking to scum, and be careful even when talking to friends, or anyone else. And if a conversation starts up about the emperor and our mistress, just don't reply and walk away, because I've seen a lot of people get into trouble like this. A fool speaks as if in jest, and then cunningly turns round and pretends it was you who said it. And even if he spoke honestly, some other swine will run and tell, and you will be blamed because you were there. And though they will despise the speaker, it is you they will pin the blame on. My son, be careful of things that seem insignificant; great dangers follow from them. There are a lot of people I've seen get into trouble like this.'

The regular placing of verbs initially in clauses, unless displaced by a topicalized subject, focalized element, complementizer or semantic operator (e.g. conditional conjunction, negative particle or interrogative), is surely a characteristic of the contemporary educated vernacular. Correspondingly, clitic pronouns, including non-emphatic αὐτόν [(a)ton]/τοῦτον [tuton] 'him'/'this-one' appear in second position within the phrases that contain them, following their governing head when this is initial, or immediately preceding it when some other item occurs initially (cf. 4.8 and 6.5.1 for earlier periods). Other features of this simple style include: the overlap of ἐν [en] + dative and εἰς [is] + accusative in both spatial and instrumental functions and the related use of once allative adverbs in a locative sense (ἐκεῖσε [e'cise] = 'there', not 'to there'); the generic use of ὁπόταν [o'potan] 'when(ever)' with a present indicative rather than a subjunctive; the use of παραιτοῦμαι [pare'tume] to mean 'stop', rather than 'avert (by entreaty)', and of διά [(ð)ja] + accusative to mean 'about', rather than 'because of'.

Note, however, that the morphology is classically correct throughout, that 'popular' future periphrases are avoided, and that datives are still used routinely to mark the indirect object with no genitive/accusative overlaps: e.g. τὰ ... σοι δοκοῦντα [ta ... si ðo'kunda] 'the (things) ... to-you seeming' (cf. εἰ δὲ δουλεύεις βασιλεῖ [i ðe ðu'levis vasi'li] 'if and you-work for-the-emperor' (section 3), γράφε τῷ βασιλεῖ ['ɣrafe to vasi'li] 'write to-the emperor' (section 50), among many other examples). Inflected participles are also still in use, though in a restricted range of functions as expected. Kekauménos may or may not have had a literary education, but he clearly wrote a polished contemporary Koine that was far from 'vulgar'. For evidence of the vernacular in this period, we must look elsewhere (see chapters 11 and 12).

10.5 The Metaphrases of the Palaiologan Period

The middle-register works compiled on the orders of Konstantínos VII provide some of the best-known evidence for the simpler forms of written Greek in the middle ages, but there are also important examples from the later empire of the transposition of literary Greek into a lower register. The works involved are by Nikétas Choniátes, Geórgios Pachyméres, Nikephóros Blemmydes (*Andrías*) and Anna Komnené (from the middle of book XI of the *Alexiad* to the end of XIII), and the large number of manuscripts points to the return of a reading public whose education was not sufficient to allow them to cope easily with the Atticizing high style (see especially Van Dieten (1979) on Nikétas Choniátes, and Hunger (1981) on the *Alexiad*). Despite limited stylistic variation, this register represents a variant of the emerging standard that inherited its defining features from the tradition of practical writing represented in

texts such as Konstantínos VII's private works, Manassés' *Synopsis Istoriké* and, at a slightly higher level, the scholarship of the later Byzantine period (for which see 10.6).

The example below is taken from the *Alexiad*, where the emperor is wrestling with the problems caused by the arrival of the first crusade. His ally Raymond of Provence (count of St Gilles), having besieged Tripolis in the Lebanon, had contracted a fatal illness and sent for his nephew Guillaume-Jordan (count of Cerdagne) to succeed him. But while the emperor Aléxios I tries to win Guillaume over to his side, the news breaks that Tancred, nephew of Robert Guiscard, has occupied Antioch and other cities of the region in contravention of the Normans' oath of allegiance. Aléxios therefore writes to the commander of the Norman force, Robert's son Bohemond, to express his displeasure. The original text is given first, followed by the metaphrase:

(14) (a) τούτου τοίνυν τὴν τελευτὴν μεμαθηκὼς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα Κύπρου διὰ γραμμάτων ἐδήλωσεν, ἵνα Νικήταν τὸν Χιλίντζην μετὰ χρημάτων ἱκανῶν πρὸς τὸν Γελίελμον ἐκπέμψῃ ἐφ' ᾧ ὑποποιήσασθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ παρασκευάσαι ὀμωμοκέναι πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα πίστιν βεβαίαν φυλάξαι εἰς αὐτὸν και ὁποίαν ὁ ἀποβεβιωκὼς θεῖος αὐτοῦ Ἰσαγγέλης μέχρι τέλους ἐτήρησεν.

εἶτα μεμαθηκὼς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ τὴν τῆς Λαοδικείας παρὰ τοῦ Ταγγρὲ κατάσχεσιν πρὸς τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον γράμματα ἐκτίθεται οὑτωσὶ περιέχοντα· τὰ ὅρκια οἶδας καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἃς οὐκ αὐτὸς μόνος ἀλλὰ καὶ ἅπαντες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν Ῥωμαίων ἐποιήσαντο. νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς πρῶτος παρασπονδήσας τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν κατέσχες καὶ ἄλλ' ἄττα φρούρια ὑποποιησάμενος καὶ αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν. ἀπόστηθι τοίνυν τῆς πόλεως Ἀντιοχείας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων, δίκαιόν τε πρᾶγμα ποιῶν, καὶ μὴ θέλε πολέμους ἄλλους καὶ μάχας κατὰ σαυτοῦ ἐρεθιζειν. (*Alexiad* XI. 8–9)

['tutu tinin tin delef'tin memaθi'kos, o afto'krator ef'θis pros
Of-this(man) then the end having-learned(perf), the emperor immediately to
ton 'ðuka 'cipru ðja ɣra'maton e'ðilosen, ina ni'citan ton
the duke of-Cyprus through letters revealed, so-that Nikétas the
xa'lindzin meta xri'maton ika'non pros ton je'lielmon ek'pempsi
Khalíndzes with money sufficient to the Guillaume he-may-send
ef-o ipopi'isas'θe te aton ce parasce'vase omomo'cene pros
with-the-intention to-win-over-by-intrigue both him and to-induce to-swear(perf) to
ton afto'kratora 'pistin ve'vean fi'lakse is af'ton, ce o'pian o
the emperor faith firm to-keep towards him, even such-as the
apovevjo'kos 'θios atu i san'ɟelis mexri 'telus e'tirisen.
having-died uncle of-him St Gilles until end kept.

'ita memaθi'kos o afto'krator ce tin tis laoði'cias para
Then having-learned(perf) the emperor also the of-the Laodicea by
tu taŋ'gre ka'tasçesin pros ton vai'mundon 'ɣramata ek'tiθete
the Tancred seizing to the Bohemond letter he-set-out
uto'si peri'exonda: ta 'orcia 'iðas ce tas epanɟe'lias, as uk af'tos
thus containing: 'The oaths you-know and the promises, which not self
'monos, ala ce 'apandes pros tin vasi'lian ro'meon epi'isando.
alone, but also all to the emperor of-Romans made.
nin ðe af'tos 'protos paraspon'disas tin andi'oçjan ka'tesçes ce
Now but self first having-broken-faith the Antioch you-have-seized both
'al ata 'fruria ipopii'samenos ce af'tin ði tin lao'ðician.
other some fortified-towns having-gained-by-intrigue and itself indeed the Laodicea.

a'postiθi tinin tis 'poleos andio'çias ce ton 'alon a'pandon, 'ðice'on di
Withdraw therefore from-the city Antioch and the others all, right some
'praɣma pi'on, ce 'mi 'θele po'lemus 'alus ce 'maxas kata saf'tu ere'θizin.]
deed doing, and not wish wars other and battles against yourself to-provoke.'

'Accordingly, when the emperor learned of his (*St Gilles'*) death, he at once informed the duke of Cyprus by letter, in order that he might send Nikétas Chalíntzes to Guillaume with plenty of money in an effort both to win him over and to induce him to swear to the emperor to maintain a sure allegiance towards him of the sort that his dead uncle St Gilles had observed until his death.

Subsequently, the emperor learned of the occupation of Laodicea by Tancred and set out a letter to Bohemond with the following content: "You are aware of the oaths and promises which not only you yourself but everyone made to the emperor of the Romans. Now you are the first to break your word, occupying Antioch and deviously winning over certain other fortified towns, including Laodicea itself. Act justly then, withdraw from the city of Antioch and all the other places, and do not keep seeking to provoke further wars and battles against yourself." '

(b) μαθὼν δὲ τὸν τοῦ Ἰσαγγέλη θάνατον, ὁ βασιλεὺς γράφει πρὸς τὸν δοῦκα τῆς Κύπρου ἵνα ἐκπέμψῃ τὸν Νικήταν τὸν Χαλίτζην μετὰ χρημάτων πρὸς Γελίελμον, ὡς ἂν οἰκονομήσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ ὀμόσῃ ἵνα φυλάττῃ τὴν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πίστιν αὐτοῦ ἀμετάθετον, καθὼς καὶ ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξεν.

ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ταγγρέ τὴν Λαοδίκειαν ἐκράτησε, γράφει πρὸς τὸν Βαϊμοῦντον ταῦτα· Γινώσκεις τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας ἃς οὐ σὺ μόνος, ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ κόμητες πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐποίησαν. σὺ δὲ πρῶτον ἄρτι ἐπίορκος γεγονώς, ἐκράτησας τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ἕτερα κάστρα καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Λαοδίκειαν. ἔξελθε τοίνυν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀντιοχείας καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων δι' αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ μηδὲν θελήσῃς κατὰ σοῦ πολέμους καὶ μάχας διεγεῖραι. (Metaphrase 41–4, Hunger (1981: 37))

[ma'θon ðe ton du isan'ɟeli 'θanato(n), o vasi'lefs 'ɣrafi pros
Having-learned and the of-the St Gilles death, the emperor writes to
to 'ðuka tis 'cipru in ek'pempsi to ni'cita(n) toŋ xa'lidzi(n) meta
the duke of-the Cyprus so-that he-may-send the Nikétas the Khalítzis with
xri'maton pros to jel'ielmo(n), os-an ikono'misi (a)ton ce o'mosi
money to the Guillaume, so-that he-may-fund him and he-may-swear
ina fi'lati tim bros to vasi'lea 'pistin atu ame'taθeto(n), ka'θos ce
that he-keep the to the emperor pledge of-him untransferred, just-as also
o 'θios atu e'filaksen.
the uncle of-him kept.
oz ðe 'emaθen o vasi'lefs oti ce o taŋ'gre ti lao'ðician
When and learned the emperor that also the Tancred the Laodicea
e'kratise, 'ɣrafi pros to vai'mundo(n) 'tafta: ji'noscis tus
seized, he-writes to the Bohemond these-things: 'You-know the
'orkus ce tas epanɟe'lias as u 'si 'monos, ala ce 'pandes i 'komites
oaths and the promises which not you alone, but also all the counts
pros to vasi'lean e'piisan. si ðe 'proton 'arti e'piorkos jeɣo'nos,
to the emperor made. You but first just-now perjurer having-become,
e'kratisas tin andi'oçja(n) c 'etera 'kastra ce af'tin ti lao'ðicia(n).
took the Antioch and other fortified-towns and itself the Laodicea.

'ekselθe tinin apo tis 'poleos tis andio'çias c apo ton 'alon
Go-out then from the city the Antioch and from the others
a'pandon ðj af'to to 'ðiceo(n), ce mi'ðen θe'lisis kata 'su po'lemus
all for itself the justice, and in-no-way wish(subjunc) against you wars
ce 'maxas ðje'jire.]
and battles to-arouse.'

'Having learned of St Gilles' death, the emperor wrote to the duke of Cyprus in order that he might send Nikétas Chalítzes to Guillaume with money to meet his expenses, so that he would swear to keep unchanged his pledge of allegiance to the emperor, just as his uncle had.

But when the emperor learned that Tancred had also seized Laodicea, he wrote the following to Bohemond: "You are aware of the oaths and the promises which not only you but all the counts made to the king. But now you have perjured yourself first by taking Antioch, as well as other fortified towns including Laodicea itself. So for the sake of justice, leave the city of Antioch and all the other places, and do not seek to stir up wars and battles against yourself." '

Anna's piece displays the usual mix of (predominantly) classical morphology with Atticisms and high-style Byzantinisms, and it is, of course, precisely these literary features of the original that have been adapted or removed in the metaphrase, which is also more explicit and even interpolates clarificatory material, e.g. the substitution of Ἰσαγγέλη [tu isan'ɟeli] for τοῦτου ['tutu] at the beginning of the piece, or the addition of οἱ κόμητες [i 'komites] to (ἅ)παντες [('a)]pandes] in Aléxios' letter. Thus the free use of perfects as aorists, so typical of high-style writing, is now avoided (cf. the substitution of the aorist participle μαθών [ma'θon] in place of perfect μεμαθηκώς [memaθi'kos]), and the functional range of participial usage is more restricted, with the surviving forms serving as subject-orientated adjuncts (nominative) or in absolute constructions (genitive), as expected; the initial participle in the first sentence of the second paragraph of the original has, however, been replaced by a finite clause, while the neuter accusative plural περιέχοντα [peri'exonda] modifying a direct object has been quietly dropped. The metaphrast has also been obliged to replace the relative clause introduced by ὁποίαν [o'pian], originally 'such as', with an adverbial clause, because these forms were already used in the spoken and middle-range written languages as simple relatives (cf. 11.7.8 (c)).

There is also some reduction in infinitival usage; note in particular the use of a subjunctive clause introduced by ἵνα ['ina] after the control verb ὀμόσῃ [o'mosi] 'swear' (i.e. meaning *[X swear [that X keep]]* in place of *[X swear [to keep]]*, though the use of infinitives with control verbs is also maintained in parallel, as probably still in the spoken language). The metaphrast, perhaps uncertain about the traditional use of infinitives in such contexts, has also misread Anna's phrase πίστιν βεβαίαν φυλάξαι ['pistin ve'vean fi'lakse] as predicative (i.e. = 'to keep (his) faith sure' rather than 'to keep (a) sure faith'), and translated accordingly, as if Guillaume had already sworn such an oath. Certain other long-abandoned categories and formations are also avoided, along with some of the classical vocabulary of the original. Thus non-lexicalized middle verb forms are replaced by active equivalents or simply dropped, so that γράμματα ἐκτίθεται οὑτωσὶ περιέχοντα ['ɣramata ek'tiθetai uto'si peri'exonda] 'letter sets-forth thus containing', for example, is replaced by the prosaic

γράφει ταῦτα ['ɣrafi tafta] 'writes these-things'. Note also γινώσκω [ji'nosko] for οἶδα ['iða] 'I know', ἐξέρχομαι/ἐξῆλθον [e'kserxome/e'ksilθon] for ἀφίσταμαι/ἀπέστην [a'fistame/a'pestin] 'I withdraw', and διεγείρω [ðje'jiro] for ἐρεθίζω [ere'θizo] 'I provoke/arouse'.

None the less, the fundamentally non-vernacular quality of this register is immediately apparent in the classical morphology of the categories and paradigms still in use: only the genitive Ἰσαγγέλ-η [isan'ɟel-i], with -η [-i] for -ου [-u], has a modern look (cf. 11.7.3), and even this has ancient precedent in the case of proper names. The favourite Byzantine final conjunction ὡς ἄν ['os an] is also in evidence, verb-final order is still a freely available option, especially in subordinate clauses, while αὐτός [af'tos] retains its classical use as an emphatic pronominal (i.e. = 'self' rather than modern 'this'). We should be in no doubt that this simplified style still belongs firmly within the range of the educated written Koine of its period.

10.6 Academic Greek in the Late Period: Máximos Planoúdes (c.1255–c.1305)

Manouél Planoúdes took the name Máximos when he became a monk. He ran a school in the capital, and served as secretary to the emperor Andrónikos II Palaiológos (reigned 1282–1328), for whom he went on an embassy to Venice. He is best known, however, as a scholar of prodigious range and learning, and as one of the first Byzantine academics to master Latin (see Wilson (1983: 230–41)). The following extract is taken from a pamphlet on Arabic numerals (which he writes in their Persian rather than western form):

(15) Οἱ τῶν ἀστρονόμων φιλοσοφώτεροι, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν ἀριθμὸς ἔχει τὸ ἄπειρον, τοῦ δὲ ἀπείρου γνῶσις οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐφεῦρον σχήματά τινα καὶ μέθοδον δι' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἂν τὰ τῶν ἐν χρήσει ἀριθμῶν εὐσυνοπτότερόν τε κατανοῆται και ἀκριβέστερον. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ σχήματα ἐννέα μόνα, ἃ καὶ εἰσὶ ταῦτα: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. τιθέασι δὲ καὶ ἕτερόν τι σχῆμα ὃ καλοῦσι τζίφραν, κατ' Ἰνδοὺς σημαῖνον οὐδέν· καὶ τὰ ἐννέα δὲ σχήματα καὶ αὐτὰ Ἰνδικά ἐστιν· ἡ δὲ τζίφρα γράφεται οὕτως 0.

Τούτων τῶν θ′ σχημάτων ἕκαστον καθ' αὑτὸ μόνον κείμενον εἶτ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν πρώτην χώραν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς ἡμῶν ἀρχομένων τὸ μὲν 1 σημαίνει ἕν, τὸ δὲ 2 δύο, ... κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν χώραν τὸ μὲν 1 δέκα, τὸ δὲ 2 εἴκοσι, ... κατὰ δὲ τὴν τρίτην χώραν τὸ μὲν 1 ἑκατόν, τὸ δὲ 2 διακόσια, ... καὶ κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς χώρας ὡσαύτως γίνεται. (Edition: Gerhardt (1865), extract in Wilson (1971: 126–7))

[i ton astro'nomon filoso'foteri, e'pi o men ariθ'mos 'eçi to
The of-the astronomers wiser, since the on-the-one-hand number has the
'apiron, tu ðe a'piru 'ɣnosis uk 'estin, e'fevron 'sçima'ta tina
infinity, of-the on-the-other-hand infinity knowledge not there-is, they-invented symbols some
ce 'meθoðon ðj af'ton, os-an ta ton en 'xrisi ariθ'mon
and method for them, so-that the(-things) of-the in use numbers
efsinop'tote'ron te katano'ite ce akri'vesteron. isi ðe ta 'sçimata
more-at-a-glance both may-be-understood and more-accurately. They-are and the symbols
e'nea 'mona, a ce isi 'tafta: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. ti'θeasi ðe ce
nine only, which in-fact are these: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. They-put and also

'ete'ron ti 'sçima o ka'lusi 'tsifran, kat in'ðus si'menon u'ðen; ce
other some symbol which they-call 'cipher', among Indians meaning 'nothing'; and
ta e'nea ta 'sçimata ce af'ta inði'ka estin; i ðe 'tsifra 'ɣrafete 0.
the nine the symbols also these Indian are; the and cipher is-written 0.

'tuton ton e'nea sçi'maton 'ekaston kaθ af'to 'monon 'cimenon,
Of-these the nine symbols each(nom) by itself alone being-placed(nom),
it-un kata tim 'brotin 'xoran apo tiz ðeksi'as çi'ros imon arxo'menon,
then in the first space from the right hand us(gen) beginning(gen),
to men 1 si'meni en, to ðe 2 'ðio, ... kata ðe ti(n) ðef'teran 'xoran
the on-the-one-hand 1 means 'one', the and 2 'two', ... In and the second space
to men 1 'ðeka, to ðe 2 'ikosi, ... kata ðe tin 'dritin 'xoran to
the on-the-one-hand 1 'ten', the and 2 'twenty', ... In and the third space the
men 1 eka'ton, to ðe 2 ðja'kosja, ... ce kata tas li'pas ðe 'xoras
on-the-one-hand 1 'hundred', the and 2 'two hundred', ... Also in the remaining and spaces
os'aftos 'jinete.]
in-the-same-way it-is-done.

'Since the set of numbers is infinite and there can be no knowledge of infinity, the wisest of the astronomers invented certain symbols and a framework of interpretation for them so that the properties of the numbers in actual use might be understood at a glance more readily and more accurately. The symbols are only nine in number, as follows: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. They also use another symbol which they call "cipher", meaning "nothing" among the Indians; as for the nine symbols, these too are Indian; the cipher is written 0.

When each of these nine symbols is used by itself, then, if we begin with the first column on the right, 1 means "one", 2 means "two", ... In the second column 1 means "ten", 2 means "twenty" ... In the third column 1 means "a hundred", 2 means "two hundred", ... And the same conventions apply in the remaining columns.'

It is nice to see an educated Byzantine writing naturally about something that obviously interested him. The language is clearly less rhetorically elaborated than that of literary composition, though the treatment of academic subjects required an extensive technical vocabulary which, along with certain stylistic preferences, was taken over from the relevant scholarship of antiquity wherever possible. Superficially, therefore, Planoúdes' usage is more archaizing than that of the last extract, especially in morphology and lexicon, though even in syntax possessive genitives and other dependents may still be sandwiched between article and noun, while the option of using verb-final order neutrally in subordinate clauses remains (especially in clauses containing learned uses of participles and infinitives). Ancient government and agreement requirements are also strictly maintained, as, for example, the use of a 3sg verb (κατανοῆται [katano'ite], governed by the favourite ὡς ἄν ['os an]) with a neuter plural subject.

But in main clauses at least, the regular preverbal constituents are now topic-like subjects or preposed constituents functioning formally as sentence topics or emphatic/contrastive foci, as in Modern Greek. There are other contemporary details too, including the use of a comparative adjective with the article in superlative sense (φιλοσοφώτεροι [filoso'foteri]); the use of διά [ðja] to mean 'for' (albeit with classical genitive rather than accusative); the topicalization in the penultimate clause of the first paragraph,

where *αὐτά* [af'ta] is used as a resumptive pronoun meaning 'these' rather than emphatic 'themselves'; and the nominative absolute at the beginning of the second paragraph, where the sense, but not strictly the grammar, links the adjunct to the set of subjects that follow. Participles are also chiefly subject-orientated and function as circumstantial adjuncts, and this too probably reflects the syntactic practice of contemporary educated speech (even though the full set of forms was probably no longer in spoken use).

10.7 Official Greek of the Later Empire

It remains to complete this chapter with a brief examination of the high style of the imperial and ecclesiastical bureaucracy. The extract below comes from a decree of December 1326 issued by the emperor Andrónikos III Palaiológos (co-emperor with his grandfather from 1325, sole ruler 1328–41), confirming that the monastery of St John the Evangelist on Patmos has sole ownership of various properties on Lemnos, Leros and Cos against the claims of the archbishop of the last-named island:

(16) Ἐπεὶ οἱ μοναχοὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τὴν Πάτμον διακειμένης σεβασμίας μονῆς τῆς βασιλείας μου τῆς εἰς ὄνομα τιμωμένης τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου πανευφήμου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου ἐζήτησαν καὶ παρεκλήτευσαν τὴν βασιλείαν μου, ἵνα ἐπὶ τοῖς προσοῦσιν αὐτοῖς κτήμασί τε καὶ μετοχίοις καὶ λοιποῖς ἀναστήμασιν, ἃ κατέχουσι διά τε χρυσοβούλλων διαφόρων καὶ προσταγμάτων ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ ἀπογραφικῶν καταστάσεων καὶ ἑτέρων δικαιωμάτων, πορίσωνται καὶ χρυσόβουλλον τῆς βασιλείας μου, ὡς ἂν κατέχωσι ταῦτα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς ἀβαρῶς πάντη καὶ ἀτελῶς, καθὼς ταῦτα κατέχουσι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ἤγουν τὸ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ Λήμνῳ μετόχιον, τὸ ἐπικεκλημένον ὁ ἅγιος Γεώργιος ὁ Μυροβλύτης, καὶ διακείμενον ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τῆς Ἁγίας Εἰρήνης μετὰ τῶν προσόντων αὐτῷ πάντων ἀμπελίων και χωραφίων... (Miklosich and Müller (1860–1890: VI, 248))

[e'pi i mona'çi tis kata ti 'nison tim 'batmon diaci'menis
Whereas the monks of-the on the island the Patmos located
sevaz'miaz mo'nis tiz vasi'liaz mu tis is 'onoma timo'menis
venerable monastery the-one of-the majesty of-me the-one in name honoured
tu a'jiu en'ðoksu pane'fimu apo'stolu ce evanɟeli'stu io'anu
of-the holy illustrious all-praiseworthy apostle and evangelist John
tu θeo'loɣu e'zitisan ce pare'klitefsan ti vasi'lia mu ina
the Theologian have-sought and implored the majesty of-me that
epi tis pro'susin atis 'ktima'si te ce meto'çiis ce li'pis
in-the-matter-of the belonging to-them possessions both and communes and remaining
ana'stimasin, a ka'texusi 'ðja te xriso'vulon ðja'foron ce
buildings, which they-occupy through both chrysobulls various and
prostaɣ'maton, ala ði ce apoɣrafi'kon apokata'staseon
ordinances, but indeed also registered restitutions
c e'teron ðiceo'maton, po'risonde ce xri'sovulon tiz
and other judgements, they-may-obtain also chrysobull of-the
vasi'liaz mu, os-an ka'texosi 'tafta ce is to e'ksis ava'ros
majesty of-me, so-that they-may-occupy these-places) also into the thereafter without-burden

majesty of-me, so-that they-may-occupy these-places) also into the thereafter without-burden
'pandi ce ate'los, ka'θos 'tafta ka'texusi 'mexri tu nin, iɣun
altogether and without-taxation, just-as these-places they-hold until the now, that-is-to-say
to en di 'niso 'limno me'toçion, to epicekli'menon o 'ajos
the on the island Lemnos commune, the(-one) called the St
'jeorjios o miro'vlitis, ce ðja'cimenon en di topoθe'sia tis
George the Myroblytes, and located in the locality of-the
a'jias i'rinis meta tom bro'sondon ato 'pandon ambe'lion
St Irene with the belonging to-it all vineyards
ce xora'fion ...]

'Whereas the monks of my majesty's venerable monastery located on the island of Patmos, honoured in the name of the holy, illustrious, all-praiseworthy apostle and evangelist John the Divine, have asked and implored my majesty in the matter of the possessions, communes and remaining buildings belonging to them, which they occupy by virtue both of divers chrysobulls and ordinances, but also of duly registered restitutions and other judgements, that they may obtain a further chrysobull of my majesty to the effect that, just as they have occupied these until now, so too they may occupy them in the future wholly free of public burdens and taxation, specifically the commune on the island of Lemnos, called St George Myroblytes and located in the locality of St Irene, together with all the vineyards and fields belonging to it ...'

Anyone who has ever had to read a formal legal document will instantly recognize the archaizing verbosity on display here. Since church and state were inextricably bound together in Byzantium, the elaborate appellations and technical vocabulary above come not only from the law but also from the equally obscurantist ecclesiastical tradition. Such writing belongs to a long tradition of high officialdom, but it is important to note that most of the technical vocabulary in this extract is not attested in classical Greek, and that even the items that are now have different meanings.

Beneath the traditional surface, however, the official Koine of late antiquity has been significantly updated. Thus even though the structural complexity of noun phrases involving the insertion of modifiers between article and noun has generated new levels of opacity, all specifically possessive genitives now follow the nouns that govern them, and regularly do so without a repeated article, just as in Modern Greek (i.e. we have *[the X of-Y]* rather than the classical structures *[the of-Y X]* or *[the X the of-Y]*). Note too the avoidance of possessive adjectives in favour of genitive clitic pronouns, the invariant positioning of direct objects after the verbs that govern them (i.e. there are no pragmatically neutral verb-final clauses), and the modern use of *ἵνα* ['ina]-clauses with control verbs of 'asking/imploring' in place of classical infinitives, even when the same subject is involved in both clauses. In some respects, therefore, this is structurally more modern than the academic style of the previous section, and we should be in no doubt it is yet another 'antiqued' version of the late-medieval Koine rather than a half-hearted imitation of some ancient predecessor.

10.8 Conclusion

Sufficient evidence has now been presented to show that the range of middle-register writing in Byzantium was never the product of incompetent archaizing but reflected a

continuously evolving tradition that was subject to well-understood conventions controlling the mix of ancient and modern according to period, register and style. It did not occur to educated Byzantines to write in the educated vernacular of their time, but they did write in what were for them living forms of Greek, varieties reflecting both the conventions of a written tradition and the rules of spoken Greek in a process of continuous evolution and compromise.

Looking at the patterns of usage revealed above, it would seem fair to say that, by the later Byzantine period, the basic principles of sentence structure for middle-style compositions were fairly constant, being essentially those of educated speech, while the principal archaizing deviations were comparatively superficial (and so readily taught and learned), involving genre-conditioned lexical and phraseological substitutions, the strict deployment of classical morphology in the paradigms retained in use, and adherence to ancient rules governing the realization of the relationship between heads and their local dependents (involving, for example, government and agreement patterns, parochial word-order requirements, or the choice of infinitival complements). There was, in other words, an emerging common written style with an essentially modern syntax that was archaized in various ways in accordance with the conventions of different genres.

It was, broadly speaking, this variably archaized but increasingly unitary style that eventually developed, under various external pressures, into the standard written language of the Greek intelligentsia of the 17th and 18th centuries (see Part III, chapter 15), with only the most ambitious forms of composition, aiming for a truly classical style, still requiring detailed mastery of the rules and stylistic conventions of Ancient Greek at a more profound level.

Notes

1 That is, agreement beyond the domain of a phrase (normally a noun phrase) containing the controlling head noun.
2 The transcription is intended to reflect natural 1st/2nd-century speech.
3 It is assumed that /y/ and /i/ had by now merged in even the most educated varieties.

11

Spoken Greek in the Byzantine Empire: The Principal Developments

11.1 Introduction

Because so little vernacular material has been preserved from the period before the 12th century, there are many phenomena that cannot be dated with precision. Some developments carried through in the early and middle Byzantine periods had already begun in late antiquity (cf. chapters 5 and 6). Others, attested for the first time in the latter part of the Byzantine period, almost certainly began some centuries earlier, when the political and military circumstances of the 7th and 8th centuries and the prevailing cultural attitudes of the middle period worked decisively against the production and preservation of the kind of texts that might otherwise have given us a clearer picture of change in progress.

What follows, however, is an attempt not only to summarize the evidence for the later period, but also to reconstruct, in the light of the available materials, the contents of the 500-year 'gap' between the latest colloquial texts from antiquity and the earliest medieval vernacular literature. The work of Gignac (1976, 1981) is an indispensable guide in discriminating between those developments which began in the spoken Greek of the ancient world and innovations which belong to the medieval period proper.

In the course of this investigation it will quickly become clear that change in popular spoken Greek was more rapid than change in educated varieties, and we shall see in Part III that some developments already well attested in medieval vernacular texts are still only partially reflected in the grammar of educated spoken Greek composed by the Corfiot Nikólaos Sofianós in the 16th century (14.2.2). We should also bear in mind that there were considerable differences of development according to region, and that a study of the archaisms and innovations of the rural dialects of Modern Greek (before they were subjected to the influence of the standard language) can be a helpful supplement to our understanding of medieval dialect diversity. Such 'backwoods' varieties already seemed barbarous to the educated classes of the middle ages, as is clear from the complaints of Mikhaél Choniátes, the elder brother of the historian Nikétas, who was appointed bishop of Athens at the end of the 12th century. In several of his letters (cf. Lámbros (1879, 1880)) he laments the absence of intellectual life in this

now miserable town, and confesses that after three years he had still not been able to master the local patois (deliberately misquoting Euripides' *Orestes* 485: *βεβαρβάρωμαι χρόνιος ὢν ἐν Ἀθήναις* [vevar'varome 'xronios on en a'θines], lit. 'I-have-been-barbarized so-long being in Athens'). Relevant phenomena are noted, as appropriate, below, and there is further discussion of the modern dialects in Part III (14.2).

11.2 The Completion of Sound Changes Beginning in Antiquity

(1) The shift of /y/ > /i/, already apparent in some substandard varieties in the ancient world, was probably completed for all speakers of mainstream dialects by the 10th/11th century (see Macharadze (1980) for the evidence of Georgian loans, and cf. Browning (1983: 56–7)).

The major exception is provided by Tsakonian and the Old Athenian group of modern dialects, comprising the traditional speech of Athens (i.e. before it became the capital of modern Greece in the 19th century), together with Megarian (which survives among the oldest inhabitants), Euboean (still spoken by the older generation in and around Kymi), Old Aeginetan (which survived until perhaps the middle of the 20th century), and the dialect of the Mani in the south of the Peloponnese. This group presumably represents the remnants of a once quite homogeneous dialect type spoken across much of south-eastern Greece away from the major political centres, which also influenced in part the development of the otherwise isolated Tsakonian. Here the marked /y/ of the Koine shifted back to /u/ rather than to standard /i/; in the absence of strong structural support from the phonological system (e.g. with lip-rounding functioning contrastively along the whole of the front axis: /i/~/y/, /e/~/ø/, /ɛ/~/œ/), such vowels are prone to change towards one or other norm, i.e. [+front +spread] or [+back +rounded].

(2) The simplification of double consonants (degemination), again sporadically attested in popular papyri, spread widely and eventually became quite general, though again with important dialectal exceptions, including South Italian (cut off from the Byzantine mainstream after 1071), the contemporary south-eastern group (i.e. Cypriot, Dodecanesian and Chian), and probably the neighbouring dialects of western and southern Asia Minor in earlier times.

(3) The loss of final *-ν* [-n] was a sporadic and apparently random feature of many popular varieties of Greek from ancient times (Gignac 1976: 111–16), though Cypriot is a major exception, with some evidence of early analogical spread of *-ν* [-n] (cf. Consani (1986, 1990), Brixhe (1988b: 177–8)). This loss now became more widespread, though the south-eastern dialects are excluded, as expected, together with (in part) South Italian, Pontic and Cappadocian (the latter pair increasingly isolated by the Seljuk invasions after 1071).

The process was apparently inhibited in higher registers by the influence of literacy, but it ceased to be random where it did occur, and specifically manifested itself first

in assimilation to a following fricative or continuant (as still attested in Cypriot), followed by degemination in those dialects that underwent this change.

Subsequently, the retention of final -ν [-n] before vowels and plosives gradually became restricted, mainly for reasons of grammatical disambiguation, to a small set of word forms, especially when these were closely linked syntactically to an adjacent item, e.g. clitic pronouns within verb phrases, or articles and certain forms of adjectives (the latter only prevocalically) within noun phrases. In standard Modern Greek final nasals are now preserved before vowels and plosives (and occasionally elsewhere, as noted in (4)) in the following:

(4) (a) The masc/fem acc sg of the definite article, plus the masc acc sg of the indefinite article: τόν, τήν, ἑναν [ton, tin, 'enan].
(b) Genitive plural forms of the definite article, nouns and adjectives in -ων [-on] (also before fricatives and continuants, to distinguish these from masc acc sg forms).
(c) The masc/fem accusative singular of 3rd-person clitic pronouns: τόν, τήν [ton, tin] (in the former also before fricatives/continuants, to avoid confusion with the neuter τό [to]).
(d) (Sometimes)[1] the acc sg masc of pronominal/demonstrative forms such as τόσον ['toson] 'so much', άλλον ['alon] 'other', αὐτόν [af'ton] 'this', ἐκεῖνον [e'cinon] 'that', and, rarely, of adjectives (once widespread, this is now a residual feature).
(e) The negative particles δέν, μήν [ðen, min], and the conjunctions σάν [san] 'when(ever)', ἄν [an] 'if', πρίν [prin] 'before' (in the latter pair also before fricatives/continuants).
(f) Relevant 3pl verb forms, e.g. in the present active -ουν [-un] and imperfect middle/passive -ονταν [-ondan], which have replaced ancient -ουσι [-usi] and -οντο [-ondo]), and in the 1/2/3 sg forms of the imperfect middle/passive -όμουν, -όσουν, -όταν [-'omun, -'osun, -'otan], which have replaced -όμην [-'omin], -ου [-u], -ετο [-eto] (in both cases also before fricatives/continuants). See (35) below for the innovatory terminations.

(5) The deletion of nasals before fricatives, a process already in place in classical Greek before [s] and [z] (cf. σύ-στημα [sý-stɛːma] 'system', < *σύν-στημα [sýn-stɛːma]), was given greater scope with the shift of the voiceless aspirated plosives to fricatives. Voiced plosives, however, which in general also became fricatives, were retained after nasals in popular Greek (cf. 6.4 (19)), as sometimes reflected subsequently in the orthography, e.g. ἄντρας ['andras] for original ἄνδρας 'man'. Thus the renewed onset of nasal deletion was effectively restricted to the context of a following voiceless fricative: e.g. νύφη ['nifi] 'bride', < νύμφη ['nimfi], etc.

But among educated speakers the rule requiring the retention of voiced plosives after nasals was undermined, just as that deleting nasals before voiceless fricatives was inhibited, by interference from the orthography of the written language, which spawned a great many spelling pronunciations that contravened the rules of popular

spoken Greek in its 'pure' form. Thus 'popular' words like δέντρο(ν) ['ðendro(n)] 'tree' (traditionally spelled δένδρον), and πεθερός [peθe'ros] 'father-in-law' (< ancient πενθερός [pent[h]erós]), now sit side by side in the modern language with 'learned' forms like σύνδεσμος ['sinðezmos] 'conjunction' and πένθος ['penthos] 'mourning'.

(6) Other than in learned words with a spelling pronunciation of the ancient form (whether retained through continuous use in the written tradition or subsequently reintroduced), a voiceless plosive followed by a voiced plosive was subject to voicing assimilation; and since voiced plosives were ultimately permitted only after nasals, any voiced plosives in such clusters became fricatives (cf. 6.4).

This principally affected the preposition ἐκ [ek] in composition, where the voicing assimilation began in ancient times and the shift to obligatory sequences of voiced fricatives was completed by the early Byzantine period at the latest. Thus classical [ekdý:no:] 'I undress', for example, first became [egdý:no:], then [(e)'ɣðino] ((ἐ)γδύνω); cf. βγαίνω ['vjeno] 'I go out', < classical ἐκβαίνω [ekbaíno:], but with metathesis of [ɣv]. The process, however, was again inhibited by interference from written Greek, so that, for example, γδύνω ['ɣðino] and ἐκδρομή [ekðro'mi] 'excursion' are both standard in the modern language.

(7) Synizesis ([-iV]/[-eV-] > [-jV-]) was standardized in much non-learned vocabulary, with a shift of the accent to the following vowel if [i/e] was originally accented: παιδία [pe'ðia] > παιδιά [pe'ðja] 'children' etc. (cf. the metrical appendix in Maas and Trypánis (1963: 514ff) for evidence of such shifts in the hymns of Romanós). The influence of written Greek again inhibited the process in educated speech, and in Modern Greek many learned forms have been reintroduced (e.g. ἐλευθερία [elefθe'ria] for λευτεριά [lefter'ja] 'freedom' etc.). There is some evidence for random synizesis from Hellenistic times onwards in many popular varieties, but its relative absence in the conservative dialects of southern Italy, Pontus and the Old Athenian group (cf. Newton (1972: 14–17)) shows that its eventual standardization was not a general phenomenon.

(8) Many forms affected by aphaeresis (i.e. the loss of unstressed initial vowels in hiatus, the inverse of the elision of final vowels) were standardized in this period. This is rare in classical Greek, but moderately frequent in the Ptolemaic papyri and very frequent in Roman/early Byzantine documents (Gignac (1976: 319ff). Once again Pontic is a major exception to the trend.

In the early medieval period aphaeresis seems to have been particularly common when like vowels were involved, e.g. τὸ (ὁ)σπίτιν [to 'spitin] 'the house', ἡ (ἡ)μέρα [i 'mera] 'the day', τότε (ἐ)γράψαμε(ν) ['tote 'ɣrapsame] 'then we-wrote', ἔγραψά (ἀ)το ['eɣra'psa to] 'I wrote it' (with the pronoun derived from the familiar reduced form of αὐτό [af'to]) etc. From cases such as these, many forms lacking their original initial vowel eventually became the norm in popular speech, though again with much uncertainty deriving from the influence of the written language and the co-existence of related forms with

an accented initial vowel (e.g. in the case of the syllabic augment, ἔγραψα ['eɣrapsa] 'I wrote', beside (ἐ)γράψαμε(ν) [(e)'ɣrapsame(n)] 'we wrote', etc.).

11.3 Grammatical Consequences of Aphaeresis

Apart from the vast number of individual words affected by aphaeresis, the following general phenomena should be noted (cf. Browning (1983: 58)):

(9) (a) The weak (clitic) third-person pronouns increasingly take the form τόν/τήν/τό [ton/tin/to] 'him, her, it'.
(b) The syllabic augment, after a long period of uncertainty, eventually disappeared unless accented, with exceptions in Pontus (still) and western Asia Minor (formerly), the Dodecanese, Chios, many of the Cyclades, and some parts of the Peloponnese, Crete and the Ionian islands.
(c) The preposition εἰς [is] combines with a following definite article: (εἰ)ς τό(ν)/τή(ν)/τό [ston/stin/sto], a pronunciation later recognized orthographically in forms such as στόν [ston] etc.
(d) Verbs compounded with ἐξ [eks] 'off/out of', through misanalysis of the augment in past-tense forms, give rise to a new 'vernacular' prefix ξε- [kse-]: e.g. (ἐ)ξ-έκοψα [ks-'ekopsa] 'I cut off' > ξέ-κοψα ['kse-kopsa], from which a new present ξε-κόβω [kse'kovo] was formed in place of ancient ἐκ-κόπτω [e'kopto] (for the innovative imperfective stem, see (34d) below).

Uncertainties about word division arising from the spread of aphaeresis also led to misanalyses within closely knit syntactic phrases, so that ἂν τὸν ἐλύσαμε(ν) [an don e'lisame(n)] 'if him we-had-freed', for example, was thought of as representing ἂν τὸνε λύσαμε(ν) [an done 'lisame(n)] etc. From examples such as this came the widespread practice of adding a 'protective' final -ε [-e] to pronouns and other forms ending in -ν [-n] if the loss of this consonant threatened to create an ambiguity. A good example is provided by 3pl aorist indicatives in -(σ)αν [-san], where loss of -ν [-n] produced forms homophonous with those of the 1sg, e.g. ἔγραψα ['eɣrapsa] = 'I/they wrote'. This addition was independently promoted by a levelling process that locally affected the plural of all active paradigms: a set of 1/2/3pl forms with columnar stress, e.g. γράψαμε ['ɣrapsame]/γράψατε ['ɣrapsate]/γράψανε ['ɣrapsane], was clearly more 'regular' than the corresponding paradigm with original 3pl ἔγραψα(ν) ['eɣrapsa(n)].

11.4 Old and New Patterns of Subordination: Clitic Pronouns and VSO Order

Aphaeresis also affected an important class of particles and conjunctions, including the negative particle (οὐ)δέν [(u)ðen] (originally = 'nothing', 'not at all', but from the 6th century onwards increasingly used in place of the ancient οὐ(κ) [u(k)] 'not'), the conditional conjunction (ἐ)άν [an] (in so far as this did not simply continue the ancient contracted form ἄν [an]), the subjunctive marker (ἵ)να [(i)na] (formerly a fully fledged

subordinating conjunction in final, consecutive and control clauses), and the complementizers (ὅ)πως [(o)pos] 'that' (neutral as to the factual status of the following clause) and (ὅ)που [(o)pu] 'that' (used first in relative clauses,[2] and in the early modern period also as a factive complementizer); of these, the former originally meant 'how', the latter 'where', in which sense it has retained its full form in Modern Greek.

In the case of the last three conjunctions, the loss of the initial vowel was preceded by an apparent shift of the accent to the final syllable. Since, however, all such grammatical words were typically proclitic in connected speech from ancient times, they had in effect already lost their lexical accent and were vulnerable to aphaeresis as soon as the process began. In some contexts, however, a secondary 'phrasal' accent seems to have been acquired. For ἵνα ['ina] there is clear evidence of this in the accentual metres of the hymns of Romanós the Melode, the greatest Byzantine hymnographer, dating from the first half of the 6th century (see Trypánis (1960), Maas and Trypánis (1963, 1970)). The change seems to have involved the generalization of a rhythmical readjustment associated with the role of the conjunction as host for a following enclitic pronoun, i.e. ἵνα 'το μάθω [ina to 'maθo] 'that it I-may-learn' > ἱνά 'το μάθω [i'na to 'maθo], a form in which it would again naturally succumb to aphaeresis. In the case of (ὁ)πώς [(o)pos] and (ὁ)πού [(o)pu], however, the influence of the corresponding interrogatives πῶς [pos] 'how?' and ποῦ [pu] 'where?' is also a possible factor, in that relatives and interrogatives overlap in the complement structures of verbs such as 'know' (cf. *I know where you are/how you did that*, where there is inherent vagueness between a true indirect question and a relative ('the place/way in which')).

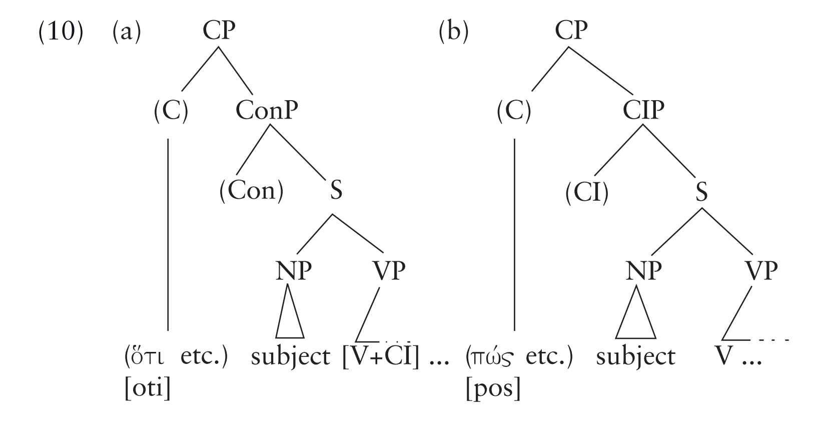
The word order associated with these modern complementizers and conjunctions was different from that used with their traditional counterparts, and both orders are reflected in medieval vernacular texts which, in typical fashion, continued to use both systems side by side. In classical Greek, there was a large set of enclitic sentence connectives and particles which appeared in second position in the clause (the so-called Wackernagel position). Enclitic pronouns were at first regularly attracted to this slot, away from their governing verbs, though the verb could optionally be drawn to the clitic, and appear initially if there was no complementizer (giving the order [verb + clitic(s) + subject]), or immediately to the right of the clitic if there was a complementizer, giving the order [conjunction + clitic(s) + verb + subject]. With the passage of time, however, a counter-tendency developed for such pronouns to become more head-dependent, and to appear immediately to the right of their verbs within the verb phrase, giving the order [conjunction + subject + [verb + clitic(s)]]. At this stage, the tension between the two options was partly resolved by the optional preposing of the verb and its dependent clitics together, giving the order [(conjunction +) [verb + clitic(s)] + subject], contrary to earlier usage (see 4.8 and Horrocks (1990)).

The spoken forms of post-classical and Medieval Greek eventually standardized a solution which placed clitic pronouns in second position, and preposed the verb to initial position (if available) or post-clitic position (if the initial position was filled) in order to meet the requirement of clitic–head adjacency (cf. the situation described for the Hellenistic and Roman papyri (4.8, 6.5.1)). The modern conjunctions were naturally associated with this living syntactic framework, and in Medieval Greek this position of the verb was generalized even in the absence of motivating clitics, thus promoting

the order [(modern) conjunction + V + S] in subordinate clauses unless some item had been preposed before the conjunction as sentential topic or focus. Eventually VS became a basic order in main clauses too, though the inherent pragmatic prominence of (prototypical) subjects naturally favoured their positioning in initial position; any other constituent could, however, be preposed as topic or focus instead, or in addition, in the latter case with topic preceding focus (see Mackridge (1993a, 2000), Horrocks (1983, 1990, 1994)).

By contrast, the use of the traditional complementizers and conjunctions ὅτι [oti] 'that', διότι [ði'oti] 'because' and εἰ [i] 'if' continued to be associated with the rules of Ancient Greek, not only in learned writing but even in vernacular work. In this system clitics still regularly followed the verb, and in subordinate clauses the verb itself could stand either after the subject within the verb phrase, giving the order [conjunction + subject + [verb (+clitic(s))]], or in second position before the subject, giving [conjunction + [verb + (clitic(s))] + subject]. In main clauses without an overt conjunction, the preposing option naturally placed the V+Cl complex in initial position. There was, however, considerable interference between the two systems, and the uncertainty still persists in Modern Greek, where complementizer–subject–verb order frequently occurs in written styles under the influence of the learned tradition, cf. Mackridge (1985: 237).

The medieval situation is summarized diagrammatically in (10), where CP = the phrase headed by a complementizer or conjunction, ConP = the traditional position for many sentence connectives, to which clitic pronouns were often attracted (cf. already the Mycenaean clause *da-mo-de-mi pa-si* ... [dâ:mos de min pha:si] 'the-village and to-her says ...', PY Ep 704.5), ClP = clitic phrase (the post-classical development of ConP, where clitic pronouns now stood obligatorily in the vernacular), S = sentence, NP = noun phrase (subject), and VP = verb phrase. (10a) represents the case of traditional conjunctions, (10b) that of their modern replacements:



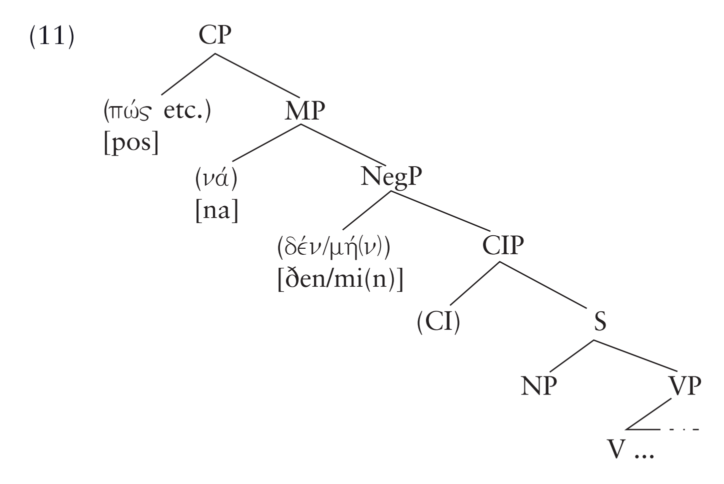
In (10a), the verb and its clitics could be fronted to C (if this was empty, as in main clauses) or to Con (otherwise), though neither movement was required, and both SV and VS remained available in both main and subordinate clauses. In (10b), however, the verb was obligatorily shifted if there were clitics in ClP, either to C (if empty) or to Cl otherwise (in the order Cl+V), and such movement later became the preferred

option even when there were no clitic pronouns present. Subjects then followed the verb, unless preposed to function as topics or foci.

Note that the presence of a preposed interrogative or topical focal phrase within CP had the same effect as the presence of an overt complementizer in C, i.e. to force the verb to appear after the clitic pronouns in ClP. Preposed topics, however, were sometimes placed outside the clause structure proper (being adjoined to CP), so that the true clause-initial position remained free to accept V, thereby effecting the normal main-clause order (i.e. V+Cl) in these cases. (See Mackridge (1993a, 2000) for a ground-breaking analysis of clitic pronoun placement in vernacular Medieval Greek, originally motivated by the need to make metrical sense of the E version of *Digenis Akritis*).

The complementizer νά [na], however, ultimately came to function as a subjunctive marker, and in this reduced role formed (along with negative particles and clitic pronouns) part of a word-like complex with the verb. Thus ὅτι [νά + verb] ([oti na-V], lit. 'that will-V'), for example, became a regular combination in the subordinate clauses of popular Medieval Greek. This more complex clausal structure can be represented as in (11), where MP = modality phrase and NegP = negative phrase. (Cf. Philippáki-Warburton (1990, 1998) for a detailed exposition of the structure of the verb complex as it has evolved in Modern Greek):

(11)



Here the verb raises obligatorily to Cl, as before (giving clitic + V). But the option of raising further to C (if empty) is excluded if either, or both, of MP and NegP are present, since the particles heading these phrases, as modifiers of the verb, must appear before it, and any verb movement to a higher position would leave these elements ungrammatically stranded.

Clitic–verb order was now obligatory in both negative and subjunctive clauses (main and subordinate) and, even in the absence of νά [na] or negation, in any 'modern' syntactic structure in which the head or specifier of CP was filled. Though the pronouns in all these structures were originally enclitic on the material to their left, it was natural that the emergence of the verb complex as a structural unit should lead to a reinterpretation of all the elements involved in it as verb-dependent and proclitic. Only simple, i.e. non-interrogative, non-modal and non-negative, main clauses therefore retained the option of verb raising to C, giving verb–clitic order and traditional pronominal enclisis.

This mixed treatment of clitic pronouns remained the norm in Medieval Greek, and it has been retained in a number of modern dialects, most notably Cretan, many Cycladic varieties, Cypriot and the south-eastern group in general. In Pontic, however, the post-verbal (enclitic) position was generalized, pointing to an early divergence, while in standard Modern Greek the preverbal (proclitic) position of clitic pronouns has now been adopted for all finite verb forms, even in the absence of elements preceding the verb complex; weak pronouns are therefore enclitic on the verb only in the case of imperatives and gerunds, and these remain the only verb forms still subject to the rule of verb preposing to C in standard speech (cf. Rivero and Terzi (1995)).

11.5 Dialect Diversity in Medieval Greek

As we have seen, the process of dialect differentiation in the spoken Koine had begun on a regional basis even in antiquity, and it is therefore particularly unfortunate that the dearth of written evidence for the early Byzantine period makes it impossible to follow the continuation of this process into the middle ages. Many characteristic dialectal distinctions of spoken Modern Greek must have begun to emerge at this time, and been subsequently strengthened with the progressive loss of Byzantine control over its imperial territories, but we have virtually no concrete evidence to support this. Though there is once again a significant body of low-level/vernacular documentary material from many areas from the 12th century onwards, the influence of the established forms of written Greek in those territories that remained under Byzantine control consistently minimized the appearance of distinctively local dialect features in such texts. It is therefore extremely difficult to date many of the crucial innovations. With the breakdown of Byzantine rule, however, especially in lands ruled by western powers, elements of local speech sometimes start to infiltrate these documents, and in some cases the local dialect even became the primary basis for both official writing and literary production. The early development of Cretan and Cypriot as written media is discussed in 12.4, and both these and a number of other dialects are considered in more general terms in Part III (chapter 14).

11.6 Later Phonetic and Phonological Developments

The most important of these are summarized in (12–15) below (the first of which, the rule of manner dissimilation in voiceless obstruent clusters, has already been mentioned):

(12) Other than in 'learned' words, voiceless obstruent clusters consisting of [stop + stop] or [fricative + fricative] all took the form [fricative + stop].

There are, however, two exceptions:

(a) If the second member is /s/, we get stop + /s/.
(b) The cluster /sf/ remained unchanged (except in Pontic).

The first may have begun during the early/middle Byzantine period (giving e.g. ἔπαψα ['epapsa] for ἔπαυσα ['epafsa] as the aorist of παύω ['pavo] 'I stop', cf. 12.1.2), and would be therefore a distinct phenomenon not only in its effects but also in its chronology. Examples involving [s] followed by φ, θ, χ [f, θ, x] are also in origin distinct, in that the Egyptian papyri provide good evidence for a colloquial development to [sp, st, sk] at the stage when the latter still represented the aspirated plosives [p^h, t^h, k^h]. Indeed, in the specific case of σθ, the development to [st] was a particular characteristic of north-west Greek from the earliest times, and many ancient dialects show at least sporadic στ-spellings in their later periods (see 1.4). It seems, then, that the pairs [sp]/[sf], [st]/[sθ], [sk]/[sx] began as alternative (i.e. popular vs. learned) descendants of earlier [sp^h], [st^h], [sk^h], and that [st] progressively superseded its rival in popular spoken Greek during the early Byzantine period, with [sk] eventually following; [sf], however, was preferred to [sp] except in Pontic, the sibilant apparently inhibiting fricativization of a homorganic stop (i.e. one involving a tongue articulation), but generally failing to do so in the case of non-homorganic [p^h]. The more or less contemporaneous shift of [au/eu] to [af/ef] added greatly to the frequency of clusters involving a voiceless fricative followed by a voiceless plosive (cf. νίβω [af'tos] etc.), and it was presumably the increasing dominance of this pattern that led to the assimilation of other voiceless fricative combinations (involving two of [f, θ, x] < [p^h, t^h, k^h], always assuming the second element underwent this shift rather than simply being de-aspirated) and then of plosive + plosive clusters to what had by then become the phonotactic norm. Note, however, that only the last two steps of this series of developments strictly involve the change of a voiceless fricative to a voiceless plosive or that of a voiceless plosive to a voiceless fricative, and it is these changes alone that fall properly under (12) above.

(13) Other than in learned words, voiced fricatives were deleted before a nasal (except that /z/ before /m/ was universally retained).

Taking (12) and (13) together, words such as κτίζω ['ktizo] 'I build', and ἐτρίφθην [e'trifθin] (the aorist passive of τρίβω ['trivo] 'I rub') became χτίζω ['xtizo] and (ἐ)τρίφτη-κα [(e)'trifti-ka] respectively (see (35b) below for the ending of the last), while ῥεῦμα ['revma] 'torrent/river bed' became ῥέμα ['rema], as πρᾶγμα ['praɣma] 'thing' became πράμα ['prama].[3] But just as with some of the earlier changes, there was significant interference from written Greek, leading to uncertainty and inconsistency, and a feeling among the educated that the innovative forms were 'vulgar'. Consequently, those who had learned to write continued in general to spell (and presumably in part to pronounce) words in the traditional way long after the changes in (12) and (13) had set in; adapted spellings of other than the most everyday items are therefore quite rare even in vernacular written texts until the modern period.

There is clearly no prospect now that these partial changes will ever be completed, and in Modern Greek many doublets survive, some clearly distinguished semantically, e.g. λεπτά [le'pta] 'minutes' beside λεφτά [lef'ta] 'money', ρεύμα ['revma] 'current' (including electrical), beside ρέμα 'torrent/river bed'), others partially so, as πράγμα ['pra(ɣ)ma] 'thing' beside πράμα ['prama] 'thing/genitals'. Furthermore, many learned variants have now been fully assimilated, so that ἐλευθερία [elefθe'ria], for

example, is now standard in place of earlier, and popular, λευτεριά [lefte'rja], while σχολεῖο [sxo'lio] 'school' seems never to have been seriously challenged in the standard by colloquial σκολειό [sko'ʎo].[4]

(14) In popular speech a sequence of two like vowels was simplified (though once again many exceptions persisted under the influence of the written language). The accentuation of some resulting forms was then affected by analogical factors. For example, ἐποίηκα [e'piika] 'I made/did' (a 'new' aorist built on the old perfect stem, see (29)) developed to both the expected (ἐ)ποῖκα [(e)'pika] and ἔποικα ['epika] on the model of ἔδωκα ['eðoka] 'I gave'.[5]

(15) In some areas the palatalization of velar phonemes before high front vowels and [j] became more marked, e.g. the Old Athenian group and many insular dialects (though not universally in the Ionian islands), where ultimately [c] (/k/) > [tʃ] or [ts], and [ç] (/x/) > [ʃ] or [s]; in Cretan [j] (/ɣ/) also > [ʒ]. Dental palatalization also took place quite widely (so [n, l, s, z] > [ɲ, ʎ, ʃ, ʒ]), and this was especially important in the northern dialects (see 14.2.6), where the loss of unstressed [i] led to minimal pairs involving new phonemic contrasts between /s/ and /ʃ/, /z/ and /ʒ/.

Certain popular diminutive formations containing palatalized velars/palatals, including many names and appellatives, were particularly subject to further palatalization. Thus -άκι(ο)ν ['-aci(o)n] and -άκι(ο)ς [-'aci(o)s] developed both to [-'aci(n)]/[-'acis] (without further palatalization) and to [-'atsi(n)]/ [-'atsis], the latter with feminine [-'atsa]. This type is the source of surnames such as Βασιλάκης [vasi'lacis] and Χορτάτσης [xor'tatsis] and of many hypocoristics. Similar developments affected -ίκι(ο)ν [-'ici(o)n]/-ίκι(ο)ς [-'ici(o)s], and -ούκ(ι)ον ['uci(o)n]/-ούκι(ο)ς [-'uci(o)s], to give [-'ici(n)]/[-'icis] (fem [-'ika]) alongside [-'itsi(n)]/[-'itsis] (fem [-'itsa]), and [-'uci(n)]/[-'ucis] alongside [-'utsi(n)]/[-'utsis] (fem [-'utsa]). This last often acquired an adjectival termination to give diminutive -ούτσικος [-'utsikos].

The position of dental affricates in the system was presumably reinforced by the Hellenization of Armenian names containing alveolar and palatal affricates (voiceless, voiced and aspirated in the original), and later by parallel formations in Slavic and Italian (cf. the Slav suffix [-itʃ], Italian *-izzi*, *-ucci* etc., and see Yeorgakás (1982), Symeonídis (1987) for a discussion of the origins and development of such formations). Properly, τσ should be used to represent the voiceless affricate [ts] and τζ to represent the voiced [dz] (the latter occurring chiefly in Italian, Turkish and other loanwords), but the distinction was not made systematically until modern times.

In the light of what has been said about the phonological developments of the medieval period as a whole, it should by now be clear that any attempt to explain the emergence of standard Modern Greek exclusively in terms of the development of the popular spoken Greek of the middle ages is doomed to failure. The fact (until recently highly problematical for Greek language theorists of all persuasions, see Part III) is that educated spoken usage of the late Byzantine and Ottoman periods, and much vernacular writing based on it, consistently involved a blend of learned/written and popular/spoken variants (cf. 8.7). Indeed, contemporary Modern Greek remains very much a mixed language, with a strongly vernacular base but with many elements

derived from the learned tradition, a process that seems, ironically, to be accelerating with the final abandonment of the learned *katharévousa* and the progressive loss of the traditionally polarized/politicized perception of the 'language question'. These observations are strongly reinforced when we turn to examine the major morphological and syntactic developments of the middle ages.

11.7 Nominal Morphology and Syntax

11.7.1 The dative case, prepositional phrases

(16) The dative case came to occupy an ever more tenuous position in the nominal morphology of the vernacular. Though it remained a fixture of the written Koine throughout the Byzantine period and beyond, the continued use of this case in spoken Greek had become restricted, during the course of the middle period, to the most formal speech of the educated population in the major urban centres, and its functions, both adverbial and grammatical, were therefore steadily transferred (cf. Humbert (1930), Trapp (1965)):

(a) to the bare accusative: for indirect objects (both full noun phrases and clitic pronouns), and temporal expressions of time 'when'. Subsequently, full noun phrase indirect objects increasingly required prepositional support, cf. (c).
(b) to the genitive: for indirect objects (both clitic pronouns and full noun phrases).

In the later middle ages there is still much fluctuation of usage in vernacular literary texts, often within a single text, especially with regard to the case of clitic pronouns. It used to be assumed, therefore, that the final choice between genitive and accusative for indirect object pronouns belonged to the early modern period, with northern dialects, along with Pontic and Cappadocian, eventually favouring the accusative, and other varieties opting for the genitive. However, a more careful study of the manuscripts of the relevant texts has shown that many in fact display clear preferences,[6] while detailed analysis of corpora of original documentary material of the period (material not subject to the vagaries of manuscript transmission) has confirmed that this variation is largely illusory (see the pioneering contribution of Lendári and Manoléssou (2003)). The evidence overall points rather towards a clear north/south choice by no later than the 15th century, and probably much earlier if the strong preferences of regionally specific material from earlier times (e.g. the 'northern' Protobulgarian inscriptions of the 9th century, see 12.1.2) are to be reconciled with the picture provided by the later material.

(c) Dative functions were also transferred to prepositional phrases: e.g. εἰς [is] 'to' + accusative for full noun phrase indirect objects; instrumental expressions formed with διά [ðja] 'through', and μετά [meta], subsequently μέ [me], 'with' (through simplification in the context of a neuter plural article, με(τὰ) τά X [me(ta) ta X] and generalization of the reduced form).

The accusative had eventually emerged as the sole prepositional case in popular spoken varieties by the beginning of the later Byzantine period at the latest, and the array of prepositions in common use was reduced to:

εἰς [is] 'at/in/on/to/into/onto', subsequently σέ [se], the product of resegmentation of sequences like εἰς ἐμέ(να) [is e'me(na)] as εἶσε μένα [ise 'mena], followed by aphaeresis, was regularized, though this was reduced to [s] before the definite article (now written στό [sto] etc.) and often also before words beginning with a vowel (now written σ' [s]).
ἀπό [a'po] 'from/since (time)/by (agent)'; with frequent deletion of the final vowel before the definite article and words beginning with [o] or [a]; in vernacular texts we also find ἀπέ [ape] with epenthesis, especially before the article.
διά [ðja] 'for/about'; later simplified to γιά [ja].
μέ [me] 'with'.
χωρίς [xo'ris] 'without'.
ὥς [os] 'up to/until'.

The first four of these, however, could be optionally specified by an adverbial element to give further precision, e.g. μέσα σε ['mesa se], lit. 'within at', i.e. inside'; (ἐ)πάνω ἀπό [(e)'pano apo], lit. 'above from', i.e. 'over' etc. Other prepositions, though belonging properly to the written tradition, were sometimes exploited even in popular forms of writing by educated authors: e.g. ἀντί [an'di] 'instead of', now often followed by γιά [ja]; κατά [ka'ta] 'according to/about (time)/during'; μετά [me'ta] 'after'; μεταξύ [meta'ksi] 'among/between'; μέχρι ['mexri] 'until'; παρά [pa'ra] 'against/despite'; πρός [pros] 'towards/in respect of/for the purpose of' etc. All of these are still used in standard Modern Greek, though others, such as ἐν [en] 'in' and ἐκ [ek] 'out of', have survived only in fixed expressions: e.g. ἐντάξει [en'daksi] 'in order/all right'; ἐν μέρει [em 'meri] 'in part'; ἐν ἀνάγκῃ [en a'naŋgi] 'in need/if need be'; ἐκ τῶν προτέρων [ek tom bro'teron], lit. 'from the former', i.e. 'in advance/*a priori*'; ἐκ νέου [ek 'neu], lit. 'from new', i.e. 'afresh' etc. Other learned prepositional usages (e.g. ἀνά [a'na] 'per'; ἐπί [e'pi] + accusative 'for the duration of', + genitive 'in the time of'; κατά [kata] + genitive 'against'; ὑπέρ [i'per] 'on behalf of') have been reintroduced more recently from *katharévousa*.

11.7.2 Feminine nouns of the 1st declension: paradigm standardization

(17) In classical Greek, 1st-declension (a-stem) feminine nouns followed one of four declensional subpatterns:

(a) nom -ᾱ [-a:] + gen -ᾱς [-a:s] (e.g. χώρα [kʰó:ra:])
(b) nom -ᾰ [-a] + gen -ης [-ɛ:s] (e.g. θάλασσα [tʰálassa])
(c) nom -ᾰ [-a] + gen -ᾱς [-a:s] (e.g. πεῖρα [pê:ra])
(d) nom -η [-ɛ:] + gen -ης [-ɛ:s] (e.g. τιμή [ti:mɛ́:])

After the loss of vowel-length distinctions, analogical levelling produced a simplified two-way system, in which genitives consistently followed their nominatives in choice of vowel:

(a–c) nom -α [-a] + gen -ας [-as]
(d) nom -η [-i] + gen -ης [-is]

Interference between types (b) and (c), and to a lesser extent between types (a) and (b), had begun to affect more popular varieties in late antiquity (Gignac 1981: 3–11, 213), but the more radical simplification belongs to the middle ages.

11.7.3 Masculine nouns of the 1st declension: paradigm standardization

(18) Masculine nouns of the first declension in -ας [-as] and -ης [-is], both originally with gen -ου [-u], replaced their classical genitives with -α [-a] and -η [-i] respectively.

Such 'regularized' declensional patterns, i.e. with the vowel of the genitive following that of the nominative, were already used for many personal names in classical Greek (especially in Ionic inscriptions and in Great Attic texts from Ionic-speaking territories), but from the first century AD onwards examples involving common nouns start to appear in the papyri (cf. 6.5.2).

11.7.4 Interplay between the 1st and 3rd declensions: imparisyllabic paradigms

(19) The elimination of the class of masculine and feminine consonant-stem nouns of the third declension proceeded quite quickly in popular speech. Some were replaced early by neuter diminutives in -ι [-i]. Otherwise, the development proceeded from the addition of an analogical -ν [-n] to the original acc sg in -α [-a], beginning in Roman times (Gignac (1981: 45–6), cf. 4.11.3). The consequential parallelism with first-declension accusatives in -α(ν) [-a(n)] led to interference between the two paradigms and ultimately to their merger. Thus new nominatives in -α (fem) and -ας (masc) were built to the accusative in -α(ν) [-a(n)], and genitives in -ας [-as] (fem) and -α [-a] (masc) followed, producing paradigms of the type:

(a) nom μητέρα [mi'tera]/acc μητέρα(ν) [mi'tera(n)]/gen μητέρας [mi'teras], 'mother' (contrast classical: μήτηρ ['mitir]/μητέρα [mi'tera]/μητρός [mi'tros]).
(b) nom πατέρας [pa'teras]/acc πατέρα(ν) [pa'tera(n)]/gen πατέρα [pa'tera], 'father' (contrast classical: πατήρ [pa'tir]/πατέρα [pa'tera]/πατρός [pa'tros]).

With the final elimination of -ν [-n] in the accusative singular forms, we therefore move to the modern system of a-stem nouns (i.e. comprising both original a-stems and original consonant-stems), in which feminine nouns have a common nom/acc sg in -α/-η [-a/-i], gen -ας/-ης [-as/-is], and masculine nouns have nom sg in -ας/-ης [-as/-is], with a common acc/gen sg in -α/-η [-a/-i].

In the plural it was the 3rd-declension consonant-stem pattern of nom -ες [-es], acc -ας [-as], that influenced the corresponding 1st-declension forms -αι [-e] and -ας [-as]:

thus χῶραι ['xore] 'countries', for example, became ['xore-s], eventually spelled χῶρες. The partial falling together of nom and acc forms in the consonant stems, already noted in the Roman period (4.11.1, 6.5.2), gradually became the norm for the new mixed paradigm, with nom -ες [-es]/acc -ες [-es] increasingly replacing nom -ες [-es]/acc -ας [-as] (though with exceptions in Pontic, and sometimes in Chian and Rhodian). Only in the gen pl did the paradigms remain partially distinct, since original 1st-declension nouns retained their accented suffix -ῶν [-'on], while former consonant-stem nouns, which originally carried the accent on the penultimate syllable, kept it there, e.g. ἐλπίδων [el'piðon] 'of-hopes' etc. There was, however, a reduction in the use of the genitive plural in spoken Greek up until the modern era and the advent of universal education (cf. for example Thumb (1912: 31) on the vernacular of the late 19th century). Subsequently, the case has enjoyed a revival and is now once again routinely employed in the full range of modern genitive functions (albeit with competition from ἀπό [apo] 'from' + acc in partitive constructions).

This set of developments brought with them the major advantage of eliminating allomorphy between the nom sg and the rest of the consonant-stem paradigm (compare ἔλπιδα [el'piða]/ἔλπίδας [el'piðas] beside ἐλπίς [el'pis]/ἐλπίδος [el'piðos]), but the process was again inhibited by knowledge of the written language (including passive knowledge, e.g. through exposure to the liturgy), and the original morphology is still used for learned written forms of particular vocabulary items (cf. Τράπεζα της Ελλάδος ['trapeza tis e'laðos] 'Bank of-the Greece' etc). Genitives in accented -ός [-'os] also persist in some local varieties, especially in the Ionian islands (where there has even been some extension to the original a-stem paradigm, giving not only τοῦ πατρός [tu pa'tros] 'of-the father' but also τῆς πορτός [tis por'tos] 'of-the door', from πόρτα ['porta]).

(20) This partial conflation of 1st and 3rd (consonant-stem) declensions led to further remodellings. Thus the consonant-stem type nom sg φυγάς [fi'ɣas] 'exile', with nom pl φυγάδες [fi'ɣaðes], led first to the modification of the ancient 'contracted' 1st-declension type, with accented nom sg in -ᾶς [-'as] (< *-έας [-'eas]), with gen sg in -ᾶ [-'a], and nom pl in -αῖ [-'e]. In origin these were mainly pet-names, but the type was widely extended in popular speech to denote professions and bodily peculiarities ('big-head', 'thick-lip' etc). The partial transfer of these to the consonant-stem paradigm is already apparent in texts of Hellenistic and Roman times, but in the medieval period the consonant-stem forms were standardly adopted in the plural: thus ἀββᾶς [a'vas] 'abbot', with old gen sg ἀββᾶ [a'va], but nom pl ἀββάδες [a'vaðes] etc.

From this type the pattern was further extended to most nouns ending in accented vowel + -ς [-s], e.g. παπποῦς [pa'pus] 'grandfather', plural παπποῦδες [pa'puðes]; subsequently many loanwords from Turkish entered this paradigm.[7] All these types have retained their imparisyllabic inflection in modern Greek.

The pattern also attracted the modified forms of the old 3rd-declension type in -εύς [-'efs], e.g. βασιλεύς [vasi'lefs] 'king/emperor'. Here the accusative βασιλέα [vasi'lea] spawned a new nominative βασιλέας [vasi'leas], which developed to βασιλιᾶς [vasi'ʎas] by synizesis. From this base we then get a new paradigm with plural βασιλιάδες [vasi'ʎaðes]

(also retained in Modern Greek). The suffix -άδες [-'aðes] was also sometimes extended to ordinary 1st-declension masculines and feminines: μαθητής [maθi'tis] 'pupil', for example, may have plural μαθητές [maθi'tes] or μαθητάδες [maθi'taðes], while ἀδερφή [aðer'fi] 'sister' may have plural ἀδερφές [aðer'fes] or ἀδερφάδες [aðer'faðes] etc.[8] In the case of masculines, if the accent fell originally on the root, there is also often a by-form in -ηδες [-iðes], e.g. ῥάφτης ['raftis] 'tailor', with plurals ῥαφτάδες [raf'taðes] and ῥάφτηδες ['raftiðes] alongside the regular ῥάφτες ['raftes]. There are even examples of extension to the o-stem (2nd-declension) paradigm. The longer forms of this type sometimes still occur dialectally, but are not used in standard Modern Greek.

(21) This period also saw the beginnings of the assimilation of the 3rd-declension i-stem type in -ις [-is], e.g. θύμησις ['θimisis] 'memory', to the 1st-declension paradigm. Some early examples also involve transfer to the type in -ίς [-'is]/-ίδος [-'iðos], whence a new accusative in -ίδα(ν) [-'iða(n)) and the rebuilding of the paradigm in the familiar way. But in general the process was based on the existing phonetic overlap in the acc sg, e.g. 3rd-declension θύμησι(ν) ['θimisi(n)]/1st-declension νίκην ['nik-i(n)] 'victory'. This led to a nom sg θύμησι ['θimisi] (or θύμηση, though such forms were not written till later), and gen sg θύμησις ['θimisis] (or θύμησης), and even nom/acc pl θύμησες ['θimises].

Again, however, the process was slow and partial, with the ancient gen sg as in πόλεως ['poleos] 'city' and the old plural paradigm in general showing particular resistance to assimilation in all but the most popular/local varieties because of the influence of written/liturgical Greek. In the modern standard the new nom/acc sg has now been adopted (spelled with -η), but both gen sg forms remain acceptable, while in the plural the ancient paradigm has been standardized: nom/acc πόλεις ['polis], gen πόλεων ['poleon].

11.7.5 Neuters

(22) Since neuters generally ended in vowel + ν [n] (cf. the two principal 2nd-declension paradigms illustrated by ξύλον ['ksilo(n)] 'wood' and παιδίν [pe'ði(n)] 'child', see 6.5.2 for the latter), it was natural that the 3rd-declension type in -μα [-ma], gen sg -ματος [-matos], should fall into line. Forms such as πρά(γ)μαν ['pra(ɣ)ma(n)] 'thing, deed' are therefore quite standard by the time vernacular literature starts to appear in the 12th century.

There is also a tendency to substitute the 2nd-declension genitive ending, to give πρα(γ)μάτου [pra(ɣ)'matu] beside learned πρά(γ)ματος ['pra(ɣ)matos], on the assumption that forms such as nom/acc pl πράγματα ['pra(ɣ)mata] and gen pl πραγμάτων [pra(ɣ)'mato(n)] were of 2nd-declension type; the opposite confusion is attested in forms like προσώπατα [pro'sopata] 'faces', with 3rd-declension -τα [-ta] added to the 2nd-declension plural form πρόσωπα ['prosopa]. In standard Modern Greek the ancient form of the gen sg has been adopted.

The 3rd-declension s-stem type in -ος [-os] (e.g. δάσος ['ðasos] 'forest'), with gen -ους [-us] and nom/acc pl -η [i], also survived and even attracted some 2nd-declension neuters in -ο(ν) [-o(n)], so that we find plurals such as κάστρη ['kastri] 'forts', δέντρη ['ðendri] 'trees', beside the expected κάστρα ['kastra], δέντρα ['ðendra].

(23) From the 5th/6th century onwards the new deverbative suffix -σιμον [-simo(n)], used to denote actions and associated meanings of a more concrete nature, begins to make an appearance, in part to replace old feminine abstracts in -σις [-sis] (now disfavoured because of their declensional irregularity),[9] in part to replace the nominalized infinitive which, in popular speech, was increasingly restricted to use as a temporal adverbial adjunct: thus τὸ ἰδεῖν [to i'ðin], lit. 'the to-see', is used to mean 'when/after s/he had seen ...' in vernacular texts of the later middle ages.

Forms such as γράψιμον ['ɣrapsimo(n)] 'writing' (also 'handwriting' or 'something written') seem to involve the addition of an anomalous neuter suffix -μον [-mo(n)] to the stem of the old action-noun formations in -σι- [-si-], but otherwise decline like the 3rd-declension type in -μα [-ma], with gen sg -ματος [-matos] (or -μάτου ['-matu]), nom/acc pl -ματα [-mata]. These formations therefore probably belonged originally to the 3rd-declension type, but a singular such as *γράψιμα ['ɣrapsima] would have been quickly reinterpreted as a neuter plural of the second declension. This then gave birth to forms such as nom/acc sg -σιμον [-simo(n)] and gen sg/pl -σίμου [-'simu]/-σίμων [-'simo(n)], but the innovation became standard only in the nom/acc sg, and by the 9th/10th century the remainder of the paradigm employed only the original 3rd-declension endings, as in standard Modern Greek.

11.7.6 The definite article

(24) The i-vowel of the innovative fem nom pl (the form later spelled οἱ [i]) probably owes its origin to the prevocalic synizesis of original αἱ [e] as [e̯] and then [j], e.g. αἱ ἀδελφαί [j-aðel'fe], with later reanalysis of [j] as deriving from 'full-form' [i], a process perhaps supported by the i-vowel of fem sg forms ἡ [i], τή(ν) [ti(n)], τῆς [tis]. In the modern period, acc pl τις [tis] is the result of the remodelling of standard medieval τές [tes] (replacing τάς [tas]) to the nominative form.

Such innovative forms were not written for a long time, and when they did begin to appear in texts, there was much uncertainty about orthography. Nom pl αἱ [e] survived in the South Italian dialects (with generalization to the masculine paradigm in some areas), while acc pl τάς [tas] was still used until recently in some island dialects (e.g. on Chios and Rhodes); τές [tes] is still in use on Cyprus.

11.7.7 Adjectives

(25) (a) In the adjectival paradigms, there was a strong tendency to provide all surviving types with three distinct terminations (masc, fem and neut)

according to the model of the most common type with 2nd-declension masc/neut in -ος [-os]/-ο(ν) [-o(n)], and 1st-declension fem in -α [-a] or -η [-i]. Thus compound adjectives of 2nd-declension type, which had lacked a distinct feminine in classical Greek, were supplied with a 1st-declension feminine to bring them into line.

(b) Adjectives with forms belonging to 3rd-declension paradigms, just like nouns and participles, were increasingly disfavoured, and frequently subject to reformation or loss. The major survivor was the class of u-stem adjectives, which had always had a distinct 1st-declension feminine form (cf. βαρύς [va'ris] (masc), βαρεῖα [va'ria] (fem), βαρύ [va'ri] (neut) 'heavy'), though this too was subject to considerable reformation (see below). By contrast, the consonant-stem types had only two terminations and were largely abandoned in favour of more regular replacements. The s-stems, however (e.g. εὐγενής [evje'nis] (masc/fem), εὐγενές [evje'nes] (neut) 'noble'), though also subject to replacement, were sometimes retained in an adapted form.

The principal changes, most of which belong to the later middle ages, are summarized in (26–8).

(26) The u-stem masc/neut paradigm (sg -ύς [-'is]/-ύ [-'i], pl -εῖς [-'is]/-έα [-'ea]) was partially incorporated into the 1st and 2nd declensions through the homophony of its masc sg with that of 1st-declension masc nouns in -ής [-'is] and that of its neut sg with that of 2nd-declension neuter nouns in -ί(ν) [-'i]. Thus masc βαρύς [va'ris] 'heavy' was given gen sg βαρή [va'ri], though nom pl [var'ji] took the 2nd-declension suffix to distinguish it from the fem pl; fem βαρεῖα [va'ria] developed by synizesis to [var'ja], with pl [var'jes]); neut [va'ri] has gen [var'ju], and pl [var'ja]. The neut gen sg was also used for the masc because of the identity of the two forms in the regular 2nd-declension paradigm. The development was further supported by the existence of 2nd-declension forms in the masc pl, and the oddity of apparent masculine adjectives of the 1st declension.

Such forms were originally exclusive to spoken Greek and there was much uncertainty about orthography when they were finally written. Forms without a learned history were in general written as if they belonged to the 1st or 2nd declension as appropriate: e.g. masc σταχτής [stax'tis] (gen σταχτή [stax'ti] or σταχτιοῦ [stax'tju], pl σταχτιοί [stax'tji]); fem σταχτιά [stax'tja]; neuter σταχτί [stax'ti] 'ashen'. But in other cases there was interference from the written language; thus in the case of βαρύς [va'ris]/βαρύ [var'i] 'heavy', the modern orthography has kept the original υ in the masc/neut nom/acc singular, but otherwise uses spellings with -ι-, so βαρύς [va'ris]/βαρύ [va'ri] but βαριά [va'rja]/βαριοί [va'rji]. As a result, the masc and neut sg have ceased to belong to any living paradigm and lack an acceptable genitive inflection. Earlier, however, forms in (-ύ)/-ή [-'i] and -ιού [-'ju] were used freely, and the paradigm was sufficiently productive to attract some regular adjectives in -ός [-'os] (some of which then became 'standard', most notably μακρύς [ma'kris] 'long' for ancient μακρός [ma'kros]).

Occasionally, however, the levelling seems to have been carried through more systematically for accidental phonetic reasons. Thus masc and fem nom plurals γλυκι-οί [ɣli'ci] (replacing ancient γλυκεῖς [ɣli'cis]) and γλυκι-ές [ɣli'ces] (< ancient γλυκεῖαι [ɣli'cie]) 'sweet' were reinterpreted as γλυκ-οί [ɣli'ci] and γλυκ-ές [ɣli'ces] with regular velar palatalization before the suffixes [-i/-e]. On this basis, a 2nd-declension neut pl γλυκά [ɣli'ka] was constructed with root-final velar, and the masc/neut pl forms then led to corresponding 2nd-declension singulars, γλυκός [ɣli'kos] and γλυκό [ɣli'ko], in place of ancient γλυκύς [ɣli'cis] and γλυκύ [ɣli'ci]. The fem sg, however, remains γλυκιά [ɣli'ca] (< ancient γλυκεῖα [ɣli'cia]), thus blocking the full regularization of the paradigm. Examples of this type also led to -ιά [-'ja] feminines in regular 2nd/1st-declension adjectives when the stem ended in a velar.

Alongside these partial, and rather confused, attempts to integrate members of a dying paradigm into living alternatives in the popular language, there are also words taken directly from the written language which have now been incorporated into standard Modern Greek with their ancient paradigm intact. A good example is εὐρύς [e'vris] 'broad' (with genitive εὐρέος [e'vreos], pl εὐρεῖς [e'vris]).

(27) The ancient n-stem type in masc/fem -ων [-on], neut -ον [-on], was almost completely lost apart from rare imports from the learned language. There are also a few ancient participles of the -ων [-on]/gen -οντος [-ondos] type in common use as adjectives, again with a complete ancient paradigm, e.g. masc ἐνδιαφέρων [enðia'feron], fem ἐνδιαφέρουσα [enðia'ferusa], neut ἐνδιαφέρον [enðia'feron] 'interesting'.

(28) Adjectives of the s-stem type in masc/fem -ής [-'is], neut -ές [-'es], were variously replaced by existing alternatives or remodelled using more regular suffixes (not all of which have survived into Modern Greek): e.g. ἀκριβής [akri'vis] 'accurate' > ἀκριβός [akri'vos]; ἀληθής [ali'θis] 'true' > ἀληθινός [aliθi'nos]; ἀμαθής [ama'θis] 'ignorant' > ἄμαθος ['amaθos] and ἀμάθητος [a'maθitos]; εὐγενής [evje'nis] 'noble' > εὐγενός [evje'nos] and εὐγενικός [evjeni'kos]; ὑγιής [i'jis] 'healthy' > ὑγιηρός [iji'ros]/γερός [je'ros] and ὑγιεινός [iji'nos]. In many cases, however, the ancient form survived in the written language and has since been reincorporated into standard modern Greek with its ancient paradigm intact. In cases where both forms have been retained side by side, there is often semantic differentiation (e.g. ἀκριβής [akri'vis] 'accurate', ἀκριβός [akri'vos] 'expensive'; ὑγιής [i'jis] 'healthy', ὑγιεινός [iji'nos] 'hygienic').

Others, however, were taken to belong to the type of 1st-declension substantives, such as συγγενής [siɲɟe'nis] 'related' > 'a relative', with gen συγγενή [siɲɟe'ni] and pl συγγενήδες [siɲɟe'niðes], and supplied with feminine counterparts in -ισσα [-isa] (e.g. συγγένισσα [siɲ'ɟenisa]). Though both forms were nouns, they could be used in apposition to other nouns and acquire adjective-like status, leading to completion of the paradigm by the addition of neuters in -ικό [-i'ko] taken from regular adjectival paradigms, as συγγενικό [siɲɟeni'ko]. This suffix was sometimes then generalized to the masculine and feminine to produce a normal adjectival paradigm in -ικός [-i'kos]/-ική [-i'ci]/-ικό [-i'ko] (cf. εὐγενικός [evjeni'kos] 'noble/polite'). Thus the modern adjective

is συγγενικός [sinɟeni'kos], while the ancient συγγενής [sinɟe'nis], together with its classical paradigm, has been reincorporated into the language as a noun meaning '(a) relative'.

Many neologisms ending in -άτης [-'atis], -ίτης [-'itis] and -ώτης [-'otis] were later added to this class, despite the difference in accent, to give '-ης [-is]/ '-ισσα [-isa]/ '-ικο [-iko]. From this arose a set of popular adjectives in '-ικος ['-ikos], e.g. χωριάτης [xo'rjatis] 'peasant/villager', χωριάτικος [xor'jatikos] 'of the peasantry, rustic'. Masculine nouns of this type have now largely been assimilated into the regular 1st-declension paradigm with plural in -ες [-es].

Similarly innovative forms in -άρης [-'aris], -έρης [-'eris] and later -έλης [-'elis] (e.g. in Turkish loans like τεμπέλης [tem'belis] 'lazy') were treated in a parallel fashion, though these were felt to be adjectival from the start and the feminine therefore ended in -α [-a] rather than nominal -ισσα [-isa]. There was, however, some overlap and uncertainty between the two types (e.g. χωριάτα [xo'rjata]/χωριάτισσα [xo'rjatisa] 'female villager'). In general, these have survived into Modern Greek as adjectives with their popular paradigm intact: e.g. ζηλιάρης [zi'ʎaris], ζηλιάρα [zi'ʎara], ζηλιάρικο [zi'ʎariko] 'jealous'.

11.7.8 Pronouns

(29) Pronominal morphology underwent extensive remodelling during the middle ages. This complex area is summarized under the following subheadings:

(a) Indefinite pronouns.
(b) Interrogative pronouns.
(c) Relative pronouns.
(d) Demonstrative pronouns.
(e) Personal pronouns.

(a) Indefinite pronouns

The indefinite pronoun/adjective τις [tis] 'someone/some, anyone/any' was increasingly replaced in its incipient use as an indefinite article by the numeral εἷς [is], later ἕνας ['enas], lit. 'one' (as already sporadically from Hellenistic times). In its strictly pronominal uses, however, ('someone/anyone'), it was remodelled as τινάς [tinas], though this in turn was eventually replaced, as explained immediately below.

The particle κἄν [ka(n)], originally a combination of καί [ce] 'even' with modal ἄν [an], was already used as a free-standing intensifier even in classical Greek. In combination with εἷς [is] this gradually passed from the sense 'even/at least one' to become a new indefinite pronoun meaning 'anyone'. A transitional example might be *Apophthegmata Patrum* (c. AD 500), Migne vol. 45, 261 B:

(i) ἐξ αὐτῶν κἂν ἓν ἀρέσκει αὐτῷ;

[eks af'ton kan 'en a'resci ato?]
from those(-things) even/any one pleases him?

'Does any one of these things please him?'

The syllabification of κανείς, as in [ka'nis], encouraged formal resegmentation as [ka-'nis], and the element κα- [ka-] was then compounded with other ancient indefinite pronouns and adverbs to form one set of modern indefinites, e.g. κάτι ['kati] 'something', κάποιος ['kapjos] 'someone' (the second element originally meant 'some kind of' but assumed a parallel pronominal function to replace τις [tis] in this sense), κάποτε ['kapote] 'sometimes', κάπου ['kapu] 'somewhere' etc. The original final nasal was retained only in κάμποσος ['kambosos], lit. 'some-many', i.e. '(quite) a few'. For medieval variants of these with prefixed ὁ- [o-] (ὁκάτι [o'kati], ὁκάποιος [o'kapjos] etc.), see 12.3.3.

But unlike the ancient indefinites, which meant both 'any X' and 'some X', the new forms were divided into negative-polarity ('any/no') and affirmative ('some') subtypes (see 12.3.2 for further discussion). Thus alongside the affirmative forms just listed, κανείς [ka'nis] and κανένας [ka'nenas] (the latter used both pronominally and adjectivally) appear only in negative, interrogative and generic contexts with the sense 'anyone', and can also be used absolutely with the negative sense of 'no one'. A number of other indefinite forms were assimilated to this model to complete the set: e.g. τίποτε ['tipote] 'anything/nothing' (i.e. τι [ti] 'something/anything' + ποτέ [pote] 'ever', later τίποτα ['tipota]); ποτέ [po'te] 'ever/never'; πουθενά **[puθe'na]** 'anywhere/nowhere' (i.e. ποθέν **[po'θen]** '(from) anywhere/somewhere' remodelled to πού [pu] 'anywhere/somewhere' and given the intensive suffix -ά [-'a] also used in demonstratives).

(b) Interrogative pronouns

Just as the (affirmative) indefinite τις [tis] 'some(one)' was replaced by κάποιος ['kapjos], so interrogative τίς; [tis] 'who?' was replaced by ποῖος; ['pios] (originally 'which?/what kind of?' but again extended from adjectival to pronominal function). The substitution was promoted by the demise of 3rd-declension masc/fem forms, and the fact that the majority of interrogative elements began with π- [p-], cf. ποῦ; [pu] 'where?', πότε; ['pote] 'when?' etc. The accent was shifted to the final syllable with synizesis to give ποιός; [pjos] 'who?'.

However, the neuter τί; [ti] 'what?', just like the second element of indefinite κάτι ['kati] 'something', was retained, and in some dialects (e.g. the Old Athenian and south-eastern groups, Cretan, and many Cycladic varieties) used so habitually in the phrase τί (ἔ)ν(ι) τό/τά; ['ti n do/da], lit. 'what is-it/are-they that?' (cf. French *qu'est-ce que*?), that this eventually developed (through dissimilation) into the fused pronominal interrogative εἴντα/ἴντα; ['inda] 'what?'.

(c) Relative pronouns

The ancient forms ὅς [os]/ ἥ [i]/ ὅ [o], invariably beginning, and often also ending, in a vowel, were prone to merger and loss. Beginning in classical times, they were frequently replaced by stronger forms in popular speech.

The regular substitutes in the early-to-middle period are forms of the article beginning with τ- [t-] (as already in classical Ionic, where the once protective initial /h/ of the true relative was lost prehistorically), and, especially in cases where the article also began with a vowel, the formerly indefinite ὅστις ['ostis] and emphatic ὅσπερ ['osper]. The interrogative τίς; [tis] is also sometimes used as a relative; this originated in overlap

with ὅστις ['ostis] in indirect questions/free relatives (cf. *I know what(ever) she knows*), whence it acquired first a free-relative and then a simple-relative use parallel to ὅστις [ostis].

Replacement of these options by ὅπου/που [('o)pu] 'that' apparently became general only in the latter part of the period under review, despite a few early examples (see below). It is traditionally assumed that this originally locative adverb ('where') first acquired the wider range of functions carried by the locative prepositions ἐν [en]/εἰς [is], (i.e. not only 'where-at', but also 'where-to' (goal) and 'where-with' (instrumental/comitative), and was then used, by simple extension, as an indirect object relative (cf. 'X where-with/where-to I spoke'). Reinterpreted in this role as a substitute also for 'bare' genitive and accusative elements functioning as indirect objects, it was then further extended to cover other genitive and accusative uses, including that of direct object. At this stage the final generalization to the role of subject, as a nominative substitute, would have been straightforward.

But convincing cases of relative ὅπου ['opu] are hard to find in the Egyptian papyri (cf. Gignac (1981: 179)), and all the examples from low-brow Christian writing (from around the 5th century) are nominative substitutes (Bakker (1974: 71–2)):

(i) ἐκεῖνος ὅπου ἐμαγείρευεν (Leóntios of Neapolis, *Life of St John* 46, 18)

[e'cinos (o)pu ema'jireven]
that-man that was-cooking

Since the proposed development must have taken some time, it would follow that it must have begun in late antiquity, making the absence of good examples from Egypt all the more mysterious. Furthermore, it is usually the case cross-linguistically that the use of an indeclinable relative complementizer *begins* with the role of subject, and then works its way down the grammatical hierarchy of direct and indirect object to other adjunct/adverbial functions (see, for example, Maxwell (1982)). If this was the case in Greek, as the few available data suggest, an alternative account is clearly required (cf. Manoléssou (2003b)). One possibility is that colloquial free relatives like οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπου ... [uk 'esθ opu ...], lit. 'not there-is (any case/any means) in-which/by-which ...', i.e. 'it is impossible that ...',[10] where there was already some development from the spatial sense, eventually provided a source for the extension of a semantically bleached ὅπου [opu] (= 'that') to relative clauses with heads (starting with the subject role in line with the evidence).

We also start to find examples of the relative use of classical ὁποῖος [o'pios] (originally = 'of such a kind as') in place of ὅστις ['ostis]. This conformed with both the general preference for π-forms over τ-forms, and the general pattern of redeploying free-relative adjectivals as relative pronouns. Overlap of use in indirect questions again led to confusion with the corresponding interrogative ποῖος ['pios] 'who?', which in turn created confusion about the status of ὁ- [o-] in the longer form: was this ὁποῖος [o'pios], ὁ ποῖος [o 'pios] (article + interrogative used as a relative) or ὁ 'ποῖος [o 'pios] (the article followed by the longer form reduced by aphaeresis)? We therefore start to find the 'corrected' form of the last of these, namely ὁ ὁποῖος [o o'pios], the use of which was reinforced under the influence of Romance after the capture of Constantinople by the fourth crusade in 1204 and the subsequent division of the

empire amongst the conquering Latin powers (cf. French *le quel*, Italian *il quale* etc). In the non-classicizing literature of late Byzantium we therefore find ὁποῖος/ὅποιος [o'pios/'opjos] (for the accent of the second cf. the functionally equivalent ὅστις ['ostis] and the accentuation in citation form of all the related adverbials in ὅπ- ['op-]), ὁ ὁποῖος [o o'pios], and (with aphaeresis and/or conflation of interrogative and relative) ὁ ποῖος/ὁ ποιός [o 'pios/o pjos], all in use alongside indeclinable ὅπου [('o)pu].

Ὁποῖος [o'pios], like its predecessor ὅστις ['ostis], was also employed as an indefinite/generic pronoun in free relatives, but in this case, the accent was standardized on the first syllable to give ὅποιος ['opjos], reflecting the continuing influence of the classical neuter ὅ,τι ['oti] 'whatever', which was retained alongside κάτι ['kati] 'something', and τί; [ti] 'what?'. This duality naturally led to ὅπου ['opu] and its variants also being used, at least for a time, in free relatives.

In Modern Greek, however, πού [pu] and ὁ ὁποῖος [o o'pios] are used only as simple relatives (the latter with a slightly learned feel), ὅποιος ['opjos] only as an indefinite/generic pronoun in free relatives, though there was much uncertainty in the later middle ages before this stable pattern finally emerged.

(d) Demonstrative pronouns

As already noted, αὐτός [af'tos] became a true demonstrative (= 'this') in late antiquity or the early Byzantine period, replacing ancient ὅδε ['oðe]. A local variant, which still survives in some contemporary spoken dialects, was ε(ὐ)τός [e'(f)tos], with ἐ- [e-] by analogy with ἐκεῖνος [e'cinos] 'that'.

Ancient οὗτος ['utos]/αὕτη ['afti]/τοῦτο ['tuto] 'this' also survived, but with regularization of the paradigm through generalization of the stem τουτ- [tut-], as seen in the neut sg and the oblique cases of masc/neut in both sg and pl, so as to give τοῦτος ['tutos]/τούτη ['tuti]/τοῦτο ['tuto] (sometimes with initial ἐ- [e-], again on the analogy of ἐκεῖνος [e'cinos] 'that', ἐ-γώ [e'ɣo] 'I', ἐ-σύ [e'si] 'you').

There was also interference between αὐτός [af'tos] and οὗτος ['utos] based on their respective feminine forms, αὐτή [af'ti] and αὕτη ['afti]. The latter spawned a rival paradigm with masculine αὗτος (or αὖτος) ['aftos] and neuter αὗτο (or αὖτο) ['afto], forms which provide useful metrical variants to αὐτός [af'tos] etc., and occur quite frequently in the vernacular poetry of the 12th century and beyond as true demonstratives and strong (i.e. non-clitic) 3rd-person pronouns. This development also led to the formation of εὗτος/ἔτος ['eftos/'etos] beside ε(ὐ)τός [e'(f)tos].

This last form may then provide the explanation for the modern manner adverbial ἔτσι ['etsi] 'thus'. The phrase τί λογῆς; [ti lo'jis], lit. 'what of-kind/manner?' (i.e. 'what sort (of)?'), consisting of the now indeclinable neuter interrogative plus the fossilized genitive of the feminine noun λογή [lo'ji], is only used today with a following noun. But in Medieval Greek it could apparently also be used absolutely to mean '(in) what manner/how?', to which a possible answer was the elliptical use of the feminine genitive singular ἔτης ['etis] '(in) this (manner)', agreeing with λογῆς [lo'jis]. From this, the general adverbial use (= 'so/thus') developed directly. At this stage, the termination, being no longer associated specifically with the feminine genitive singular, gave rise to respellings such as ἐδ-έτις [e'ðetis] (see the following paragraph for the prefix) and (ε)ἴτις ['itis] (with assimilation of the initial vowel). The form ἔτσι ['etsi] involves

syncope of the unaccented vowel of ἔτις ['etis] followed by anaptyxis, while early Cypriot ἤτζου ['itsu] is perhaps a related derivative of (ἐ)ἴτις ['itis] (in which the final vowel, however, remains unexplained).

At least some forms of ἐκεῖνος [e'cinos] and (ἐ)τοῦτος [(e)'tutos] could be augmented by an intensifying suffix -ά [-'a] (sometimes -έ [-'e]), or prefixed by ἐδε- [eðe-] < ἰδέ [i'ðe] 'look'. The strengthened form αὐτόνος [af'tonos] has a double inflection outside the nom sg masc (e.g. gen sg αὐτούνου/αὐτουνοῦ [af'tunu/aftu'nu], fem sg αὐτήνη [af'tini] etc.), and appears to have been built to ἐκεῖνος [e'cinos], but with the continuing influence of the simplex αὐτός [af'tos] leading to the more complex declensional pattern. See Manoléssou (2001) for a full survey of these developments.

(e) Personal pronouns

The development of a set of reduced clitic forms for the 3rd-person pronouns has already been dealt with. The beginnings of the reconstruction of the system of 1st/2nd-person pronouns were already apparent in some of the later papyri (cf. 6.5.4, (38c)). In this period the changes were completed.

The form of the nom sg of the 1st-person pronoun (ἐγώ [e'ɣo]), together with the existence of parallel strong and weak oblique forms (e.g. acc ἐμέ [e'me]/μέ [me]), led to analogous 2nd-person formations: ἐσύ [e'si] (replacing classical σύ [si]), with strong acc ἐσέ [e'se] alongside weak σέ [se] etc.

Since the 1/2 plural forms had become homophonous (ἡμεῖς/ὑμεῖς [i'mis]), new pl paradigms were built in the early/middle Byzantine period to the stem forms of the sg: nom ἐμεῖς [e'mis]/ἐσεῖς [e'sis], acc ἐμᾶς [e'mas]/ἐσᾶς [e'sas], beside weak μᾶς [mas]/σᾶς [sas] etc. For the use of the acc pl forms of 1/2/3-person pronouns in genitive as well as normal accusative functions, see 12.3.3 (15g).

From the early 2nd century, the acc sg forms acquired a characteristic final -ν [-n] (ἐμέν [e'me(n)]/ἐσέν [e'se(n)]), and by the 4th century the first-person pronoun had been formally adapted to the 3rd declension (perhaps on the analogy of ἕνα ['ena] 'one/a(n)' and τινά [tina] 'some(one)/a(n)') through the addition of final -α [a]. This form naturally received its own analogical -ν [-n] along with other 3rd-declension nominals, with ἐμέναν [e'mena(n)] already attested in papyri of the late 4th century. The parallel evolution of the 2nd-person form (ἐσέναν [e'sena(n)]) belongs to the early/middle Byzantine period.

Since these types were then reinterpreted as belonging to the first declension, they were given the appropriate genitives (following the masculine declensional pattern), i.e. ἐμένα [e'mena]/ἐσένα [e'sena]. With the loss of final -ν [-n], these then served also as accusative-genitives in the usual way. (See Dressler (1966), Gignac (1981: 161–5).)

11.8 Verb Morphology and Syntax

11.8.1 The infinitive

(30) The aorist infinitive was reformed in the later middle ages to the model of the present (imperfective) infinitive, i.e. -(σ)αι [-(s)e] > -(σ)ει(ν) [-(s)i(n)] on the basis of -ειν [-i(n)].

In popular spoken usage infinitives were progressively confined to the complements of control verbs (i.e. 'want', 'try', etc., with an understood coreferential subject in the infinitival clause: *I want to go* = 'I want [that I go]'), and of auxiliaries expressing modal and aspectual notions (i.e. 'will', 'can', 'have', 'start', 'stop' etc).

In the later middle ages νά [na] + subjunctive largely replaced the infinitive in the former category, while the infinitive when used with appropriate verbs of the second type was sometimes strengthened with the article to form a nominalized direct object (e.g. *I start [to talk] -> I start [the talking]*). A number of Modern Greek neuter nouns originated as infinitives used in this way, e.g. φιλί [fi'li] 'kiss', < φιλεῖ(ν) [fi'li(n)] 'to love/kiss'; φαΐ [fa'i] 'food' < φαγεῖ(ν) [fa'ji(n)] 'to eat' etc.

Eventually, even infinitivals after modal/aspectual verbs were replaced by νά [na]-clauses, with the sole exception of those following εἶχα ['ixa] 'I would (have)' (usually aorist). This construction, through its use in the protases of counterfactual conditionals, passed in the later part of this period from the sense of 'would (have)' to hypothetical 'had', and then to that of a true pluperfect (*if X would have Y-ed -> if X had Y-ed -> X had Y-ed*). Ultimately, a new perfect with ἔχω ['exo] 'I have' was built to this pluperfect, though this development belongs to the modern period, by which time the future was consistently formed in ways other than with this auxiliary (see 11.8.3 for perfects/pluperfects, futures and conditionals).

The articular infinitive also survived into the late middle ages as a subject-orientated adjunct, functionally equivalent to a temporal or circumstantial clause. In this use it no longer appeared after prepositions, was always placed immediately after the article τό [to], and never took an independent accusative subject (i.e. its interpretation was necessarily controlled by the subject of the main verb). Since it now effectively duplicated the function of the indeclinable participle/gerund, it gradually fell out of use. (See Joseph (1983) for a comprehensive survey, in the context of the Balkan *Sprachbund,* of the issues involved in the demise of the infinitive.)

11.8.2 Participles

(31) The imperfective (present) and perfect medio-passive participles in -όμενος [-'omenos] and -μένος [-'menos], which belonged to the 'regular' 2nd/1st-declension paradigms, both survived strongly in the early Byzantine period.

Subsequently, the present forms, which, like their active counterparts, were used almost exclusively as subject-orientated adjuncts, began to disappear in a linguistic context in which the active forms had become indeclinable (see immediately below).

Perfect passive participles, by contrast, were used only adjectivally, both attributively and predicatively (in stative periphrases with 'be'), in contexts where agreement was routine. Eventually, under Romance influence after 1204, these also began once again to be used with 'have' to form a perfect active periphrasis, sometimes agreeing with the direct object (though with a counter-tendency for an indeclinable neuter plural to be used instead): e.g. *I have the letter (in a) written (state)* etc. With the past tense εἶχα ['ixa], 'I had', these then formed a rival to the pluperfect formed with εἶχα ['ixa] + aorist infinitive. Different areas eventually selected one or the other as the

principal exponent of this tense, with the infinitival forms emerging as the norm in standard Modern Greek.

The remaining participles, with complex 3rd-declension paradigms, progressively disappeared amid growing confusion of gender and number (see 6.5.3 for the early stages), eventually leaving only an indeclinable active neuter form in -οντα [-onda]. Whether in origin this represents the old plural or a recharacterized singular is difficult to say in view of the general confusion, but it could be formed from both imperfective (present) and perfective (aorist) stems, the latter eventually showing -(σ)οντα [-(s)onda] in place of -(σ)αντα [-(s)anda] on the model of imperfective -οντα [-onda] (cf. the parallel remodelling of the aorist infinitive). Subsequent interference from Romance gerunds in *-ante/-ant* etc., used only to denote contemporaneous manner or circumstance, contributed to the eventual demise of the aorist forms. Similarly, though the Greek forms were earlier used both circumstantially and predicatively (in the case of the aorist, as a pluperfect active substitute with the past of 'be'), their sole surviving function in Modern Greek is as subject-orientated adjuncts expressing manner/circumstance.

The addition of final -ς [-s], as in Modern Greek, also seems to have begun in the later Byzantine period; this element, regular in the principal class of adverbs in -ως [-os], perhaps reflected the feeling that they served a related adverbial function (cf. the addition of -ς [-s] to τότε-ς ['totes] 'then', πότε-ς; ['potes] 'when?' etc.).

There is, however, no reason to think that the formal usage of the educated aristocracy was affected by these developments until quite late in the Byzantine period. If we consider the usage, not always obviously parodic, of the 'vernacular' *Poems of Poor Pródromos* (12.2.2), for example, it would seem that the urban elite continued to use a fairly full array of inflected participles, albeit in a greatly reduced range of functions reflecting the restriction in more popular registers to subject-orientated, circumstantial meanings. (Cf. Mirambel (1961), Manoléssou (2005a), for discussion of the retreat of the participle.)

11.8.3 Futures and conditionals, pluperfects and perfects

(32) The principal exponents of futurity in the early Byzantine period were ἔχω ['exo] or μέλλω ['melo] + infinitive, the present indicative (now indistinguishable from the present subjunctive, which may have supported its use in future function), and the aorist subjunctive (with which the future indicative had merged in regular paradigms), cf. 8.6, 11.8.6 (a); in irregular/suppletive paradigms it was the aorist subjunctive rather than the future forms that survived, albeit with analogically levelled indicative endings, because of the centrality to the verb system of the contrast between imperfective and perfective subjunctives.

In the later Byzantine period the auxiliaries in these various periphrases began to be replaced by θέλω ['θelo] 'will' (originally 'wish', a meaning that it retained in parallel), while bare subjunctives, both present and aorist, had begun as early as late antiquity to be strengthened by ἵνα ['ina]/νά [na], the products functioning not only modally but also as futures:

(i) ἐὰν γὰρ μάθω, ἵνα αὐτῷ συντύχω (*Lausiac History*, 1113b)

[ean ɣar 'maθo, (i)na to sin'dixo]
if(ever) for I-learn(subjunc), subjunc him I-speak(subjunc)

'for if I find out, I shall talk to him'

Correspondingly, the 'conditional' (= 'would (have)', i.e. the 'past' of the future in inferential/hypothetical contexts) was expressed by a bare imperfect (i.e. the past of the present used as a future), and by the past-tense forms of the infinitival periphrases, i.e. εἶχα ['ixa], ἔμελλα ['emela]/ἤμελλα ['imela], and eventually ἤθελα ['iθela], + infinitive:

(ii) εἶχον δὲ καὶ τὰς ἡμῶν ναῦς καῦσαι οἱ βάρβαροι, εἰ μὴ νὺξ ἐπῆλθε (Malálas, 128.5)

['ixon ðe ce tas imon 'nafs 'kafse i 'varvari, i mi 'niks 'epilθe
would-they and also the of-us ships to-burn the barbarians, if not night came-on

'And the barbarians would also have burned our ships, if night had not come on.'

In the later middle ages, however, the bare modal imperfect was regularly strengthened, in a development modelled on the established use of *νά* [na] to mark a present as future/subjunctive in force:

(iii) ὡς σηκωτὴς νά ἐδούλευα τὴν ἅπασαν ἡμέραν (*Ptochoprodromiká* III, 182)

[os siko'tis na 'duleva tin 'apasan i'mera(n)]
as porter subjunc I-was-working the whole day

'I would have worked as a porter the whole day long'

This formal remodalization of the imperfect also led to a temporary revival of *νά* [na] + the aorist indicative in counterfactual apodoses, corresponding to the use of *νά* [na] with both present and aorist subjunctive in future/modal function.

In some later medieval texts, however, most notably in the principal manuscript of the *Chronicle of the Morea* (H), but also sporadically elsewhere (e.g. l. 33 of *The Tale of the Right-Honourable Old Soak Pétros Zythómoustos* (Zóras (1956: 132–4)), and ll. 57 and 63 of Manólis Sklávos' *The Disaster of Crete* (dealing with the great earthquake of 1508, Bouboulídis (1955)), we also find the particle *νά* [na] combined with the ἔχω ['exo] or θέλω ['θelo] periphrases to form a complex subjunctive *νὰ* ἔχω/θέλω [na 'exo/'θelo] + infinitive. This was presumably a function of the familiar future/subjunctive overlap, representing an attempt to mark specifically modal uses of the infinitival periphrases. Sometimes in the *Chronicle of the Morea* (though again only in H), this new subjunctive combines with θέλω ['θelo] in volitive constructions, e.g. 6773 θέλω *νὰ* σᾶς ἔχω εἰπεῖ ['θelo na sas 'exo pi], lit. 'I-want that to-you I-will/may tell', i.e. 'I want to tell you'. Such developments presumably reflect the fluid situation in the later middle ages with respect to the expression of modality and futurity, but these particular forms had a local and/or substandard character, and none survived for long.

The general replacement of ἔχω ['exo]/εἶχα ['ixa] by θέλω ['θelo]/ἤθελα ['iθela] in the infinitival periphrasis was motivated by the beginnings of the shift of εἶχα ['ixa] + infinitive towards true pluperfect status. This exemplifies a process commonly seen in the history of counterfactual constructions whereby the two clauses, being equally modal in character, are formally equated through the generalization of the overtly modal verb form of the apodosis to the protasis (the latter traditionally containing bare imperfects or aorists): e.g. *if s/he came, I would leave -> if she (woul)d come, I (woul)d leave*, or *if s/he (ha)d come, I (woul)d have left -> if s/he (woul)d have come, I (woul)d have left* (though Greek made no formal distinction between past and non-past hypotheticals, using εἶχα ['ixa] + infinitive or (νά [na] +) [na] +) imperfect (rarely aorist) in both types of apodosis, cf. 9.4).

As one option, therefore, we find the νά [na] + imperfect construction in protases in place of ἄν [an] + imperfect. But the infinitival construction was also transferred into ἄν [an]-clauses, and this eventually became isolated in protases as the (νά [na] +) imperfect construction became dominant in apodoses:

(iv) ἐκεῖνοι ἄν σε εἶχαν εὑρεῖ, Συρίαν οὐκ ἐθεώρεις (*Digenés Akrítes* (E-version), 141)

[e'cini an se 'ixan vri, si'rian uk e'θjoris]
those-men if you would/had to-find, Syria not you-were-seeing(impf)

'If those men would have/had found you, you would not have seen Syria (again)'

In this position the infinitival periphrasis gradually came to be interpreted as a hypothetical pluperfect (= 'had X-ed') rather than a true modal (= 'would have X-ed'), through the assumption that it represented a hypothetical past-of-past, i.e. something that had to happen before the hypothetical consequence could follow; and since the latter was represented by a modal past tense (imperfect), the prior condition was felt to be marked as 'more past'.

From here it was only a matter of time before the εἶχα ['ixa]-periphrasis began to be used in real-time past-of-past contexts as a true pluperfect; the earliest examples come from the *Chronicle of the Morea* (cf. Chatzidákis (1905: 585–609), Aerts (1965), Moser (1988), Horrocks (1995)):

(v) ἔβαλαν τὸν βασιλέαν ἐκεῖνον
εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὅπου τὸ εἶχεν χάσει
Chronicle of the Morea, 622–3

['evalan to(m) vasi'ʎan e'cinon
they-put the king that
is to skam'ni tiz vasi'ʎas opu to 'içen 'xasi]
on the throne of-the kingdom that it he-had to-lose

'they put that king on the royal throne that he had lost'

The corresponding perfect, using ἔχω ['exo] + aorist infinitive, is now standard in Modern Greek. This was formed to the new pluperfect, but the earliest examples belong to the modern period (*pace* Browning (1983: 80) whose example from the

Chronicle of the Morea is not well-supported by the manuscript tradition or by the sense required in the relevant context). Thus Sofianós' early 16th-century grammar of the vernacular, for example, makes no mention of such a perfect (see Part III, 14.2.2), while Thumb (1912: 161–2) notes that such forms were still rare in the vernacular of the 19th century, and were at that time only beginning to acquire wider popularity through their use by literary writers.

The only true perfect forms available in the medieval period, therefore, were periphrases using the perfect passive participle in combination first with 'be' (in a stative/passive sense), and later with 'have' (in an active sense) following the impact of Romance on western-dominated Greek lands. A stative pluperfect passive was analogously formed with the past of 'be' throughout the Byzantine period, while the later pluperfect active formations using 'had' (whether + aorist infinitive or perfect passive participle) steadily replaced earlier active periphrases, formed with the past tense of 'be' + aorist participle, during the course of the late Byzantine/early Ottoman periods.

As far as the expression of futurity is concerned, the *νά* [na] + subjunctive construction started to fall out of favour in the later middle ages, becoming increasingly specialized as a 'pure' subjunctive (with a range of modal uses). The infinitive with θέλω ['θelo] in its volitional use had, however, started to be replaced by a *νά* [na]-clause in the early middle ages, and from the 14th century onwards the infinitival periphrasis was increasingly specialized as a future, becoming fully distinct from volitional θέλω ['θelo] + *νά* [na] and continuing strongly in this function into the modern period. Θέλω ['θelo] could also be complemented by bare inflected subjunctives in future/modal function, a construction characteristic of the Ionian islands in the modern period but with a continuous history from antiquity, the restriction to future/modal use occurring in the 11th/12th centuries. The example in (vi) is the last in a series of future-referring conditions in which the notion of volition is clearly absent (Markópoulos (2009: 166)):

(vi) εἰ δὲ καταγύρωθεν ὅλα θέλουν ἀποστατήσουν (Kekauménos *Strategikón* 168, 31–2)

[i ðe kata'jiroθen 'ola 'θelun aposta'tisun]
if and all-around all (sc. *the castles*) will rebel

'And if all (*the fortified towns*) around (will) rebel.'

During the 14th century, volitional θέλω *νά* ['θelo na] starts to appear optionally with reduced forms of the main verb; 2sg θές [θes] and 3sg θέ [θe] are actually attested, see Markopoulos (2009: 186–208). Θέ [θe] was then quickly generalized to all persons and numbers, becoming in effect an uninflected volitional particle. Soon afterwards both full-form θέλω *νά* ['θelo na] and reduced θὲ *νά* [θe na] start to be used also as futures, and in the early modern period the future use of the latter became dominant, the former being polarized once again as volitional.[11] The earliest instances of future θὲ *νά* [θe na] probably date from the 14th century, and the construction is well-established in literate Cretan compositions from at least the beginning of the16th century:

(vii) ἐπήραμεν ἀπόφασιν πώς θὲ νὰ μᾶς βουλίσῃ (Sklávos *The Disaster of Crete* 38 (Bouboulídis (1955)))

[e'piramen a'pofasin pos 'θe na mas vu'lisi]
we-took decision that it-will-be that us it-bury(subjunc.)

'We concluded that it will bury us'

This construction began to gain in popularity over the infinitival periphrasis in the modern period and eventually, via assimilation and elision/apocope ((θὲ νά [θe na] > θὰ νά [θa na] > θά(ν) [θa(n)]), the modern future particle θά [θa] was derived. Many of the earliest examples occur in Cretan literature from the later 16th and 17th centuries, chiefly in lower-level genres such as comedy, a situation suggesting that it was at first a popular/allegro form. Significantly earlier attestations are probably misleading, and due to later copyists.

In Modern Greek θά [θa] combines with present and aorist subjunctives (the former identical to the present indicative) to form an imperfective and perfective future, with the aorist indicative in epistemic use ('must have' in the sense of 'probably'), and with the imperfect indicative to form a temporally and aspectually neutral 'conditional' (which, like English *would,* may sometimes double as a past habitual = 'used to'). See Joseph (1990: chs. 5 and 9), Holton (1993), Pappas (2001), Pappas and Joseph (2001), Joseph and Pappas (2002), and especially Markópoulos (2009), for detailed studies of the development of the future in Medieval and early Modern Greek.

11.8.4 The spread of k-aorists: the aorist passive

(33) The functional merger of perfect and aorist forms (cf. 6.5.2) was completed early. In general, forms with reduplication were abandoned, though the model of common irregular verbs such as aor ἔθηκα ['eθika] 'I put'/perf τέθηκα ['teθika] 'I have put/I put', or aor ἔδωκα ['eðoka] 'I gave'/perf δέδωκα ['ðeðoka] 'I have given/I gave', led to the use of certain other perfects (with augment substituted for reduplication) in preference to irregular inherited aorists: e.g. perf ἕστηκα ['estika] 'I have stood/I stood', misunderstood as beginning with an augment, replaced aor ἔστην ['estin]; perf εὕρηκα ['evrika] 'I have found/I found', similarly assumed to begin with an augment, replaced aor εὗρον ['evron]; perf ἔβηκα ['evika] 'I have gone/I went' (for classical βέβηκα ['vevika]) replaced aor ἔβην ['evin], especially in compounds; perf ἔγνωκα ['eɣnoka] 'I have known/I knew' replaced aor ἔγνων ['eɣnon] etc.

This led in turn to the pattern being partly generalized to all verbs with an aorist or perfect containing [i] or [o] before the suffix: thus perf ἐποίηκα [e'piika] (classical πεποίηκα [pe'piika]), later reduced to ἔποικα ['epika]/(ἐ)ποῖκα [(e)'pika], 'I have made/I made', came to compete with aor ἐποίησα [e'piisa] etc. Some mainland dialects (principally the Old Athenian group, many Peloponnesian varieties and the dialect of Epirus) eventually generalized the κ-forms.

We should note, however, that there was a countervailing force at work in many irregular aorist paradigms, based on the general competition of κ- and σ-forms, which led to the construction of a new σ-aorist to original futures (now reinterpreted as aorist subjunctives) in -σω [-so], e.g. γνώσω ['ɣnoso] 'I shall know', δώσω ['ðoso] 'I shall give', and to the original 3pl aorist forms in -σαν [-san], e.g. ἔγνωσαν ['eɣnosan] 'they knew',

ἔδοσαν ['eðosan] 'they gave'. Thus ἔγνωσα ['eɣnosa]/ἔγνωκα ['eɣnoka] 'I knew', ἔδωσα ['eðosa]/ἔδωκα ['eðoka] 'I gave', came to compete fairly freely as aorists. In modern Greek the σ-forms have sometimes prevailed (as with ἔδωσα ['eðosa]).

In the aorist passive, the analogical addition of final -ν [-n] to 3sg forms (following the past-tense 3rd sg active forms, which had allowed such an addition optionally since classical times and now favoured it routinely) led to the homophony of 1sg and 3sg, with both ending in -ην [-in]. The subsequent loss of final -ν [-n] did nothing to remedy the problem, and during the middle Byzantine period 1sg -η(ν) [-i(n)] was replaced by -ηκα [-ika], following the now familar model of ἔβ-ην ['evin]/ἔβ-ηκα ['evika] etc. This innovation then spread gradually through the paradigm, affecting popular varieties before it was finally adopted in educated speech. In Modern Greek the aorist passive paradigm with stem in -ηκ- [-ik-] is now standard in all but a handful of learned verbs adopted from the written language (most notably συνελήφθην [sine'lifθin] 'I was arrested').

11.8.5 Imperfective stem formation

(34) During the early and middle periods there was a great reduction in the variety of imperfective formations, a process principally involving extensive remodellings on the basis of the aorist stem and other related forms. By the later Byzantine period most of the changes discussed below are well attested in vernacular texts such as the *Chronicle of the Morea*. (See Egea (1988) for a full treatment of the phonological and grammatical structure of the Greek of this poem.)

The most important issues can be summarized under the following subheadings, each of which will be discussed in turn below:

(a) The fate of the -μι [-mi] verbs.
(b) The spread of nasal suffixes and their relationship with other verb classes.
(c) The suffixes -άζω [-'azo] and -ίζω [-'izo]:
  (i) interaction of -άζω [-'azo] with nasal formations and contract verbs
  (ii) links between -άζω and -άω [-'azo/-'ao], -ίζω and -έω [-'izo/-'eo], and confusion with stems in velars
  (iii) the 'reduced' paradigms of certain verbs with velar and vowel stems.
(d) The suffix -εύω [-'evo] and its impact on other imperfective classes (especially verbs in -πτω [-pto]).
(e) The development of the contract verbs.

(a) The fate of the -μι [-mi] verbs

During the early middle ages, the last traces of the old athematic inflections of the ancient verbs in -μι [-mi] (which were in any case confined to the imperfective stem) finally disappeared from popular speech.

The case of εἰμί [i'mi] 'I am' has already partly been dealt with (cf. 5.11.1, ((23d)). This verb alone assumed a middle paradigm, beginning with the past tense, which

already had the look of an aorist middle/passive in the Koine: cf. ἦν [in], ἧς [is] (for earlier ἦσθα ['isθa]), ἦ [i], ἦμεν ['imen], ἦτε ['ite], ἦσαν ['isan], all homophonous with the regular aorist middle/passive endings. Since its sense was imperfective, however, it was given a new imperfect middle/passive paradigm (1sg ἤ-μην ['imin], already in Ptolemaic papyri, with the corresponding 1pl appearing a little later, ἦ-σο ['i-so], ἦ-το ['i-to] etc.), and this in turn spawned a new present (εἶ-μαι ['ime], εἶ-σαι ['ise] etc., based on the form of the root seen in the original present εἰ-μί [i'mi]).

In the 3sg and 3pl present, however, the locative adverb ἔνι ['eni] 'there', which had been reanalysed as a verb and was used widely in place of ἐστί/εἰσί [e'sti/i'si], strongly resisted replacement. It was, however, phonologically adapted over time to the rest of the new paradigm (cf. 1/2sg εἶμαι ['ime], εἶσαι ['ise]), first to ἔναι ['ene], and finally to εἶναι ['ine]. Similarly, the original 3pl past ἦσαν ['isan] also survived strongly, but this was eventually subject to influence from the new 3sg ἦτο ['ito] to give ἦταν ['itan].

In the case of ἵστημι ['istimi] 'I stand' (trans)/ἵσταμαι ['istame] 'I stand' (intrans), a new intransitive present στήκω ['stiko] was formed to the old intransitive perfect, now turned aorist, ἕστηκα ['e-stik-a], while the transitive form was replaced by ἱστῶ [i'sto] (already in Herodotus, following the -άω [-'ao] type of contract verb) and then by ἱστάνω [i'stano] and στήνω ['stino] (on which see (b) below).

Since ἕστηκα ['e-stik-a], by virtue of its suffix, was readily misunderstood as an aorist middle/passive, we also start to find a present middle/passive στήκομαι ['stikome] (a process supported by middle/passive ἵσταμαι ['istame] 'I stand' and κάθομαι ['kaθome] 'I sit'). Transitive ἱστάνω [i'stano] was also remodelled as (ἱ)σταίνω [(i)'steno] (cf. below), and though this form eventually disappeared in isolation (surviving only in compounds), its characteristic e-vowel influenced intransitive στήκω ['stiko]/στήκομαι ['stikome] to give στέκω ['steko]/στέκομαι ['stekome], as in Modern Greek. The ancient middle ἵσταμαι ['istame] is, however, retained still in learned compounds.

Similar developments took place for the other -μι [-mi] verbs, so that τίθημι ['tiθimi], 'I put' was partially replaced by τιθῶ [ti'θo] (following the -έω [-'eo] type of contract verb, as already in Ionic), and then by θέτω ['θeto], built to the form of the root seen in θέτης ['θetis] 'one who places, adoptive father' and θετικός [θeti'kos] 'fit for placing, disputable, positive'. When the original aorist ἔθηκα ['eθika] and the functionally equivalent perfect τέθηκα ['teθika] were reinterpreted as aorist passives (the latter is the aorist passive in Modern Greek), this new present acquired an aorist active ἔθεσα ['eθesa] based on the original 3pl ἔθεσαν ['eθesan] (which also had the [-e-] of θέτης ['θetis] etc.). Similarly, δίδωμι ['ðiðomi] 'I give' first became διδῶ [ði'ðo] (following the -όω [-'oo] type of contract verb on the basis of a number of overlapping forms), and then δίδω ['ðiðo] (built to the original 1pl δίδομεν ['ðiðomen] where the o-vowel, properly part of the root, was taken to be thematic), or δίνω ['ðino] (for this replacement, see (b) below).

Most of the large class of verbs in -(ν)νυμι [-nimi] had already been partly replaced by regular thematic formations in late antiquity, and this process was now completed: thus ἀνοίγνυμι [a'niɣnimi] 'I open' > ἀνοιγνύω [aniɣ'nio]/ἀνοίγω [a'niɣo]; ἀπόλλυμι [a'polimi] (< *-όλ-νυμι [-'ol-nimi]) 'I perish' > ἀπολλύω [apo'lio]; ζεύγνυμι ['zevɣnimi] 'I yoke' > ζευγνύω [zev'ɣnio]/ζευγω ['zevɣo]; ζώννυμι ['zonimi] 'I gird' > ζωννύω [zo'nio]/ζώνω ['zono]; κρεμάννυμι [kre'manimi] 'I hang' > κρεμαννύω [krema'nio]/κρεμῶ [kre'mo]/κρεμάζω [kre'mazo]; ὄμνυμι ['omnimi] 'I swear' > ὀμνύω [om'nio]/ὀμώνω

[o'mono]; πετάννυμι [pe'tanimi] 'I spread out' > πεταννύω [peta'nio]/πετῶ [pe'to]/ πετάζω [pe'tazo] etc.

Clearly various different processes were at work here, some of which will be taken up below, but the most regular initial development in this class was from -(ν)νυμι [-nimi] > -(ν)νύω [-'nio]. In the frequently occurring 2/3sg, however, the suffixes -(ν)νύεις/-(ν)νύει [-'niis/-'nii] became [-nis/-ni] through the regular simplification of pairs of like vowels (followed by regression of the accent based on the analogy of verbs like κρίνω ['krino] 'I judge' etc., cf. (14)). This led to a 1sg [-no] and eventually to a full correspondingparadigm:e.g. δείκνυμι ['ðiknini] > δεικνύω [ði'knio] > δείκνω/δείχνω ['ðikno/'ðixno].

The last stage of the process, however, was inhibited whenever [ɣ] preceded [n], since regular sound change would have led to the deletion of the characteristic stem-final consonant. In some cases, however, more regular by-forms had existed even in antiquity, as with ἀνοίγω [a'niɣo], built to future/aorist subjunctive ἀνοίξω [a'nikso] (cf. later aorist ἤνοιξα ['iniksa] for original ἀνέῳξα [a'neoksa]), beside ἀνοίγνυμι/ἀνοιγνύω [a'niɣnimi/aniɣ'nio]. This provided a convenient model for the other cases too, so that ζεύγνυμι/ζευγνύω ['zevɣnimi/zev'ɣnio] (future ζεύξω ['zefkso], aorist ἔζευξα ['ezefksa]) > ζεύγω ['zevɣo]. The other major exception concerns verbs in -άννυμι/-αννύω [-'animi]/-a'nio], which are dealt with in (c)(i) below.

This brief discussion of the -(ν)νυμι [-nimi] verbs brings us directly to the question of the greatly increased productivity of nasal suffixes in the early middle ages.

(b) Nasal suffixes

When the preceding vowel of forms resulting from the changes described in the last section was [-o-], as in ζώνω ['zono] 'I gird', the pattern of present [-'ono]/aorist [-'osa] (e.g. ἔζωσα ['ezosa] 'I girded'), led to most of the old contract verbs in -ῶ [-'o] < -όω [-'oo], which also had aorists in -ωσα [-osa], acquiring parallel presents in -ώνω [-'ono]: thus δηλώνω [ði'lono] replaced δηλῶ [ði'lo] 'I reveal' etc. This therefore eliminated a morphologically difficult class of verbs with a large number of anomalous forms resulting from contraction.

The parallel form of ὤμοσα ['omosa], the aorist of ὀμνύω [om'nio] 'I swear', led to replacement in the present, giving ὀμώνω [o'mono] (the conventional orthography is irrelevant to developments in the spoken language), while δώνω ['ðono], helped by Latin *dono*, began to compete with δίδω ['ðiðo] 'I give' on the basis of aorist ἔδωσα ['eðosa], the form which eventually replaced ἔδωκα ['eðoka] (cf. above). Modern δίνω ['ðino] represents a compromise between δώνω ['ðono] and δίδω ['ðiðo].

This new principle of substituting imperfective [-n-] for aorist [-s-] then spread, so that ['zveno] < σβεννύω [sve'nio] 'I extinguish' became σβήνω ['zvino] on the basis of aorist ἔσβησα ['ezvisa] (the latter replacing classical ἔσβεσα ['ezvesa] on the analogy of the original perfect ἔσβηκα ['ezvika]). We may also compare χύνω ['çino] for χέω ['çeo] 'I pour' on the basis of aorist ἔχυσα ['eçisa] (itself a replacement for earlier ἔχευα ['eçeva], built to the many forms with stem χυ- [çi-]); ἀφίνω/ἀφήνω [a'fino] for ἀφίημι [a'fiimi] 'I let go' on the basis of aorist ἄφισα/ἄφησα ['afisa] (itself an alternative to ἄφηκα ['afika], cf. the model of ἔδωσα ['eðosa]/ἔδωκα ['eðoka] above); δένω ['ðeno] for δέω ['ðeo] 'I bind' on the basis of aorist ἔδεσα ['eðesa]; λύνω ['lino] for λύω ['lio] 'I free' on the basis of aorist ἔλυσα ['elisa]; στήνω ['stino] 'I stand' for ἵστημι ['istimi], on the basis of the old transitive aorist ἔστησα ['estisa] etc.

This 'intrusive' -ν- [-n-] subsequently spread to verbs with stems ending in a liquid, where the present indicative and aorist subjunctive had often become homophonous: e.g. φέρω ['fero] 'I carry'/aorist subjunctive φέρω ['fero] (replacing earlier ἐνέγκω [e'neŋgo]); βάλλω ['valo] 'I throw, I put'/aorist subjunctive βάλω ['valo]. The relevant presents were therefore recharacterized with the productive -νω [-no], either added to the existing stem, as with φέρ-νω ['ferno], or with -ν- [-n-] deleting the original consonant, as with βά-νω ['vano] (this last, preserved dialectally, was eventually replaced in standard Modern Greek by βάζω ['vazo], perhaps from (βι)βάζω [(vi)'vavzo] 'I cause to go (up), I put', though there are other examples of interchange between -άνω [-'ano] and -άζω [-'azo], cf. below).

The general spread of the nasal element in the imperfective system led to a situation in which, even if the present indicative and aorist subjunctive remained distinct in verbs with stems ending in a liquid, as in the case of (ἐ)παίρω [(e)'pero] 'I lift, I take'/aorist subjunctive (ἐ)πάρω [(e)'paro], or στέλλω ['stelo] 'I send'/aorist subjunctive στείλω ['stilo], the feeling that -ρω/-λω [-ro/-lo] were properly aorist subjunctive endings led to the emergence of παίρνω ['perno], στέλνω ['stelno] etc. Since the dominant stem vowel in all these present stems was [-e-], a number of verbs were recharacterized rather more radically, so that σύρω ['siro] 'I drag along, 'I pull', for example, became σέρνω ['serno], and σπείρω ['spiro] 'I sow' became σπέρνω ['sperno]. Often, however, the learned and popular forms continued to co-exist, and have passed as doublets into modern Greek. Finally, we should note the eventual spread of the nasal element to contract verbs with a liquid before the termination -ῶ [-'o]. Thus περῶ [pe'ro] 'I pass (through), I cross' > περνῶ [per'no]; χαλῶ [xa'lo] 'I loosen, I spoil' > χαλνῶ [xal'no] etc.

On the analogy of the reduction of -ωννύει [-o'nii] to -ώνει [-'oni] and the development of new paradigms in -ώνω [-'ono], we might have expected the parallel emergence of forms such as *πετάνω [pe'tano] from πεταννύω [peta'nio] 'I spread out'. In general, however, this class of verbs underwent a different pattern of development (see (c)(i) for the details) because of the unsatisfactory nature of -άνω [-'ano] as a present indicative suffix (as explained immediately below). The general replacement of -ῶ [-'o] -όω [-'oo] with -ώνω [-'ono], however, did lead to sporadic replacement of -ῶ [-'o] < -άω [-'ao] with -άνω [-'ano]. Ἱστάνω [i'stano] 'I stand', beside ἱστῶ [i'sto], is an example, but these verbs, just like those which had this suffix originally (e.g. μανθάνω [man'θano] 'I learn', τυγχάνω [tiŋ'xano] 'I happen', λαμβάνω [lam'vano] 'I take'), were again felt to be problematical, and most were replaced by formations in -αίνω [-'eno].

The principal reason for the avoidance and eventual abandonment of -άνω [-'ano] was the co-existence of a large class of verbs with the suffix -αίνω [-'eno] in the imperfective stem: e.g. γλυκαίνω [ɣli'ceno] 'I sweeten', κερδαίνω [cer'ðeno] 'I gain', μιαίνω [mi'eno] 'I pollute', περαίνω [pe'reno] 'I accomplish', σημαίνω [si'meno] 'I signify', ὑγιαίνω [i'jeno] 'I am healthy', all of which had aorists in -ανα [-ana] (some replacing earlier forms in -ηνα [-ina], e.g. ἐσήμηνα [e'simina]). This suffix had the advantage of containing the e-vowel characteristic of most other nasal presents, both original and innovative (cf. μένω ['meno] 'I stay', βαίνω ['veno] 'I go', φέρνω ['ferno] 'I carry', παίρνω ['perno] 'I take', περνῶ [per'no] 'I pass, I cross', ἀγγέλνω [an'ɟelno] 'I announce', στέλνω ['stelno] 'I send' etc.). Since the aorist subjunctives corresponding to -αίνω [-'eno] ended in -άνω [-'ano], this last quickly came to be felt as a proper marker of

that function. Many present indicatives in -άνω [-'ano] were therefore rebuilt with the more 'regular' present ending -αίνω [-'eno]. Thus ἱστάνω [i'stano] 'I stand' > (ἱ)σταίνω [(i)'steno] etc. None the less, ἱστῶ [i'sto], ἱστάνω [i'stano] σταίνω ['steno] and στήνω ['stino] (cf. above) all survive in Modern Greek (the first three only residually in compounds), a perfect illustration of the mixed character of the contemporary language.

The major exceptions to the replacement of -άνω [-'ano] with -αίνω [-'eno] were monosyllabic roots such as φτάνω ['ftano] 'I arrive' (< classical φθάνω ['fθano], originally 'I anticipate', but already shifting its sense in the popular Koine of the Roman period), and κάνω ['kano] 'I do' (< classical κάμνω ['kamno] 'I toil'). These tenacious survivors even attracted a few verbs which had originally ended in -άζω [-'azo], e.g. φτιάνω ['ftjano] 'I fix' < εὐθειάζω [(e)fti'azo], πιάνω ['pjano] 'I catch' < πιέζω/πιάζω [pi'ezo/pi'azo] (originally 'I press hard', but already with the modern sense in the Hellenistic Koine); see (c) below for other -άνω [-'ano]/-άζω [-'azo] transfers.

In the class of verbs originally ending in -άνω [-'ano], however, the regular loss of nasals before voiceless fricatives (e.g. μανθάνω [man'θano] 'I learn' > [ma'θano], λαγχάνω [laŋ'xano] 'I obtain by lot' > [la'xano], τυγχάνω [tiŋxano] 'I happen' > [ti'xano]) gave the impression that the new presents in -αίνω [-'eno] were formed to the aorist stem: e.g. μαθ-αίνω [ma'θeno]/aorist ἔ-μαθ-α ['emaθa], λαχ-αίνω [la'çeno]/aorist ἔ-λαχ-α ['elaxa] etc. This led to -αίνω [-'eno] being used quite productively to create new presents to aorist stems, e.g. λαβ-αίνω [la'veno] 'I take' to aorist ἔ-λαβ-α ['elava], as a replacement for λαμβάνω [lam'vano] (a learned pronunciation), even though the combination -μβ-, pronounced [-mb-], was permissible by the rules of spoken Greek.

A good example of such an extension is provided by the case of (ὑ)π-άγ-ω [(i)'paɣo] 'I go'. Originally, the aorist of this verb was ὑπ-ήγαγ-ον [i'piɣaɣon], but the clumsy root reduplication was dropped in popular speech to give (ὑ)π-ῆγ-α [(i)piɣa] (modern πῆγα ['piɣa]), with subjunctive (ὑ)π-ά(γ)-ω [(i)'pa[ɣ]o] (modern πάω ['pao]). Since this last was homophonous with the present indicative, a new present (ὑ)π-αγ-αίνω [(i)pa'jeno] was built to the stem (ὑ)παγ- [(i)paɣ-], and subsequently this was remodelled on the basis of the aorist indicative (ἐ)πῆγ-α [(e)'piɣa], to give modern πηγαίνω [pi'jeno]. A similar remodelling was involved in παθαίνω [pa'θeno] 'I suffer' (for classical πάσχω ['pasxo]), on the basis of aorist ἔπαθα ['epaθa], and πεθαίνω [pe'θeno] 'I die' (for ἀποθνήσκω [apo'θnisko]), on the basis of aorist (ἀ)π-έ-θαν-α [(a)'peθana], while many other verbs originally ending in -ύνω [-'ino], e.g. πλύνω ['plino] 'I wash', ἁπαλύνω [apa'lino] 'I soften' and παχύνω [pa'çino] 'I fatten/get fat', were likewise remodelled with the now highly productive -αίνω (or -ένω) [-'eno], though the learned and popular forms frequently survive together in Modern Greek.

(c) The suffixes -άζω [-'azo]/-ίζω [-'izo]

(i) Interaction of -άζω [-'azo] with nasal formations and contract verbs

As noted, the development of verbs in -αννύω [-a'nio] (earlier -άννυμι [-'animi]) took a different turn from the otherwise expected reduction to -άνω [-'ano]. Since the aorist of πεταννύω [peta'nio] was ἐπέτασα [e'petasa], the alternative model of verbs in -άζω

[-'azo] (e.g. δικάζω [ði'kazo], with aorist (ἐ)δίκασα [(e)'ðikasa] 'I decide/judge') suggested itself, and πετάζω [pe'tazo] arose in the Byzantine period alongside the contracted πετῶ [pe'to]. This last was originally the (irregular) future, but began even in antiquity to serve as a present in competition with πετάννυμι [pe'tanimi], on the analogy of the subset of verbs with presents in -ῶ [-'o] < -άω [-'ao] and aorists in -ασα [-asa], e.g. γελῶ [je'lo], aorist (ἐ)γέλασα [(e)'jelasa] 'I laugh', χαλῶ [xa'lo], aorist (ἐ)χάλασα [(e)'xalasa] 'I loosen'. The eventual result was a situation in which a number of verbs once ending in -άννυμι [-'animi] came to exhibit sets of alternative present-tense formations in -αννύω [-a'nio], -ῶ [-'o] (< -άω [-'ao]), and -άζω [-'azo] (the first disappearing quite early).

(ii) Links between -άζω [-'azo] and -άω [-'ao], -ίζω [-'izo] and -έω [-'eo]; confusion with verbs with velar stems

Some verbs ending in -ζω [-zo] were derived prehistorically by palatalization from roots in voiced dentals and velars, e.g. φραδ- [frað-] 'understanding' -> φράζω ['frazo] (< *φράδ-jω) 'I inform, I tell', and ἐλπιδ- [elpið-] 'hope' -> ἐλπίζω [el'pizo] (< *ἐλπίδ-jω) 'I hope', beside ἁρπαγ- [arpaɣ-] 'robbery, rape' -> ἁρπάζω [ar'pazo] (< *ἁρπάγ-jω) 'I seize/plunder', and στηριγ- [stiriɣ-] 'support' -> στηρίζω [sti'rizo] (< *στηρίγ-jω) 'I support'. But the 'suffixes' -άζω [-'azo] and -ίζω [-'izo] were soon detached and used to form verbs from many other roots: thus ἀγορ-ά [aɣo'ra] 'market' -> ἀγορ-άζω [aɣo'razo] 'I attend market/buy', and δίκ-η ['ðici] 'justice' -> δικ-άζω [ði'kazo] 'I judge', beside ἀρχ-ή [ar'çi] 'beginning' -> ἀρχ-ίζω [ar'çizo] 'I begin', and νόμ-ος ['nomos] 'custom, law' -> νομ-ίζω [no'mizo] 'I own by custom/law, I adopt a custom/belief, I believe/think'.

The -άζω [-'azo] type was chiefly associated with a-stem nouns (as above), so that these verbs often occupied a place in the lexicon that might well have been filled by true a-stem denominatives in -ῶ [-'o] (formed from -ά- [a] + -ω [o]). A similar relationship held between many 2nd-declension (e/o-stem) nouns and verbs in -ίζω [-'izo]: we may note, beside νόμος ['nomos]/νομίζω [no'mizo], examples like καπνός [ka'pnos] 'smoke'/καπνίζω [ka'pnizo] 'I (make) smoke', λόγος ['loɣos] 'reason, word'/λογίζομαι [lo'jizomai] 'I reckon'. Thus a significant number of verbs of this type similarly occupied slots that might well have been filled by true e/o-stem denominatives in -ῶ [-'o] (formed from -έ- [-'e-] + -ω [o]).

In late antique and early Medieval Greek, there was a great deal of levelling. Many verbs in -ῶ [-'o] < -άω [-'ao] acquired innovative partners in -άζω [-'azo], and many verbs in -άζω [-'azo] acquired partners in -ῶ [-'o] (-άω [-'ao] type). At the same time, one or two a-stem nouns were supplied with a corresponding -άζω [-'azo] verb even when their classical partners did not end in the expected -άω [-'ao]: e.g. φωνάζω [fo'nazo] for φωνῶ [fo'no] (< -έω [-'eo]) 'I call, I shout' (cf. φωνή [fo'ni] 'voice, cry'). In a similar fashion, many verbs in -ῶ [-'o] < -έω [-'eo] were paired with novel forms in -ίζω [-'izo], and others in -ίζω [-'izo] were paired with new forms in -ῶ [-'o] (-έω [-'eo] type), a process supported by their 'common' aorists in [-isa] (i.e. -ησα for the -έω [-'eo] type, and -ισα for the -ίζω [-'izo] type). In addition, a number of the contract verbs in -ῶ [-'o] < -όω [-'oo], originally a distinct subclass of 2nd-declension denominatives, were also attracted to this pattern, even though most were replaced by -ώνω

[-'ono] formations (see (b) above): e.g. κεντρίζω [cen'drizo] 'I sting', beside κεντρώνω [cen'drono] 'I sting, I graft'.

We should note finally that established forms like γενει-ά(ζ)ω [je'ɲ-a(z)o] 'I grow a beard', θυμι-ά(ζ)ω [θi'mj-a(z)o] 'I burn incense', ὀργι-άζω [or'j-azo] 'I celebrate (rites)', derived originally from 2nd-declension neuters in -(ε)ι-ον [-ion], led to the general substitution of -άζω [-'azo] whenever the stem ended in [i/j]: e.g. πλαγιάζω [pla'jazo] 'I lay down' (for πλαγιῶ [plaji'o] < -όω [-'oo], cf. πλάγιος ['plajos] 'sideways'/πλάγι(ο)ν ['plaji(n)] 'side'); λογιάζω [lo'jazo] 'I reckon, I think (of)' (cf. λόγι(ο)ν ['loji(n)] 'word, saying, reason'); (ὁ)μοιάζω [(o)'mjazo] 'liken, be like' (for ὁμοιῶ [omi'o] < -όω [-'oo], cf. ὅμοιος ['omjos] 'like').

Though only the verbs in -ζω [-zo] from velar stems originally had aorists in -ξα [-ksa] (as opposed to -σα [-sa] for the dental stems), the aorists of non-velar -ζω [-zo] verbs had begun to adopt -ξα [-ksa] dialectally even in classical Greek (principally in West Greek, and then Thessalian, Boeotian and Arcado-Cypriot). This interference became much more widespread in the early middle ages in the case of the verbs in -ῶ [-'o] (< -άω [-'ao])/-άζω [-'azo], so that φωνάζω [fo'nazo] 'I cry, I shout', for example, shows only the aorist (ἐ)φώναξα [(e)'fonaksa]. We may compare βαστῶ [va'sto] (innovative)/βαστάζω [va'stazo] 'I lift' with aorist (ἐ)βάσταξα [(e)'vastaksa] for earlier ἐβάστασα [e'vastasa]; πετῶ [pe'to]/πετάζω [pe'tazo] (innovative) 'I spread out' (later confused with πέτομαι ['petome]/ἵπταμαι ['iptame] 'I fly') with aorist (ἐ)πέταξα [(e)'petaksa] for earlier ἐπέτασα [e'petasa]; and φυσῶ [fi'so]/φυσάζω [fi'sazo] (innovative) 'I blow' with aorist (ἐ)φύσηξα [(e)'fisiksa] for earlier ἐφύσησα [e'fisisa]. Though in many such cases it was the contract variant which finally prevailed, it was often the -ξα [-ksa] aorist, originally associated with the longer form, that remained in use alongside it (though note σπά(ζ)ω ['spa(z)o]/ἔσπασα ['espasa] 'I break', σκά(ζ)ω ['ska(z)o]/ἔσκασα ['eskasa] 'I burst').

Still further confusion arose from the fact that in classical Greek verbs derived from roots ending in voiceless velars had presents in -σσω [-so] (Attic -ττω [-to]) and aorists in -ξα [-ksa], e.g. φυλακ- [filak-] 'guard' -> φυλάσσω [fi'la-so] 'I guard', aorist (ἐ)φύλαξα [(e)'filaksa]. Since the ending [-so] was the principal mark of the aorist subjunctive (cf. ἀγαπῶ [aɣa'po] 'I love'/aorist subjunctive ἀγαπήσω [aɣa'pi-so]; γράφω ['ɣrafo] 'I write'/ aorist subjunctive γράψω ['ɣrap-so]; ἐλπίζω [el'pizo] 'I hope'/aorist subjunctive ἐλπίσω [el'pi-so]; ἀγοράζω [aɣo'razo] 'I buy'/aorist subjunctive ἀγοράσω [aɣo'ra-so], and so on for most verb classes), verbs with present indicative in -σσω [-so] were widely transferred to the velar subtype of -άζω verbs, following the model of ἁρπάζω [ar'pazo]/ ἅρπαξα ['arpaksa] 'I snatch, I seize' etc. Thus τάζω ['tazo] replaced τάσσω ['taso] 'I arrange, I fix' (though with new and old forms now semantically differentiated, τάζω ['tazo] = 'I promise'), ἀλλάζω [a'lazo] replaced ἀλλάσσω [a'laso] 'I change', and ταράζω [ta'razo] replaced ταράσσω [ta'raso] 'I disturb' etc.

A few verbs in -άσσω [-'aso], however, most notably φυλάσσω [fi'laso] 'I guard', acquired partners of the -άω [-'ao] type on the model of the type seen in πετῶ [pe'to] (rather than πετάζω [pe'tazo]). But by the time this happened, the more common contract verbs of the -άω [-'ao] type had begun to add characteristic person/number endings to the 'opaque' contracted suffix of the 3sg (see (e) below for a fuller account of this development and its ramifications). Thus 3sg πετᾷ [pe'ta], for example, often became πετά-ει [pe'ta-i], with the addition of the regular 3sg ending. Subsequently, 1sg

πετῶ [pe'to], as the sole form in the singular paradigm lacking the [-a-] element, was replaced by πετά-ω [pe'tao], and the result was a mixed paradigm containing both contracted and apparently decontracted forms (the latter occurring before the vocalic endings): thus πετά-ω [pe'tao], πετᾷ-ς [pe'tas], πετά-ει [pe'tai]. In the plural, however, the original endings of the first- and third-person forms, namely -ῶμεν [-'omen] and -ῶσι [-'osi], were widely replaced from Roman times onwards by the more frequent -οῦμε(ν) [-'ume(n)] and -οῦσι [-'usi] (again see (e) below), though in popular speech many common verbs generalized the a-vowel of the singular and 2pl (πετᾶτε [pe'tate]) to give: πετᾶ-με [pe'tame], πετᾶ-τε [pe'tate], πετᾶ-σι/πετᾶ-ν(ε) [pe'tasi/pe'tan(e)] (for the alternative 3pl endings, see 11.8.6, (35), below). This version of the paradigm is now compulsory for σπάω ['spao] 'I break' and σκάω ['skao] 'I burst', and is still very commonly used with verbs that lack learned associations.

It was natural that a palatal glide [-j-] began to appear in this type between [-a-] and the new 3sg ending to give [-'a(j)i], and the corresponding velar [-ɣ-] was then inserted optionally between [-a-] and the 1sg ending to give [-'a(ɣ)o]. This led to considerable interference between the -άω [-'ao] contract verbs and verb forms in -άγω [-'aɣo] with an original velar in the stem (see immediately below), and eventually to general confusion as to whether intervocalic [-ɣ-/-j-] was serving as an optional hiatus blocker or represented the final consonant of a verb with a velar in the root/stem.

The influence of written Greek eventually led to the elimination of the by-forms of the present tense containing epenthetic [-ɣ-/-j-], though they sometimes survive dialectally, and, quite exceptionally, the variants φυλάω/φυλάγω [fi'lao]/[fi'laɣo] 'I guard' are both still available in standard Modern Greek. But the earlier presence of intervocalic [-ɣ-/j-] in the present paradigm led, on the misunderstanding that this was a part of the root/stem, to the formation of a parallel imperfect in -αγ-α [-aɣa], though the development was also promoted by the generalization of the glides that arose in the distended (recharacterized) forms of the 3sg imperfect, just as in the corresponding 3sg presents: i.e. 'opaque' contracted 3sg -α + 'regular' -ε > -α(γ)ε [-a(j)e]. This variant of the imperfect, characteristic of southern areas, is still common in colloquial speech, with the velar/palatal element retained throughout the paradigm, though the grammar books routinely recommend the alternative form in -οῦσα [-'usa] (on which, see (e) below). In the case of φυλά(γ)ω [fi'laɣo], however, along with σκάω ['skao] 'I burst' and σπάω ['spao] 'I break', the imperfect in -αγα [-aɣa] is in fact the only option, and in this respect these verbs pattern with those discussed in (iii).

(iii) The 'reduced' paradigm of certain verbs with velar and vowel stems

These same developments also affected a small number of verb forms ending originally in -άγω [-'aɣo], e.g. 1sg present/1sg aorist subjunctive (ὑ)πάγω [(i)'paɣo] 'I go/I may go', 1sg aorist subjunctive φάγω ['faɣo] 'I may eat', and then spread to other verbs with roots ending in vowel + -γ- [-ɣ-], such as λέγω ['leɣo] 'I say'. Since it seemed that the velar/palatal glides could be added or omitted freely in the 1/3sg forms of the large -ά(γ)ω [-'a(ɣ)o] class, we also begin to find πάω ['pao], φάω ['fao] and λέω ['leo], as if the velar here were also merely epenthetic. The first member of each pair naturally shows 'reduced' forms of 2sg and 1/2/3pl, as if these too were contract verbs. Thus on the model of the paradigm of:

Sg	1	πετά(γ)-ω	[pet'a[ɣ]o]	Pl	1	πετᾶ-με	[pet'ame]
	2	πετᾷ-ς	[pet'as]		2	πετᾶ-τε	[pet'ate]
	3	πετά(γ)-ει	[pet'a(j)i]		3	πετᾶ-σι/πετᾶ-ν(ε)	[pet'asi/pet'an(e)]

we also get:

Sg	1	πά(γ)-ω	['pa(ɣ)o]	Pl	1	πᾶ-με	['pame]
	2	πᾶ-ς	[pas]		2	πᾶ-τε	['pate]
	3	πά(γ)-ει	[p'a(j)i]		3	πᾶ-σι/πᾶ-ν(ε)	['pasi/'pan(e)]

Λέ(γ)-ω ['le(ɣ)o] then followed the established pattern, with the endings similarly added directly to an apparent vowel-stem:

Sg	1	λέ(γ)-ω	['le(ɣ)o]	Pl	1	λέ-με(ν)	['leme(n)]
	2	λέ-ς	[les]		2	λέ-τε	['lete]
	3	λέ(γ)-ει	['le(j)i]		3	λέ-σι/λέ-ν(ε)	['lesi/'len[e]]

In the 3sg we also find πά [pa] and λέ [le], on the analogy of the original 3sg πετᾷ [pe'ta], in which the 'ending' appeared to be simply the final stem vowel, though the latter has now disappeared from standard Modern Greek while the former is showing characteristic signs of grammaticalization (= 'be going to' with να [na], Tsakáli (2003)).

Exceptionally, the verb θέλω ['θelo] 'I wish' also developed some short forms, namely 2sg θές [θes], 3sg θέ [θe], 1pl θέμε ['θeme], 2pl θέτε ['θete], 3pl θέσι/θέν(ε) ['θesi/'θen(e)], of which only the 2nd-person forms are now widely used. One might speculate that in areas characterized by palatalization of liquids the resulting palatal lateral [ʎ] in 3sg θέλει ['θeʎi] sounded sufficiently like [j] for this form to be partly assimilated to the model of 3sg λέγει ['leji], which had the alternants λέει ['lei] and λέ [le], so that once 3sg θέ [θe] had emerged, a (partial) short-form paradigm could be built to this base.

Eventually, this type of paradigm was further extended to a number of verbs whose root originally ended in a vowel, so that ἀκού-ω [a'kuo] 'I hear', for example, came to be conjugated: ἀκοῦ-ς [a'kus], ἀκού-ει [a'kui], ἀκοῦ-με(ν) [a'kume(n)], ἀκοῦ-τε [a'kute], ἀκοῦ-σι/ἀκοῦ-ν(ε) [a'kusi/a'kun(e)], the process in this case being aided by the regular deletion of one of the like vowels in the 3pl in popular speech (ἀκούουσι [a'kuusi] > [a'kusi]). Reduced paradigms of ἀκούω [a'kuo] 'I hear', καίω ['ceo] 'I burn', κλαίω ['kleo] 'I weep', λέ(γ)ω ['le(ɣ)o] 'I say', φταίω ['fteo] 'I am to blame' and τρώ(γ)ω ['tro(ɣ)o] 'I eat' are now standard in Modern Greek.

On the model of λέγ-ω ['leɣo]/λέ-ω ['leo] etc., these verbs were also subject to optional velar/palatal epenthesis in 1/3sg of the imperfective stem, giving ἀκούγ-ω [a'kuɣo] beside ἀκού-ω [a'kuo], καίγ-ω ['ceɣo] 'I burn', beside καί-ω ['ceo], though the process was supported, as before, by the glides that arose spontaneously in forms such as 3sg present κλαί(γ)ει ['kle(j)i] or 3sg imperfect ἔκλαι(γ)ε ['ekle(j)e]. The secondary character of these glides is shown by the retention of the original aorists in -σα [-sa] (e.g. ἄκουσα ['akusa] 'I heard'), though they were generalized through the imperfective paradigm

other than the present indicative in the now familiar way (cf. ἄκουγα ['akuɣa] 'I was hearing/listening, I used to hear/listen', ἀκούγοντας [a'kuɣontas] 'hearing/listening' etc.).

(d) The suffix -εύω [-'evo] and its influence: verbs in -πτω [-pto]

A few words also need to be said about the highly productive class of verbs with the suffix -εύω [-'evo]. Already a growing class in Ancient Greek, this continued to add new members throughout the middle ages. But the shift in pronunciation from classical [-eú(w)o:], aorist -ευσα [-eusa], to [-'evo], aorist -εψα [-epsa] (cf. (12a) above), had profound consequences in that the now very frequent pattern of present in accented vowel + [-vo] with aorist in [-psa] (earlier confined to a handful of verbs such as τρίβω ['trivo]/ἔτριψα ['etripsa] 'rub') led quickly to the formation of analogous innovative presents to virtually all -ψα [-psa] aorists: e.g. κλέβω ['klevo] 'I steal' (for κλέπτω ['klepto]) to aorist ἔκλεψα ['eklepsa]; κόβω ['kovo] 'I cut' (for κόπτω ['kopto]) to aorist ἔκοψα ['ekopsa]; κρύβω ['krivo] 'I hide' (for κρύπτω ['kripto]) to aorist ἔκρυψα ['ekripsa]; νίβω ['nivo] 'I wash' (for νίπτω ['nipto]) to aorist ἔνιψα ['enipsa]; ῥάβω ['ravo] 'I sew' (for ῥάπτω ['rapto]) to aorist ἔρραψα ['erapsa]; σκάβω ['skavo] 'I dig' (for σκάπτω ['skapto]) to aorist ἔσκαψα ['eskapsa] etc. This last type was further supported by the natural evolution of verbs ending originally in -αύω [-'avo], aorist -αψα [-apsa], such as παύω ['pavo] 'I stop'.

Occasionally, however, other considerations produced a different outcome, so that βάφω ['vafo] 'I dip, I dye', for example, replaced βάπτω ['vapto], partly on the analogy of γράφω ['ɣrafo] 'I write', partly to avoid the vaguely ridiculous βάβω ['vavo]. We should also note the existence of by-forms displaying the expected phonetic outcome -φτω [-fto], which were once widespread, and in later times particularly characteristic of Cyprus, the northern dialects and the speech of Constantinople. In some cases these have also prevailed in the standard language over the analogical -βω [-vo] type (e.g. βλάφτω ['vlafto] 'I damage'), and it is not unusual for the original form in -πτω [-pto] also to have been reintroduced as a variant from the learned tradition (sometimes completely superseding the alternatives, as with καλύπτω [ka'lipto] 'I cover').

In the south-eastern dialects, Cretan and the Old Athenian group, -εύω [-'evo] regularly takes the form -εύγω [-'evɣo], and the epenthesis is sometimes extended to [-'avo]. The phenomenon is still poorly understood (cf. Krumbacher (1886), Chatzidakis (1892), Kretschmer (1905) for a variety of competing theories), though some of the earliest attested examples, if the manuscript readings can be trusted, apparently date from around the 8th century (cf. Jannaris (1897: 220)). It is probably simplest to assume that -εύω was pronounced uniformly as [-eú(w)o:] in the classical period, and that the subsequent shift of [eu] > [ew] > [eβ/ev] produced standard late antique [-'evo], with automatic simplification of the geminate in the intermediate [-'ew(w)o]. In some areas, however, geminates were retained. Thus even though the phenomenon is residual in the remnants of the Old Athenian group, it remains standard in the south-eastern area, and may once have been characteristic of early medieval Cretan too. In these dialects we may assume that [-'ewwo] > [-'eβɣʷo], the second member of the cluster resulting from assimilatory fricativization, and representing the still characteristically

Greek pronunciation of English /w/ in words such as *woman* ['ɣʷuman]. This would then develop naturally into the attested [-'evɣo].

(e) The contract verbs

Since these classes have already been partly discussed above, it is sufficient here to list the principal points concerning the -άω [-'ao] and -έω [-'eo] types (the -όω [-'oo] class having been eliminated in the early middle ages, as noted).

In the vast majority of cases the aorist systems of the -άω [-'ao] and -έω ['eo] types were already identical in classical Greek (i.e. with stem in -η- [-i-]), and only a handful of irregular verbs retained the [-a-] or [-e-] of the imperfective. The major developments in post-classical and Medieval Greek therefore concern the imperfective system, where much reciprocal interference is already apparent in both the New Testament and the Egyptian papyri from the early centuries AD onwards. The vast majority of such cases involve the substitution of -οῦ- [-'u-] (< -έ+ο- [-'eo-]) for -ῶ [-'o-] (< -ά+ο- [-'ao-]) in the 1sg imperfect, the 1/3pl present and imperfect, and the participles of the -άω [-'ao] class, a development probably due to the greater frequency of the former, which occurred not only in the -έω [-'eo] type, but even more widely in the -όω [-'oo] class (prior to its recharacterization in -ώνω [-'ono]); indeed, most imperfective forms of this subtype were already homophonous with those of the -έω [-'eo] class, and even those that remained distinct in principle (e.g. the infinitive, 2pl present and 2sg/pl imperfect, all with -οῦ- [-'u-] < -ό+ε- [-'oe-] rather than -εῖ- [-'i-] -έ+ε- [-'ee-]) were often levelled to it in practice, albeit with many anomalous spellings, particularly -οι- for -ει- [-i-].

Though many common -άω [-'ao] verbs eventually generalized [-a-] (giving present -ά(γ)ω [-'a[ɣ]o], imperfect -αγα [-aɣa], as noted), the forms of the present and imperfect most often used in the later middle ages were as follows:[12]

(i)	Present:	Sg	1	-ῶ	[-'o]	Pl	1	-οῦμε(ν)	[-'ume(n)]
			2	-ᾶς	[-'as]		2	-ᾶτε	[-'ate]
			3	-ᾷ	[-'a]		3	-οῦσι/-οῦν(ε)	[-'usi/-'un(e)]
(ii)	Imperfect:	Sg	1	-ουν	[-un]	Pl	1	-οῦμε(ν)	[-'ume(n)]
			2	-ας	[-as]		2	-ᾶτε	[-'ate]
			3	-α(ν)	[-a(n)]		3	-ουν(ε)	[-un(e)]

But since verbs of the -άω [-'ao] class were by now more numerous in popular speech than those of the -έω [-'eo] type (many of which had a learned character), the mixed paradigms in (i) and (ii) gradually attracted the majority of verbs of the latter class that still remained in common use, principally on the basis of the subset of already shared forms containing -ου- [-u-]. Thus the present endings 2sg -εῖς [-'is], 3sg -εῖ [-'i] and 2pl -εῖτε [-'ite] were eventually replaced by -ᾶς [-'as], -ᾶ [-'a] and -ᾶτε [-'ate] (with the a-vowel optionally generalized throughout the paradigm in the modern period). The imperfect endings 2sg -εις [-is], 3sg -ει [-i] and 2pl -εῖτε [-'ite] similarly began to be replaced by -ας [-as], -α [-a] and -ᾶτε [-'ate], though here the original forms were retained in parallel use for longer, and so subject to further developments in their own right (see below).

The conflation process can be seen in progress in the vernacular texts of the 14th and 15th centuries, but its completion belongs to the early modern period. The remaining -έω [-'eo] verbs, along with their traditional paradigm, were progressively confined to the learned language and the formal speech of the educated minority (for the relatively few exceptions, see below), though many such verbs have since been reintroduced into standard Modern Greek from the learned tradition.

Paradigmatic interference naturally extended also to the medio-passive paradigm, where a similar substitution of -οῦ- [-'u-] for -ῶ- [-'o-] took place in the -άω [-'ao] subtype: thus 1sg present -οῦμαι [-'ume] replaced -ῶμαι [-'ome], and 1/3pl present -ούμεθα [-'umeθa]/-οῦνται [-'unde] replaced -ώμεθα [-'omeθa]/-ῶνται [-'onde]. This paradigm, which retained 2/3sg -ᾶσαι [-'ase]/-ᾶται [-'ate] and 2pl -ᾶσθε [-'asθe], then attracted the commonly used 'deponent' (i.e. middle only) verbs of the -έω [-'eo] class, such as φοβοῦμαι [fo'vume] 'I am afraid', θυμοῦμαι [θi'mume] 'I remember' and λυποῦμαι [li'pume] 'I regret'. These verbs have retained their mixed paradigm in Modern Greek, but with the addition of 1sg -ᾶμαι [-'ame], increasingly now standardized, and one or two more recent changes to the endings, cf. 11.8.6 (35d).

The medio-passive paradigm of the great majority of -άω [-'ao] verbs, however, began to be remodelled in the later middle ages on the basis of earlier developments in the -έω [-'eo] class. These began in the imperfect active, where they were eventually superseded, but also spread to the passive voice, where they predominated. Thus while the changes in (ii) above were still in progress, an alternative development began to affect the original 3sg imperfect of -έω [-'eo]-verbs, namely -ει [-i] (< -ε + ε [-ee]). Since this was homophonous with the regular ending of the 3sg present, it was widely recharacterized (like the corresponding -α [-a] of the -άω [-'ao] class) by the addition of the normal 3sg imperfect termination, to give -ει-ε(ν) [-(i)je(n)], e.g. (ἐ)κράτειε(ν) [(e)'kratje(n)] 's/he used to hold'. This development also led to the change of 2sg (ἐ)κράτεις [(e)'kratis] to (ἐ)κράτειες [(e)'kratjes] (and perhaps of 2pl (ἐ)κρατεῖτε [(e)kra'tite] to (ἐ)κρατειέτε [(e)kra'tjete]); in some varieties the singular was then fully regularized, giving 1sg (ἐ)κράτεια [(e)'kratja]. In the case of -έω [-'eo] verbs still in regular use, these new forms began to supersede not only those of the original paradigm but also the 'interpolated' -άω [-'ao] forms of (ii).

In the plural of the imperfect, however, a different set of innovations began to take place in the late middle ages. The changes involved started in the mixed paradigm of (i) above and gradually spread to the singular, the new paradigm eventually replacing all other options apart from -αγα [-aɣa] (i.e. not only (ii), but also the innovative -έω [-'eo] forms just described). Since the old 3pl imperfect -ουν [-un] was homophonous with both the 1sg form and the regular 3pl present of non-contract verbs, it was widely replaced by -οῦσαν [-'usan] (with the accented syllable following that of 1/2pl) through the incorporation of aorist -σαν [-san] as a formally distinctive '3pl past-tense' suffix. Examples already occur in the *Chronicle of the Morea*. (A similar development in non-contract verbs was seen in ancient Koine forms such as 3pl imperfect ἐγράφοσαν [e'ɣrafosan] 'they used to write/were writing' etc., as discussed in Part I (cf. 5.8).)

Subsequently, the element -οῦσ- [-'us-] was extended to 1pl, where the instability of the syllabic augment had led to frequent homophony between present and imperfect: thus γελοῦμε(ν) [je'lume(n)] 'we laugh'/(ἐ)γελοῦμε(ν) [(e)je'lume(n)] 'we were laughing'

-> γελοῦμε(ν) [je'lume(n)]/(ἐ)γελούσαμε(ν) [(e)je'lusame(n)]. Then, during the early modern period, a full imperfect paradigm in -οῦσα [-'usa], -οῦσες [-'uses], -έω [-'use(n)] etc. was gradually constructed to this model, the process being completed first in northern dialects, including that of Constantinople. Earlier, however, plural forms of this type were combined with elements taken from the other competing paradigms. In standard Modern Greek (perhaps as a direct result of the influx of speakers from the Ottoman capital during the 19th century), the -οῦσα [-'usa] forms are now regarded as the norm for contract verbs, especially in learned verbs of the -έω [-'eo] class, though more 'popular' verbs of the -άω [-'ao] type (e.g. κρατῶ/κρατάω [kra'to/kra'tao] 'I hold' etc.) still retain -αγα [-aɣa] in the colloquial speech of many Greeks, especially in the south.

But before these changes took place, the substitution of -ειε- [-je-] for -ει- [-i-] in the imperfect active of popular verbs of the -έω [-'eo] type (cf. 3sg (ἐ)κράτειε [(e)'kratje] etc.) had led to a parallel substitution in the 3sg and 2pl of the imperfect medio-passive (i.e. -εῖτο(ν) [-'ito(n)] > -ειέτο(ν) [-'jeto(n)], and -εῖσθε [-'isθe] > -ειέσθε [-'jeste]). Since this tense was little used in popular speech in the middle ages, we have only a limited picture of the conjugation of both contract and non-contract verbs from the small number of attested examples and the evidence of dialect variants in the popular speech of the 19th century (cf. Thumb (1912: 156, 171–2, 175), and see (35e) below for details). From the imperfect, the innovation spread to the present middle/passive, affecting 2/3sg (-εῖσαι [-'ise]/-εῖται [-'ite]), and 2pl (-εῖσθε [-'isθe]), so as to give the paradigm in (iii):[13]

(iii)	Sg	1	-οῦ-μαι	[-'umai]	Pl	1	-ού-μεστε	[-'umeste]
		2	-ειέ-σαι	[-'jesai]		2	-ειέ-στε	[-'jeste]
		3	-ειέ-ται	[-'jetai]		3	-οῦ-νται	[-'unde]

Subsequently, the -ου- [-u-] element of 1sg and 1/3pl was adapted to the other forms, giving -ειου- [-ju-]:

(iv)	Sg	1	-ειοῦ-μαι	[-'jumai]	Pl	1	-ειού-μεστε	[-'jumeste]
		2	-ειέ-σαι	[-'jesai]		2	-ειέ-στε	[-'jeste]
		3	-ειέ-ται	[-'jetai]		3	-ειοῦ-νται	[-'junde]

And finally, though these changes belong properly to the modern period, the -ειέ- [-'je-] formant was generalized to 1sg, while -ειό- [-'jo-] was substituted for -ειού- [-'ju-] on the basis of the regular -όμαστε [-'omaste] of non-contract verbs (see (35d) for details); this formant was then sometimes extended to 2pl (giving -ειό-στε [-'joste]).

This emerged as the dominant medio-passive paradigm for all contract verbs, and the forms of the -άω [-'ao] class (other than deponents) were progressively incorporated into it from the later middle ages onwards. Contemporary Greek therefore uses ἀγαπιέμαι [aɣa'pjeme] 'I am loved', alongside κρατιέμαι [kra'tjeme] 'I am held' etc. (the spelling now standardized with -ι-). But the classical paradigms of both -άω [-'ao] and -έω [-'eo-] types were retained in the learned language, and a number of verbs of learned origin still employ the classical endings given in (v) (though often updated in 1/2pl to -ώ/ού-μαστε [-'o/'u-maste] and -ᾶ/εῖ-στε [-'a/'i-ste]):

(v)	1, 2, 3 sg:	-ῶμαι	[-'ome]	-ᾶσαι	[-'ase]	-ᾶται	[-'ate]
	1, 2, 3 pl:	-ώμεθα	[-'omeθa]	-ᾶσθε	[-'asθe]	-ῶνται	[-'onde]
	1, 2, 3 sg:	-οῦμαι	[-'ume]	-εῖσαι	[-'ise]	-εῖται	[-'ite]
	1, 2, 3 pl:	-ούμεθα	[-'umeθa]	-εῖσθε	[-'isθe]	-οῦνται	[-'unde]

It was noted earlier that most commonly used verbs of the -έω [-'eo] class were incorporated into the combined contract-verb paradigms given in (i) and (iii)/(iv). But even in the popular spoken language, a number of such verbs survived into the later middle ages and beyond with their classical paradigms intact, or at least in partial use. Obvious examples include εὐχαριστῶ [efxari'sto] 'I thank', παρακαλῶ [paraka'lo] 'I appeal to/(if you) please', λαλῶ [la'lo] 'I speak', κρατῶ [kra'to] 'I hold/keep', θεωρῶ [θeo'ro] 'I consider'. There was, however, some uncertainty even in these cases, and a number have now been partly or wholly absorbed into the combined paradigms (e.g. κρατῶ [kra'to] in its entirety, λαλῶ [la'lo] in the middle/passive, the active of παρακαλῶ [paraka'lo] optionally and its passive obligatorily etc.).

Despite occasional dialectal variants of the -άω [-'ao] type, one verb that generally remained strongly in the -έω [-'eo] camp was μπορῶ [bo'ro], 'I am able', which gradually replaced classical δύναμαι ['ðiname] in the spoken language. This derived from the classical compound εὐ-πορῶ [efpo'ro], properly 'I am well off/I have resources', but was already used colloquially in its modern sense in Ancient Greek. Its aorist was εὐπόρεσα [ef'poresa] or later ηὐπόρεσα [if'poresa] (both with post-classical replacement of -ρησα [-risa] on the model of -ράω [-'rao] verbs where the imperfective stem vowel was regularly preserved in the aorist). The first of these was early reinterpreted as consisting of augment [e-] + [-'fporesa], which, in conjunction with the effects of aphaeresis, quickly led to a present [(f)po'ro] beside aorist [(f)'poresa], whose phonotactically difficult initial clusters were simplified to [p-]. When such forms followed negative (οὐ)δέν [(u)ðen] or conditional ἄν [an], as happened particularly frequently with a verb of this meaning, the initial plosive was voiced in accordance with the rules of spoken Greek to give, for example, [ðem/am bo'ro]. This pronunciation then became so habitual through constant repetition in such contexts that it came to be used independently of them. The present thus became μπορῶ, with a parallel aorist (ἐ)-μπόρεσα [(e)'boresa] replacing εὐπόρεσα [ef'poresa]. But since this new form had the appearance of a compound with ἐν- [en-], it also resulted in the formation of the 'corrected' present ἐμπορῶ [embo'ro], which sometimes appears in later medieval texts.

The alternative (originally post-classical, but still ancient) aorist ηὐπόρεσα [if'poresa] was naturally adapted to the innovatory ἐμπόρεσα [e'boresa], to give ἠμπόρεσα [i'boresa], but at this point, the pattern of ἐμπορῶ [embo'ro]//ἐμπόρεσα [e'boresa] led to the formation of a new present ἠμπορῶ [imbo'ro] to partner ἠμπόρεσα [i'boresa]. This variant is also commonly used in vernacular texts of the later middle ages.

11.8.6 Personal endings

(35) Many of the changes in the personal endings of verbs have already been referred to in connection with other developments above. Here the principal developments will be summarized under the following subheadings:

(a) Indicative and subjunctive
(b) Past-tense morphology: active and aorist middle/passive; the augment
(c) The active paradigm: present tense
(d) The middle/passive paradigm: present tense
(e) The middle/passive paradigm: the imperfect

(a) Indicative and subjunctive

In late antiquity, as noted earlier, the regular endings of the imperfective (without -σ- [-s-]) and aorist (with -σ- [-s-]) subjunctive:

Sg	-(σ)ω [-(s)o]	-(σῃ)ς [-(s)is]	-(σ)ῃ [-(s)i]
Pl	-(σ)ωμεν [-(s)omen]	-(σ)ητε [-(s)ite]	-(σ)ωσι(ν) [-(s)osi(n)]

merged respectively with those of the present (without -σ- [-s-]) and future (with -σ- [-s]) indicative:

Sg	-(σ)ω [-(s)o]	-(σ)εις [-(s)is]	-(σ)ει [-(s)i]
Pl	-(σ)ομεν [-(s)omen]	-(σ)ετε [-(s)ete]	-(σ)ουσι(ν) [-(s)usi(n)]

through a combination of sound change (i.e. classical ω [o:] and ο [o] > [o], classical ει [e:] and η/ῃ [ɛ:/ɛ:i] > [i]) and analogical levelling (i.e. 2/3pl -(σ)ητε [-(s)ite]/-(σ)ωσι(ν) [-(s)osi(n)] > -(σ)ετε [-(s)ete]/-(σ)ουσι(ν) [-(s)usi(n)]). The destabilization of the future indicative led to the widespread use of what, from a classical perspective, look like present indicatives (imperfective) and aorist subjunctives (perfective) in future function (with the stem of the latter often surviving in preference to that of the future in suppletive paradigms). Eventually the future was formally renewed through the use of various infinitival periphrases and constructions with *νά* [na], as discussed in 11.8.3.

Similar levelling took place in the imperfective medio-passive paradigm between the present indicative (e.g. λύομαι ['liome]) and present subjunctive (e.g. λύωμαι ['liome]). The future middle (e.g. λύσομαι ['lisome]) and aorist middle subjunctive (e.g. λύσωμαι ['lisome]) might well have fallen together in the same way, but the demise of the aorist middle as a separate paradigm led to the early loss of this whole set of forms. The passive system was, however, distinctive, in that the future in -(θ)ήσομαι [-'(θ)isome] was related to, but formally distinct from, the aorist passive (soon medio-passive) in -(θ)ην [-(θ)in], with its subjunctive in -(θ)ῶ [-'(θ)o]. Lacking independent support in a developing system where futures were in any case threatened, the future passive was the first future paradigm to disappear (being widely replaced by infinitival periphrases in late antiquity). The aorist passive indicative and subjunctive, however, survived as expected, the latter acquiring future uses like other aorist subjunctives (and subject to the same later developments with *νά* [na], θὲ *νά* [θe na] etc.). Since, however, its active-type terminations were accented, the forms involved were levelled to those of the partially homophonous present indicative/subjunctive active paradigm of -έω [-'eo] verbs, to give (as still in Modern Greek): -(θ)ῶ [-'(θ)o], -(θ)εῖς [-'(θ)is], -(θ)εῖ [-'(θ)i], -(θ)οῦμεν [-'(θ)umen], -(θ)εῖτε [-'(θ)ite], -(θ)οῦσι [-'(θ)usi]/-(θ)οῦν [-'(θ)un].

The continued written use of graphically distinct subjunctive endings in the middle ages was largely a feature of the learned tradition, though at least formal educated speech probably continued to distinguish those subjunctives whose 'correct' written form justified a pronunciation distinct from that of corresponding indicatives.

(b) Past-tense morphology: active and aorist middle/passive; the augment

As noted (5.8, 6.5.2), a common set of past-tense endings evolved in late antique and early Medieval Greek out of the old imperfect, aorist and perfect active paradigms. Thus the imperfect:

(i)	Sg	-ον [-on]	-ες [-es]	-ε(ν) [-e(n)]
	Pl	-ομεν [-omen]	-ετε [-ete]	-ον [-on]

aorist:

(ii)	Sg	-(σ)α [-(s)a]	-(σ)ας [-(s)as]	-(σ)ε(ν) [-(s)e(n)]
	Pl	-(σ)αμεν [-(s)amen]	-(σ)ατε [-(s)ate]	-(σ)αν [-(s)an]

and perfect endings:

(iii)	Sg	-(κ)α [-(k)a]	-(κ)ας [-(k)as]	-(κ)ε(ν) [-(k)e(n)]
	Pl	-(κ)αμεν [-(k)amen]	-(κ)ατε [-(k)ate]	-(κ)ασι(ν) [-(k)asi(n)]

were all combined into the single system in (iv) (with variants in 2pl and 3pl; early forms of the imperfect of contract verbs are ignored here):

(iv)	Sg	-α [-a]	-ες [-es]	-ε(ν) [-e(n)]
	Pl	-αμεν [-amen]	-ατε [-ate]	-αν(ε) [-an(e)]
			-ετε [-ete]	-ασι(ν) [-asi(n)]

The characteristic aorist/perfect markers -σ- [s]/-κ- [k] were prefixed, as appropriate.

The κ-version of the aorist/perfect paradigm was gradually adopted in the aorist middle/passive (-(θ)η-κα [-(θ)i-ka] etc.), as we have seen, a process completed in popular spoken Greek by the later Byzantine period (the true aorist middle, with a few high-frequency exceptions such as ἠρξάμην [ir'ksamin] 'I began', having been very largely abandoned in late antiquity).

In standard Modern Greek 2/3pl -ατε [-ate] and -αν [-an] are now normal, but the alternatives still occur dialectally, 3pl -ασι [-asi] being particularly characteristic of the south-eastern group and the speech of the Mani, though it also occurs in some South Italian and Cretan varieties. In medieval vernacular poetry, however, which remains a major source of information about the spoken Greek of the period, there is fluctuation in the use of the two 3pl forms, much of it metrically motivated. But since even early prose pieces show parallel uncertainty, and Sofianós' grammar (see Part III, 14.2.2) allows both forms in many instances, it seems that the variants were in parallel use in the later middle ages and into the modern period. Some of this may be due to the

contamination of texts in the process of copying and transmission, and the possibility remains that in the 'real' vernacular (i.e. in forms of the language not subject to metrical constraints) the variants were already being specialized in different grammatical or phonological contexts. But in general the distribution in Modern Greek dialects that still permit such variation appears quite random, or at best associated with factors such as age and education (Menárdos (1925: 40), Newton (1972), Minás (1987)).

In classical Greek all past tenses carried an augment, which involved either the prefixation of the syllable ἐ- [e-] (occasionally ἠ- [i-], see below) to forms beginning with a consonant, or the lengthening of the initial segment of forms beginning with a vowel or diphthong. The latter (the so-called 'temporal augment') fell quickly out of favour because of its variable form and the destruction of the relevant notion of lengthening by sound change. In some areas the syllabic augment was used in place of the initial vowel, but in standard Modern Greek the past tenses now simply have the same initial vowel as the non-past forms (learned survivals with stressed augment excepted).

The syllabic augment naturally survived more strongly, but its role too was partially undermined by sound change, specifically aphaeresis. In standard Modern Greek it therefore survives only when accented, though in some dialects it is still retained across the board. It is also worth noting that, on the basis of frequently occurring verb forms augmented at least optionally in ['i-], some inherited from antiquity (e.g. ἤθελα ['iθela] 'I wanted', ἤμελλα ['imela] 'I was about to', εἶπα ['ipa] 'I said', εἶδα ['iða] 'I saw'), others arising through various analogies in the middle ages (e.g. ἤπια ['ipja] for ἔπια ['epja] 'I drank', or ἤλεγα ['ileɣa] 'I used to say' after εἶπα ['ipa] 'I said'), a number of dialects eventually generalized ἤ- ['i-] as the basic form of the syllabic augment. This is particularly characteristic of much of the south-eastern area, many Cycladic varieties, and the speech of eastern Crete. Where the unaccented augment is retained, some of these dialects substitute ἐ- [e-], while others keep ἠ- [i-] throughout.

From late antiquity onwards, the practice of using an 'internal' augment with compound verbs (e.g. προσ-έ-βαλον [pros'evalon] 'they attacked') was steadily abandoned in favour of a regular 'external' augment (e.g. ἐ-πρόσβαλαν [e'prozvalan]), or no augment at all if the initial element began with a vowel. This was inevitable, given that word formation using the classical prepositions had ceased to be productive and many compound verbs survived only as lexicalized fossils. The true nature of such composition was therefore steadily lost sight of.

(c) The active paradigm: present tense

The parallel existence of past-tense 3pl -αν(ε) [-an(e)] and -ασι(ν) [-asi(n)] very quickly generated a present-tense (and subjunctive) 3pl -ουν(ε) [-un(e)] to partner the inherited -ουσι(ν) [-usi(n)]. The earliest examples of the innovative form date from the late antique/early Byzantine period, and the variants alternate freely, exactly like their past-tense analogues, in popular writing of the later middle ages. The dialectal distribution of the variants in Modern Greek is the same as for the past-tense forms.

In the modern period -ουν(ε) [-un(e)] influenced the 1pl ending -ομε(ν) [-ome(n)] to give -ουμε [-ume]. This is now the preferred option in standard Modern Greek, though both forms remain in use, the traditional form being mainly regional or viewed as stilted.

(d) The middle/passive paradigm: present tense

The ancient set of endings in the regular thematic paradigm (i.e. with verb stem in -e-/-o-) was as follows:

Sg	-ο-μαι [-ome]	-ει [-i]	-ε-ται [-ete]
Pl	-ό-μεθα [-omeθa]	-ε-σθε [-esθe]	-ο-νται [-onde]

This was partially remodelled:

(i) 2sg -ει (earlier -ῃ/) [-i], which derived from an original *-εσαι [-esai] through prehistoric loss of intervocalic [s] and contraction, was analogically restored, beginning in the Hellenistic period, on the basis of the perfect middle/passive in -σαι [-se] and common athematic verb forms such as δύνα-σαι ['ðinase] 'you can', ἵστα-σαι ['istase] 'you stand' etc.

(ii) 2pl -εσθε [-esθe] became -εστε [-este] by regular phonetic development (cf. (12) above). The 2pl ending also influenced 1pl -όμεθα [-'omeθa], to give first -όμεσθα [-'omesθa]/-όμεστα [-'omesta], and then -όμεσθε [-'omesθe]/-όμεστε [-'omeste], the latter widely attested in later medieval texts. Subsequently, the imperfect 1pl and 2pl endings -όμαστε [-'omaste] and -όσαστε [-'osaste] (on which, see (d) below) often replaced these forms (in the case of 1pl standardly in Modern Greek), perhaps on the basis of the historic lack of distinctiveness between present and past terminations (i.e. -ομεθα [-'omeθa] and -εσθε [-esθe] in both paradigms).

(iii) In the early medieval period, 3pl -ονται [-onde] was influenced by the new active ending -ουν [-un] to give -ουνται [-unde], and the -ου- [-u-] element then spread dialectally to the other forms with the thematic vowel [-o-] (in northern varieties often automatically, through mid-vowel raising). Both sets of variants continued in use, however, though now the [-o-] forms have prevailed in standard Modern Greek, doubtless in part under the influence of the written language.

(e) The middle/passive paradigm: the imperfect

The classical thematic paradigm:

Sg	-ό-μην [-omin]	-ου [-u]	-ε-το [-eto]
Pl	-ό-μεθα [-omeθa]	-ε-σθε [-esθe]	-ο-ντο [-ondo]

was also widely remodelled, but its relative rarity led to a wider range of innovations:

(i) The 3pl suffix was widely affected by the corresponding active past-tense ending -αν(ε) [-an(e)] to give -ονταν [-onda(n)]/-όντανε [-'ondane], and then a number of extended variants gradually emerged: e.g. -όντησαν [-'ondisa(n)], used in the *Chronicle of the Morea* and modelled on ἦσαν ['isan], the traditional 3pl imperfect of the verb 'to be' (cf. (34a)), and much later -όντουσαν [-'ondusa(n)], a form now typical of Peloponnesian varieties and Athenian colloquial, in which -ουσαν [-usan]

has apparently been borrowed from the 'regular' 3pl active imperfect of contract verbs (cf. (34e) above, and see (iv) below for a similar development in 1sg). The basis for this otherwise unlikely link was apparently provided by the similar use of active contract-verb endings in the subjunctive of the aorist passive (cf. (34a)).

(ii) 3sg -ετο(ν) [-eto(n)], with analogical final -ν [-n] on the basis of 3sg active forms, was partly remodelled under the influence of the new 3pl -ονταν [-onda(n)]/-όντανε [-'ondane], to give -οτον [-oto(n)]/-ότονε [-'otone] (as in the *Chronicle of the Morea*) and then -οταν [-ota(n)]/-ότανε [-'otane]. This last development also led to the recharacterization of 3sg ἦτο(ν) ['ito(n)] 's/he was' as ἦταν(ε) ['itan(e)], which was homophonous with the innovative version of the 3pl of the same verb (cf. (34a)). On this model, the properly 3pl endings -ονταν [-onda(n)]/-όντανε [-'ondane] were sometimes used also as 3sg terminations, a usage now characteristic of the northern dialects, including the speech of Thessaloniki.

(iii) As in the present paradigm, 1pl -όμεθα [-'omeθa] was remodelled to the 2pl form. But in this case, beginning in Roman times, and in line with other developments of that period (cf. 3pl imperfect active -ον [-on] > -ο-σαν [-osan] etc.), the 2pl aorist-middle suffix -σασθε [-sasθe] had replaced the original termination -(ε)-σθε [-(e)-sθe] in popular speech, the substitution being motivated by the formal distinctiveness of this termination vis-à-vis the corresponding present. The starting point was the new 2pl imperfect ἤ-σασθε ['isasθe] (for classical ἦτε ['ite]/ἦστε ['iste]) 'you were'), built in part to 3pl ἦ-σαν ['isan], but using the middle endings characteristic of the remainder of the remodelled paradigm of this verb (see (34a)). Via an extension of the thematic vowel of 1pl -ό-μεθα [-'omeθa], we get the innovative 2pl -ό-σασθε [-'osasθe] (later -όσαστε [-'osaste]) in place of -εσθε [-esθe], to which the 1pl form was itself remodelled, giving -όμασθε [-'omasθe]/-όμαστε [-'omaste].[14]

The new 1pl endings of the present and imperfect paradigms were, however, widely interchanged, while the 2pl imperfect was also commonly substituted for the 2pl present. In some areas, and especially in northern dialects, the imperfect 1pl and 2pl endings were given the a-vowel of 3pl -ονταν [-ondan]/-όντανε [-'ondane], to produce -όμασταν [-'omastan]/-όσασταν [-'osastan]. In standard Modern Greek -όμαστε [-'omaste] can also be used as imperfect 1pl, and -όσαστε [-'osaste], the regular 2pl imperfect, doubles optionally as a present ending alongside -εστε [-este].

(iv) The 1sg imperfect middle/passive -όμην [-'omin] had a termination that ceased to be associated with passive 1sg past-tense forms after the replacement of the majority of 1sg aorists in -ην [-in] by -ηκα [-ika]. The 2sg ending -ου [-u], which derived prehistorically from *-ε-σο [-e-so] through loss of intervocalic [s] and contraction (cf. 2sg present -ει [-i] < *-ε-σαι [-e-sai]), was even more opaque and ripe for replacement.

Since the aoristic -κα [-ka] was unsuitable as a substitute in the 1sg imperfect, it seems that -ουν [-un], the active 1sg imperfect ending of the contract verbs, was substituted for -ην [-in], just as their 3pl -ουσαν [-usan] replaced -ησαν [-isan] in the extended 3pl middle/passive formations discussed in (i) above. This produced -ό-μουν [-'omun], which immediately provided a model for a new 2sg -ό-σουν

[-'osun], where [s] replaced [m] as in the present forms -μαι [-me]/-σαι [-se], and the thematic o-vowel paralleled the developments in the 2pl termination.

The overall result of these various developments was a paradigm in which the thematic vowel [o] was generalized and normally bore the accent:

Singular		Plural	
-όμουν(α/ε)	[-'omun(a/e)]	-όμαστε	[-'omaste]
-όσουν(α/ε)	[-'osun(a/e)]	-όσαστε	[-'osaste]
-όταν(ε)	[-'otan(e)]/-οταν ['-otan]	-όνταν(ε)	[-'ondan(e)]/-ονταν ['-ondan]

The 1sg and 2sg endings naturally acquired an optional final vowel to protect the weak -ν [-n]. This was either the expected -ε [-e] in both forms, or the 1sg 'past-tense' suffix -α [-a], generalized to the formally parallel 2sg. The a-option was originally characteristic of the northern dialects, including the speech of Constantinople, and perhaps again passed into the standard through the influence of the many speakers who came from there in the early 19th century. The forms of 1/2/3sg and 3pl without a final vowel are now regarded as more correct in the contemporary standard language.

In these short forms, the accent now remains fixed in 3sg -όταν [-'otan], following the model of 1/2sg, but it may still be thrown back to the last syllable of the verb root in the case of 3pl, to give either -όνταν [-'ondan] or -όνταν [-'ondan]. Some dialects, however, generalized the accent associated with the original short-form 3sg/3pl endings, to give a paradigm -όμουν [-'omun], -όσουν [-'osun], -όταν [-'otan] etc.

Finally, we should note that, on the basis of 3pl present -ουνται [-unde] (itself modelled on the innovative 3pl active -ουν [-un]), an alternative 3pl imperfect ending -ουντο [-undo] inevitably appeared (later -ουνταν [-unda(n)]/-ούντανε [-'undane]). The -ου- [-u-] element spread naturally in some dialects to replace thematic -ο- [o] (accented or not according to area) throughout the paradigm, though in northern or Asia Minor dialects in which the accent fell on the syllable before the thematic vowel, the regular mid-vowel raising produced -ου- [-u-] independently. This thematic -ου- [-u-] was certainly a feature of the speech of many in the capital during the later middle ages, and it is well reflected in the *Poems of Poor Pródromos* (cf. 12.2.2). But, as noted above in the discussion of the present endings, it has now been all but eliminated from the middle/passive paradigm of standard Modern Greek, with the exception of the imperfect passive of learned verbs of the -έω [-'eo] class (e.g. στερούμαι [ste'rume] 'I lack'), where it has been generalized, on the basis of the inherited -ού- [-'u-] of many of the forms in the classical paradigm, to give: -ούμουν [-'umun], -ούσουν [-'usun], -ούνταν [-'undan], -ούμαστε [-'umaste], -ούσαστε [-'usaste], -ούνταν [-'undan]. But this largely artificial construct of demoticist grammarians is not universally accepted, and in the 3rd-person forms especially many speakers prefer the learned -εῖτο [-'ito] and -οῦντο [-'undo].

As with other cases of change in progress, a variety of imperfect middle/passive forms is attested in vernacular literature after the 12th century, and it seems that a number of these developing variants were not only passively understood but also in

active use in the last few centuries before the empire's final fall. Though particular forms may originally have been characteristic of particular regions, mobility seems to have created a situation in which dialect mixture and free variation were the norm amongst city-dwellers of all classes.

11.9 Conclusion

Though it is clear that spoken Greek changed very considerably during the middle ages, with a significant increase in regional heterogeneity among illiterate speakers at the lower levels of society, the continued existence of the Byzantine state and its institutions (primarily the education system, the bureaucracy, and the Orthodox church) guaranteed that the evolution of the spoken language overall was constrained by knowledge of, or widespread exposure to, the learned language in its various forms (most importantly, because of its universal impact, the language of the liturgy). Even the wholly illiterate could not escape the passive influence of ecclesiastical Greek or the levelling effects of military service in the imperial army, while the upper classes, concentrated in the major urban centres, continued not only to maintain mutual contact across the empire through travel and the performance of professional duties, but also to learn, and actively to employ, traditional forms of written Greek, a process which necessarily influenced their speech and inhibited the development of regional differentiation in educated varieties at other than the phonological level.

Thus early Medieval Greek, unlike Latin, did not fragment into regional dialects that later acquired official status and evolved as separate languages within independent states. Only with the advent of Norman rule in southern Italy and the Seljuk domination of eastern and central Asia Minor did the increasingly isolated dialects of these peripheral territories start to develop along radically independent lines.

After 1204, however, in the context of widespread western rule and the political fragmentation of the former empire, similar developments began to take effect even in the spoken dialects of areas closer to the centre. Crucially, these changes now affected all levels of society, since there was no longer a Byzantine state of any significance, and the educated classes slowly integrated with their Romance-speaking rulers. Some local dialects thus acquired official, and even literary, status at the expense of archaic written Greek, particularly where Byzantine rule had been interrupted and where western rule survived longest (e.g. in Cyprus, Crete and the Ionian islands). These and other issues will be taken up in more detail in chapter 12.

Notes

1 If the element in question is used as a determiner rather than a pronoun, or if the referent is non-human, -*ν* [-n] is less likely to be present in these words.

2 Examples in this function are attested from the 5th–6th centuries (Bakker (1974: 87–94), Gignac (1981: 179), Nicholas (1999: 200–11), Manoléssou (2003b)), but then resurface only in vernacular literature after the 12th century.

3 Since there is good reason to think that πρᾶγμα was pronounced [prâŋma] in antiquity (Allen (1987a: 35)), the popular form is clearly a direct descendant of this through assimila-

tion of the nasals and simplification of the geminate; the learned form (as often) must involve a spelling pronunciation of the traditional orthographic form.

4 Beginning in the 17th century a great deal of terminology was created from Ancient Greek sources or calqued on the neologisms of other European languages using Ancient Greek formants. Since a great deal of lexical innovation in these languages involved Ancient Greek roots anyway, many such words were absorbed into Modern Greek without significant change (see 15.2 and 17.4).

5 For this kind of regression, cf. also popular τέλειωσα ['teʎosa] 'I finished' (beside learned τελείωσα [te'liosa] < ancient ἐτελείωσα [etelé:o:sa]) on the model of the common class of aorists seen in (ἐ)δήλωσα [(e)'ðilosa] 'I showed', supported by parallel presents τελειώνω [te'ʎono] and δηλώνω [ði'lono]).

6 In general, the richer the tradition, the greater the fluctuation, as expected, since copies were made in many different areas.

7 The form varies according to whether they end in a consonant or a vowel: thus πούστης ['pustis] < *puşt* 'sodomite/bugger' but ἀραμπᾶς < *araba* 'cart'.

8 Ἀδελφίδες [aðel'fiðes] is also attested. In general, the demise of Byzantine educational institutions coupled with the absence of any interest in regularizing the vernacular produced large-scale variation in both derivational and inflectional morphology.

9 The words of this class that survived in the vernacular tended to have more concrete meanings and to be assimilated to the 1st declension, as noted.

10 There are already many classical examples, e.g. Sophocles *OT* 448, Euripides *HF* 186.

11 Θέ [θe] + *νά* [na] in its future use parallels the impersonal use of other modal auxiliaries taking a *νά* [na]-clause: cf. for example, μέλλει ['meli] 'it will be (that)' (chiefly in early Cypriot texts, e.g. Machairás' *Chronicle* I, 1); πρέπει ['prepi] 'it is necessary (that)' (e.g. *Chronicle of the Morea* 1342; lines 2 and 4 of the fragment entitled *Sinner's Prayer,* originally composed in the 12th or 13th century and edited by Legrand (1880: I, 17)); λαχαίνει [la'çeni] 'it chances (that)' (e.g. *Chronicle of the Morea* 2524); ἐνδέχεται [en'ðeçete] 'it is possible/permitted' (e.g. *Assizes passim*, a 14th-century translation into Cypriot Greek of a French legal text, cf. Sáthas (1872–94: IV, 24 ff). This does not, however, guarantee that θέ [θe] too was originally an impersonal verb in the future construction. Since it had previously been generalized to all other persons/numbers in the volitional construction (replacing 2sg θές [θes], and perhaps other reduced forms also, viz. 1/2/3pl θέμε ['θeme]/θέτε ['θete], θένε ['θene], cf. 11.8.5 (c)(iii)), it was already thought of as an uninflected particle by the time the θέ [θe] + *νά* [na]- periphrasis started to be used as a future. The absence of convincing examples of impersonal θέλει *νά* ['θeli na] is therefore explained.

12 For innovations in the endings themselves, see (35b–c) below.

13 For the changes in the endings themselves, see (35d).

14 The relative chronology of these developments remains uncertain because 'vernacular' 2pl forms are very rare in the relevant literary and documentary corpora.

12
Texts in the 'Vernacular'

12.1 The Early and Middle Periods

12.1.1 Introduction

We have a unique collection of 9th-century inscriptions, written at a more basic level than any of the texts discussed in chapter 10, set up at the instigation of the Turkic Bulgars, who had established themselves during the 7th century as the rulers of the Slavic peoples in much of the territory of modern Bulgaria. Though a few of these are in Bulgar (using the Greek alphabet), most are in Greek, the former administrative language and lingua franca of at least the southern parts of the region. Whether they were composed under orders by Greek-speaking inhabitants of the conquered towns or by Slavs and/or Bulgars who had learned Greek remains unclear, but they reveal a contemporary vernacular style that shows little or no influence from official varieties of the written language used in the Byzantine empire (cf. 10.7).

For the early and middle periods, we also have a small collection of the rhythmical acclamations with which the Hippodrome factions (the Blues and Greens) used to greet/harangue emperors, members of the imperial household and other public figures on formal occasions and in response to major incidents in the political life of the capital. The majority are preserved in the manuscript traditions of historians and chroniclers, but many have suffered corruption in the course of their transmission. Though some convey approval, albeit often in an ironic or satirical way, others express outright contempt in strongly abusive language. Those composed for orchestrated chanting on official occasions reveal a mixture of popular and more formal characteristics, but some of the hostile pieces have a more consistently vernacular character, and provide an important, if limited, source of information for the spoken Greek of the urban masses in a period for which there is otherwise a serious lack of evidence.

12.1.2 The Protobulgarian inscriptions

Despite their privileged position as evidence for the vernacular of the 9th century, these documents must be interpreted with caution in that some at least may have been

composed by non-native speakers, and in the absence of comparable material from other locations, we risk giving undue emphasis to what may be parochial or substrate phenomena. See Beševliev (1963) for a critical edition of the documents, and discussion of their historical and cultural significance.

The following inscription describes the destruction of a Byzantine army by the Bulgars in 813, and belongs to a period quite close to the events which it commemorates:

(1) ... [κ]ὲ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐ[τ]οῦ οὐκ ἐληθάρ[γ]ησεν αὐτὸν κὲ ἐξῆλ[θ]εν, κὲ ἔδοκε[ν] αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς κὲ τόπ[ου]ς κ[ὲ] κάσστρα ἐρημῶσε{ν} [τ]αδε· {Σε} τὴν Σερδικήν, τὴν{ν} Δεβελτόν, τὴν Κονσταντήαν, τὴν [Βερσ]ηνικίαν, <τὴν> Ἁδρηαν[ού]πολην. Τοῦτα τὰ κάστρα [ἔ]λαβεν. Τὰ δὲ λυπὰ κ[ά]στρα ἔδοκεν ὁ θε[ὸ]ς φόβον, κὲ ἄ[φ]ηκ[α]ν κὲ ἔφυγαν, κὲ ὁ κά[τ]ου τόπος [ἐξε]ληθάργησεν τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, {τ}ὅπου ἐ[ξ]ῆλθε[ν μὲ] τὸν ὅλον λαὸν κὲ ἔκ[α]ψ[εν τὰ] χωρηά ἡμῶν{ν} α[ὐ]τὸς ὁ γέρων ὁ βασιλεὺ[ς] ὁ φαρακλὸς, [κ]ὲ ἐπῆρεν ὅλα, κὲ τοὺς ὅρκους ἐλησμόνησεν, κὲ ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὴ [αὐτὸν] ὁ ἄρχων {ὁ ἄ} ὁ Κρο[ύ]μος πρὸς [τ]ὸ πολ[εμῆσε] ... (Inscription 2, ll. 5–35)

[... ce o aðel'fos atu uk eli'θarjisen aton c eks'ilθen, c 'eðocen
and the brother of-him not abandoned him and went-out, and gave
aton o θe'os ce 'topus ce 'kastra eri'mose 'taðe. ti serði'cin,
him(acc.) the god both places and towns to-devastate these: the Serdike,
ti ðevel'ton, ti ko(n)stan'dian, ti versini'cian, tin aðrja'nupolin.
the Debeltos, the Constantia, the Bersinicia, the Adrianople.
'tuta ta 'kastra 'elaven. ta ðe ly'pa 'kastra 'eðocen o θe'os
These the towns he-took. The but remaining towns(acc.) gave the god(nom.)
'fovon, ce 'afikan c 'efyɣan, ce o 'katu 'topos ekseli'θarjisen
fear, and they-surrendered (them) and fled, and the below place completely-abandoned
ton 'dopon 'tuton, opu eks'ilθen me ton 'olon la'on c 'ekapsen
the place this, where had-gone-out with the whole army and burned
ta xor'ja imon af'tos o 'jeron o vasi'lefs o fara'klos, c e'piren
the villages of-us himself the old-man the emperor the bald, and had-taken
'ola, ce tus 'orkus eliz'monisen, ce eks'ilθen epi af'ton o
everything, and the oaths had-forgotten, and had-gone-out against him the
'arxon o 'krumos pros to pole'mise ...]
leader the Krum with-a-view-to the to-fight ...

'... and his brother did not desert him, but went out, and God granted it to him to destroy the following places and fortified towns: Serdike, Debeltos, Constantia, Bersinicia, Adrianople. These were the fortified townships that he took. But God put fear into the remaining towns, and they (*i.e. the Byzantines*) surrendered them and fled, and the land of the south (*i.e. Byzantium*) completely abandoned this place, where the aged emperor himself, the bald one, had gone out with his whole army and seized everything, forgetting his oaths, and our leader Krum had gone out against him to make war ...'

This is the first time since we left the Egyptian papyri that spelling directly reflecting the sound changes of late antiquity and the early middle ages has been encountered. Note ι, ει, η = [i]; ε, αι = (e); ο, ω = [o]; υ and οι, however, both still = [y], and there

are very few overlaps with the letters representing [i] (with occasional exceptions in other documents, cf. 11.2 (1)). The manner dissimilation of [fs] > [ps] is also apparent in ἔκαψε ['ekapse] for ἔκαυσε ['ekafse] (assuming the supplement is correct), suggesting that the distinctive treatment of groups of voiceless fricatives containing [s] as their second component may have begun earlier than that involving other such clusters (cf. 11.6 (12)), though there is no compelling evidence for this change until much later.

In morphology, note that the augment is still used routinely in past-tense verb forms whether or not it bears the accent, and that final -ν [-n] has been standardized in all past-tense 3sg verb forms (including, elsewhere, 3sg middle/passive -ετον [-eton]). The expected 'past-tense' paradigm (11.8.6 (35b)) is also well-attested in the regular 3pl forms in -αν [-an] (e.g. ἔφυγαν ['efyɣan]). Note, however, that ἄφηκαν ['afikan] still displays the ancient k-aorist (generalized from the singular), and that the innovative s-form ἄφησα ['afisa] (built to future/aorist subjunctive ἀφήσω [a'fiso] and the base for modern ἀφήνω [a'fino], 11.8.5 (34b)) has yet to make its appearance (cf. also ἔδοκεν ['eðocen]). Assuming that the final -ν [-n] of ἐρημῶσε{ν} [eri'mose] was written in error (perhaps because of the past-tense 3sg verb forms preceding), it seems the use of an infinitive to complement control verbs is still in regular use, as is the articular infinitive after prepositions (here expressing purpose after πρός [pros] 'towards', cf. 11.8.1 (30)), a major characteristic of the medieval Koine.

The form τοῦτα ['tuta] for ταῦτα ['tafta] shows that the levelling of the anomalous forms of this demonstrative to the majority containing -ου- [-u-] was already under way (11.7.8 (29d)). Substitution of regular 2nd/1st-declension ὅλος ['olos], originally meaning 'whole/entire', for irregular 3rd/1st-declension πᾶς [pas] 'all', has taken place, in line with the general weakness of 3rd-declension morphology in popular spoken Greek: cf. ἐπῆρεν ὅλα [e'piren 'ola] 'he took everything' (where ἐπαίρω/παίρνω [(e)'pero/'perno] has its modern meaning 'take' < 'lift'). The bare accusative of both enclitic third-person pronouns and full noun phrases is used to mark the indirect object after 'give' (perhaps a northern characteristic already in place, cf. 11.7.1 (16)).

In terms of vocabulary, we should note the common medieval use of λαός [la'os] to mean 'army', and the verbs ληθαργῶ [liθar'ɣo] 'be lethargic (about)/give up on/abandon', and λησμονῶ [lizmo'no] 'forget', both of which are innovations built to otherwise rarely attested nominal/adjectival formations; evidently the vernacular tradition exploited many items that had been eliminated from literary productions on stylistic grounds.

12.1.3 Acclamations: origins of the 'political' verse form

These fragments of a more everyday language are unfortunately neither common nor extensive (a reflection of Byzantine attitudes), but they serve to confirm, as the latest low-level papyri from Egypt suggest, that popular spoken Greek in the early and middle Byzantine periods was developing strongly in the direction of the modern language in terms of grammar and lexicon. (See Maas (1912), Bádenas (1985) for collections and commentary.)

Among the more famous of these texts, deriving from the early period, is the extended exchange between the circus fans and Ioustinianós' herald on the occasion of the Nika riot, as preserved by Theophánes (AM 6024, AD 532; de Boor (1963:

180–4)). A little later, we also have a piece directed against the emperor Mauríkios (AM 6093, AD 602; de Boor (1963: 283)). The text as transmitted is as follows:

(2) Εὕρηκε τὴν δαμαλίδα ἁπαλήν, καὶ ὡς τὸ καινὸν ἀλεκτόριν ταύτῃ πεπήδηκεν καὶ ἐποίησε παιδία ὡς τὰ ξυλοκούκουδα· καὶ οὐδεὶς τολμᾷ λαλῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὅλους ἐφίμωσεν· ἅγιέ μου, ἅγιε φοβερὲ καὶ δυνατέ, δὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ κρανίου, ἵνα μὴ ὑπεραίρεται· κἀγώ σοι τὸν βοῦν τὸν μέγαν προσαγάγω εἰς εὐχήν.

Jeffreys (1974) has argued that the origins of the 15-syllable 'political' verse form,[1] which is the standard accentual metre of folk songs, medieval and early modern vernacular poetry, and much learned Byzantine writing in the ceremonial and exegetical traditions (Hörandner (1974)) go back to the acclamations employed to greet triumphant generals in Republican Rome. According to this account, the metre would then have evolved orally into its familiar form over the course of the following millennium. Though others such as Polítis (1970) and Koder (1972, 1983) have argued instead for a learned origin of some kind (and we may readily concede that the final shaping of the metre after the 10th/11th centuries took place at least partly through the intervention of learned/literate poets), pieces such as (2), as well as (4) below, actually provide good evidence in support of Jeffreys' thesis of a popular origin (if not necessarily in Republican Rome), a position now reinforced by Lauxtermann (1999).

The mature political verse comprises two hemistichs, with 8 syllables in the first before a strong caesura, and 7 syllables in the second. Canonically, there are two major stresses in each half, usually on the 2nd or 4th, 6th or 8th, 10th or 12th, and 14th syllables (the last obligatory), giving an iambic rhythm overall, though stress on the 1st or 3rd and 9th or 11th syllables is not uncommon, introducing a trochaic (or anapaestic) counterpoint. But there is good evidence that oral accentual verse based on paired cola of 8 and 7 syllables with mixed trochaic/iambic rhythms was already in use from at least late antiquity. Lauxtermann (1999) has therefore argued that such versification was turned into a formalized metre between the 6th and 8th centuries (perhaps in Asia Minor), and that the resulting verse form was introduced into the written tradition (low-brow registers only) during the 9th. Thus a piece such as (2) can, with minor emendation, readily be rewritten to make paired cola of 8 and 7 syllables respectively, with a predominantly trochaic rhythm. From such a basis, it is not difficult to imagine the evolution of the fully developed metre:

(3)	Εὕρηκε τὴν δαμαλίδα	['evrice ti(n) ðama'liða He-found the heifer
	ἁπαλὴν <καὶ τρυφεράν>,	apa'lin ɟe trife'ra(n) tender and soft
	καὶ ὡς τὸ καινὸν ἀλεκτόριν	c 'os to ce'non alek'tori(n) and like the young cock
	ταύτῃ <ἐ>πεπήδηκεν	'tafti epe'piðice(n) her(dat) he-fucked
	καὶ ἐποίησε παιδία	ce e'piise pe'ðia and he-made children
	ὡς τὰ ξυλοκούκουδα·	'os ta ksilo'kukuða; like the chips-off-the-block;

καὶ οὐδεὶς τολμᾷ λαλῆσαι,	ce u'ðis tol'ma la'lise, and no-one dares to-speak,
ἀλλ' ὅλους ἐφίμωσεν·	al 'olus e'fimose(n); but everyone he-has-muzzled;
ἅγιέ μου, ἅγιέ <μου>,	'aji'e mu, 'aji'e mu, holy (Lord) of-me, holy (Lord) of-me
φοβερὲ καὶ δυνατέ,	fove're ce ðina'te fearful and mighty,
δὸς αὐτῷ κατὰ κρανίου,	'ðos ato kata kra'niu give (it) to-him(dat) on head(gen.)
{ἵ}να μὴ ὑπεραίρεται.	na 'mi yper'erete that not he-may-be puffed-with-pride
κἀγώ σοι τὸν βοῦν τὸν μέγαν	ka'ɣo sy to 'vun do(m) 'meɣa(n) and-I to-you the bull the great
προσαγάγω εἰς εὐχήν.	prosaɣ'aɣo is ef'çi(n)] shall-bring in vow

'He found his heifer tender and soft, and he fucked her like the proverbial young cock, and fathered children like chips off the block. Now no one dares speak; he's muzzled us all. My holy Lord, my holy Lord, fearful and mighty, let him have it on the head to stop his conceit, and I'll bring you the great bull in thanksgiving.'

Mauríkios (ruled 582–602) was a competent administrator and soldier, but he had inherited a bankrupt state, a situation which, in the context of continual warfare against the Persians in the east and the Avars and Slavs to the north, forced him to adopt unpopular austerity measures. These were needlessly exacerbated by lack of sensitivity to what the army and the people could reasonably be expected to tolerate and, despite an impressive record (including the creation of the exarchates of Ravenna and Carthage out of the residue of Ioustinianós' conquests), he was regularly faced by popular unrest. This came to a head when he ordered the army on the Danube frontier to remain on station over the winter of 602–3 instead of allowing it home in accordance with convention. The army revolted, proclaiming an officer named Phokás as its leader, and marched on the capital. Though Mauríkios turned to the Blues and Greens, only the former proved loyal, and on the night of 22 November 602 a mob assembled outside the palace baying for blood. The imperial family managed to escape to Asia Minor, whereupon the Greens overtly threw in their lot with Phokás, who was duly crowned emperor. Once installed, he sent troops to arrest Mauríkios, and the emperor and his sons were put to death.

In the same year, however, some time before this disaster, the emperor and his eldest son had again escaped from a riotous mob. On this occasion, the crowd, frustrated in its ambition, had found someone who looked like Mauríkios and strapped him to the back of an ass, chanting the words in (2)/(3) (to understand which we need to know only that the emperor and his wife Konstantína had five sons and three daughters). A number of linguistic features are worth noting, in particular that the metre ordinarily requires the absence of synizesis (cf. παιδία [pe'ðia]), like-vowel simplification (cf. ἐποίησε [e'piise]), elision of final vowels, and aphaeresis (the sole exceptions being the connectives κ(αί) [c(e)] and ἀλλ(ά) [al(a)], and perhaps the subjunctive marker (ἱ)νά

[(i)na]). Apparently, none of these popular features had yet become standard in the speech of the capital.

In verb morphology the old perfect εὕρηκε ['evrice] 's/he found' is used as an aorist, while <ἐ>π-επήδη-κεν [ep-e'piði-ce(n)], lit. 'on-jumped', shows a true k-aorist with augment rather than reduplication (cf. 11.8.4 (33)), provided that we accept the metrically motivated restoration. An infinitive is again used freely to complement the control verb τολμῶ [tol'mo], but the ending of subjunctive ὑπεραίρεται [yper'erete] is that of the indicative, as expected, while the former aorist subjunctive προσαγάγω [prosa'ɣaɣo] is used as a future indicative, as often (see 11.8.6 (35a)).

The verbs φιμῶ [fi'mo] (or perhaps φιμώνω [fi'mono] 'silence, muzzle', cf. 11.8 (34b)) and ὑπεραίρομαι [yper'erome] 'be puffed up' are both used in the New Testament with these senses; φιμῶ [fi'mo] seems to have belonged consistently to a non-literary register (it is used in classical Greek only by Aristophanes), while ὑπεραίρω [yper'ero] appears in earlier texts only in the literal sense of 'raise up'.

In nominal morphology, the most striking feature is perhaps the continued use of dative pronouns (ταύτῃ ['tafti] and σοι [sy]), though we should not forget that Constantinople was in origin a Dorian colony, and that it had retained a majority of Greek native speakers throughout its expansion in the later Roman and early Byzantine periods. As the capital of an empire in which Greek was the dominant language, and the sole language of education and scholarship, a certain conservatism, manifested not only in the absence of synizesis etc., but also in the continued use of dative pronouns or κατά [ka'ta] + genitive = '(down) against' (cf. 11.7.1 (16)), is to be expected, even in the speech of its urban masses. Recall that Humbert (1930) argues that the final loss of the dative for native speakers belongs to the 10th century.

Note, however, the transfer of δάμαλις ['ðamalis] from the i-stem to the consonant-stem declension (apparently with accent shift, δαμαλίς [ðama'lis], cf. 11.7.4 (21)). The neuter ἀλεκτόριν [ale'ktorin], a diminutive of the Koine form ἀλέκτωρ [a'lektor] rather than Attic ἀλεκτρύων [alek'trion], shows the expected reduction of -ι(ο)ν [-i(o)n], while ξυλο-κούκουδο [ksilo'kukuðo] 'wood-chip/chip off the block' exemplifies the free compounding characteristic of the medieval vernacular (the 2nd element also = 'fruit-stone, pip, seed, spot, hailstone'). The replacement of πᾶς [pas] with ὅλος ['olos] has already been dealt with in the previous section.

The overall impression here is of a natural continuation of the spoken Koine of late antiquity, a language more conservative than that of the most vulgar documents from Egypt, but reflecting well the developments of its time. This same metropolitan vernacular appears in a somewhat more advanced form in the following piece, directed against the empress Theophanó in AD 970:

(4) Ὁ χαλκεὺς βαρεῖ τ' ἀμόνι<ν> καὶ βαρεῖ τοὺς γείτονας·
ὁ συνάπτης καὶ ὁ πριψίδης εἰς τὴν θύραν στήκουσιν.
ἡ Θεοφουνοῦ {ἐ}πόθειν πίτταν καὶ ἡ καλὴ τὴν ἔφαγεν.
ὅπου φόρειν τὸ διβίκιν τώρα δέρμαν ἔβαλεν,
καὶ ἂν τόνε φθάσει {ἐδώ} ὁ χειμών, φέρε<ι> καὶ τὴν γοῦναν του
κουκκουροβουκινάτορες φουκτοκωλοτρυπᾶτοι
εἰσὲ σέλλαν μίας μούλας καυχόκτονο<ν> πομπεύουν.[2]

[o xal'cefs va'ri t a'moni(n), ce va'ri tuz 'jitonas;
The blacksmith strikes the anvil, and he-strikes the neighbours;
o si'naptis c o pri'psiðis is ti 'θira 'stikusi(n).
The matchmaker and the princeling at the door stand.
i θjofu'nu 'poθin 'pita c i ka'li tin 'efaje(n).
The Theophanó wanted pie/cake and the beauty it ate.
opu 'forin to ði'vici(n) 'tora 'ðerman 'evale(n),
(He)who wore the coronation-robe now leather/hide put(on),
c an ˌdone 'fθasi o çi'mon 'feri ce ti 'ɣunan du;
and if to-him comes the winter he-wears also the fur of-him;
kukurovuci'natores fuktokolotri'pati
shrivelled-horn-players palm/hand-arse-holed
ise 'sela(m) 'mias 'mulas kaf'xoktonom pom'bevun.]
on saddle of-a mule adulteress-murderess they-parade .

'"The blacksmith strikes his anvil, and he strikes his neighbours too"; the matchmaker and the princeling are standing at the door. Theophanó wanted her cake but the beauty ate it. He who wore the coronation robe now donned a leather hide, and if wintry weather comes upon him, he will wear his fur coat too; men with shrivelled cocks and fist-drilled arseholes now parade the murdering adulteress on the saddle of a mule.'

Unlike most acclamations, this piece has been preserved in its own right, though the orthography of the original manuscript is very poor, and the text has been seriously corrupted in several places, always assuming (as above) that it represents seven 15-syllable lines with predominantly trochaic rhythms. Much remains quite uncertain; Morgan (1954) is the indispensable foundation for any attempt to establish a coherent text and interpretation.

The background is as follows. Theophanó had married Romanós II, son of Konstantínos VII Porphyrogénnetos, against his father's wishes. The young man succeeded to the throne in 959, but died in 963. By this time Theophanó had given birth to two sons and a daughter, and found herself in a vulnerable position as the guardian of the heirs of the Macedonian dynasty. Nikephóros Phokás, the victor in a series of successful campaigns against the Arabs, had already been proclaimed emperor by his troops, and when the austere and ugly general, already well over 50, returned to the capital, the 22-year-old Theophanó persuaded him to marry her, and to act as co-emperor with her children. She quickly took a lover, Nikephóros' flamboyant nephew Ioánnes Tzimiskés, and they together plotted to murder the emperor, who was killed in December 969. But the plan that they should marry and rule together was foiled by the aged patriarch Polýeuktos, who had already objected on the basis of canon law to Theophanó's second marriage, and now refused outright to sanction a third, especially in the wake of a murder. The ambitious Tzimiskés now betrayed his accomplice and agreed to the patriarch's conditions for his own coronation, including the banishment of Theophanó. Once Tzimiskés had become emperor, the wily *parakoimómenos* ('chamberlain') Basíleios, who as the bastard son of Romanós I Lekapenós (regent for Konstantínos VII till 944) had been castrated for his own protection, arranged Tzimiskés' marriage to Konstantínos' daughter Theodóra. Basíleios' motives were in

part personal, since he had been dismissed from his post by Theophanó's first husband Romanós II, and had recovered his position only with the accession of Nikephóros Phokás.

The first line in (4) is clearly proverbial (i.e. 'avoid the blacksmith if you do not want a hammering'/'bad company brings bad consequences'), and in line 2 we may take the 'matchmaker' to be Basíleios the *parakoimómenos* and the 'princeling' to be Ioánnes Tzimiskés, both of whom turned out to be 'bad company' for Theophanó. Συνάπτης [si'naptis] and πριψίδης [pri'psiðis] (possibly < πρι(γκη)ψίδης [pri(ɲɟi)'psiðis], i.e. *princeps* + diminutive suffix) may conceal allegorical personifications of σινάπιν [si'napi(n)] 'mustard' and τριψίδιν [tri'psiði(n)], some other caustic herb/spice (cf. the later political allegories personifying fruit, fish, birds and quadrupeds, 8.4.4). The 'beauty' of line 3 is Theodóra, while lines 4 and 5 imply that Tzimiskés had a thick skin, and would add further layers if the going got tougher. Finally, given that elderly unmarried churchmen and eunuchs were assumed to play the passive role in homosexual relationships, the men in line 6 with 'shrivelled cocks and fist-drilled arseholes' are presumably Polýeuktos (an ex-monk) and Basíleios the *parakoimómenos*.

Phonologically, the piece is more advanced in its development than the last, with aphaeresis of unaccented vowels (e.g. in the clitic pronouns τήν [tin]/του [tu], and the imperfect φόρειν ['fori(n)] 'she wore') and synizesis (e.g. Θεοφουνοῦ [θjofu'nu]) both in evidence. Note too the final vowels in τήν-ε φθάσει [tine 'fθasi] (line 5) and εἰσ-ε σέλλαν [ise 'selan] (line 7), arising from the generalization of forms resulting from resegmentation (cf. 11.3, 11.7.1 (16)). There is, however, no evidence for the manner dissimilation of voiceless obstruents characteristic of the later vernacular (cf. συνάπτης [si'naptis] etc.).

In verb morphology, βαρῶ [va'ro] 'I press/strike' had already replaced Attic βαρύνω [va'rino] in the Koine of the Roman period, but the present στήκω ['stiko] 'I stand', built to aorist (formerly perfect) ἕστηκα ['estika], is a medieval innovation (see 11.8.5 (34a)). Note that the old 3pl present indicative ending -ουσιν [-usi(n)] and the new -ουν [-u(n)] are both in use (cf. 11.8.6 (35c)), assuming the correctness of the metrically motivated emendation in line 7, but that there is no evidence for any erosion of the paradigm of -έω [-'eo] verbs under the influence of the -άω [-'ao] class (cf. 11.8.5 (34e)); thus imperfect 3sg πόθειν ['poθi(n)]/φόρειν [fori(n)] retain the inherited -ει [-i] < -ε + ε [-ee] (final -ν [-n], originally an option with the 3sg past-tense ending -ε(ν) [-e(n)], was generalized to all past-tense 3sg endings in the early/middle Byzantine periods).

In the area of nominal morphology, note once again the liking for newly coined compounds in popular verse (and presumably in popular speech). Thus κουκκουρο-βουκινάτορ-ες [kukurovuci'natores] combines the colloquial/dialectal κούκκουρος ['kukuros] 'parched' with the Latin loan βουκινάτωρ [vuci'nator], while φουκτο-κωλο-τρυπᾶτος [fuktokolotri'patos] combines φοῦκτα ['fukta] 'palm/handful' (later φούχτα/χούφτα ['fuxta/'xufta]) with κῶλος ['kolos] + τρῦπα ['tripa] 'arse' + 'hole', the whole being turned into an adjective by means of the now domesticated Latin perfect passive participle suffix -ᾶτος [-'atos]. The third example, καυχό-κτονος [ka'fxoktonos], combines the root of καυχῶμαι [ka'fxome] 'boast' with -κτονος [-ktonos] from the root 'kill'. When this appears accented in compounds (-κτόνος [-'ktonos]), it bears the sense 'killer'. Here, however, the accent falls on the first element, and we are dealing either with a compound adjective meaning 'boasting of

murder' (cf. the type φιλό-πονος [fil'oponos], lit. 'loving-labour'), or with a copulative nominal compound (the derivatives καῦχος/καῦχα ['kafxos/'kafxa] were used to mean 'adulterer'/adulteress': 'a boast' > 'a conquest/lover' > 'an adulterer/-ess'). The first option involves a learned formation, while copulative compounds were common in the medieval vernacular, so the second interpretation is more likely to be the correct one in a text of this type.

Other points worth noting include: the now regular reduction of the neuter suffix -ιον [-ion] > -ι(ν) [-i(n)]; the retention of the acc pl suffix in γείτονας ['jitonas] (11.7.4 (19)); the use of εἰς/εἰσε [is/ise] + accusative in a locative sense (11.7.1 (16)); the relative use of ὅπου ['opu] with a definite head at least implied (11.7.8 (29c)); the form τώρα ['tora] 'now' < τ(ῇ) ὥρᾳ [t(i) 'ora], lit. 'at-the time'; the addition of an analogical -ν [-n] to neuters of the type exemplified by δέρμα **['ðerma]** (11.7.5 (22)); the preverbal positioning of clitic pronouns when clause-initial position is filled by a contrastive focus ((ἡ **καλὴ** τὴν ἔφαγεν [i **ka'li** tin 'efajen]) or a modern conjunction (ἄν τόνε φθάσει [an 'done 'fθasi]), cf. 11.4; and the use of εἷς/ἕνας [is/'enas] 'one' as an indefinite article (μίας μούλας ['mias 'mulas]).

12.2 Vernacular Literature of the 12th Century

12.2.1 The epic of *Digenés Akrítes*

What is probably our earliest extended text in vernacular Greek is the cycle of poems preserved in a 15th-century manuscript (E) now in the Escorial monastery near Madrid. They tell of the exploits of the legendary Basíleios Digenés Akrítes ('Basil Two-Race Borderer'), the son of an Arab emir from Syria who married the daughter of a Roman general. Though the boy had blood from two races, he grew up to serve the Byzantine emperor as a frontier guard (ἀκρίτης [a'kritis]), protecting *Romanía* from Arab incursions and banditry.

The ultimate origin of these poems, and the relationship between the text of E and five other surviving versions, especially the fuller and less episodic middle-register version contained in a manuscript (G) in the Grottaferrata monastery outside Rome, remain the subject of much dispute (see 8.4.3 for some discussion). Standard editions are Alexíou (1985) and Jeffreys (1998). Ricks (1990) provides a text and translation with introduction and notes, treating the work as a collection of five separate but related poems, a helpful reconstruction that is accepted here. The papers in Beaton and Ricks (1993) survey some of the central questions.

Given that E alone preserves a variety of Syrian place names, antique military terms and references to events of the 9th and 10th centuries, it is not implausible to regard it as the best surviving reflection of a possible 12th-century original, composed in the context of nostalgia for the 'akritic hero' following the defeat at Manzikert in 1071 (Ricks (1990: 6ff)). If so, the prototype *Digenés* would have been a groundbreaking transformation of folkloric material and oral lays into the first 'literary' vernacular poetry (cf. Beaton (1996)). Whatever the truth of the matter, the blending of oral/vernacular and literary/learned elements in E merits consideration. The absence of sustained learned language, the fundamentally hypotactic style, and the overall

correspondence of sense units with individual lines of verse all point to poetry with its roots in an oral tradition, though only the language of the second poem (ll. 610–701, dealing with Digenés' first encounter with raiders), and to some extent that of the fourth (ll. 1100–605, a first-person account of subsequent exploits), approach the mechanically formulaic quality of genuine oral poetry. The otherwise restrained use of formulaic phraseology, and the frequent subtlety of contextual nuance (Ricks (1990: 16)), may well indicate that we are dealing with a literate adaptation of traditional language in the direction of the contemporary vernacular together with a redeployment of inherited thematic material in a manner shaped by a literary sensibility.

Literary (or at least literate) reworking, whether for aesthetic reasons or to impose greater coherence on the collection, is also indicated by other considerations. There is, for example, a higher than usual density of learned forms in the introductory and linking passages (though the final poem (ll. 1606–967) has a more learned quality throughout). Unlike obvious interpolations, these help to smooth over the breaks and 'position' each story within a wider context. In poem three (ll. 702–1088), for example, the proem (ll. 702–22) warns of the power of love, but also links the story of how Digenés carries off his bride (for love, and with her consent) with the contemporary revival of romance in the capital's literary circles. There are also passages of a religious or moralizing character composed in something approaching a middle register. These sit poorly with traditional akritic heroics but contribute to the romanticized reconstruction of the akritic world presented in poems one (ll. 1–609), three (ll. 702–1088) and five (ll. 1606–967). The most important example comes in poem five, dealing with the retirement and death of Digenés. Lines 1794–967 expound a Christian take on the vanity of heroism, and the learned language of this passage, including datives and inflected participles, suggests the influence of both ecclesiastical and pagan models, including the death of Alexander as portrayed in the *Alexander Romance*.

Summarizing, the language of the poems seems to combine, in varying proportions, a foundation from the folk tradition with supplements from the contemporary spoken vernacular and elements taken from literate/literary compositions, though we should be careful not to exaggerate the last in so far as Byzantine oral poetry undoubtedly preserved its own archaisms in the manner of all oral traditions. This amalgam may plausibly be seen as an early attempt to develop a literary language out of a body of traditional oral-vernacular material that was both linguistically and thematically limited, a task that could only be carried out by recourse to the language and conventions of existing genres in higher registers. The result, though poorly homogenized, would have provided an important precedent for the further development of vernacular-based poetry in the later Byzantine empire (cf. 8.4.3–5).

The following extract is taken from the first of the poems in E, which tells how Digenés' father, an Arab emir, sacks a Roman province and carries off the daughter of a nobleman. Pursued by the girl's brothers, he eventually agrees to become a Christian, marry her, and live in Romanía, but when this provokes accusations of treachery from his family, he returns to Syria, and persuades his mother to come back with him, thus effecting a reconciliation between the two families. Here the emir has agreed to apostatize, and has taken the girl's five brothers to the tent where she has been kept:[3]

(5) Καὶ ὡς εἴδασιν τὰ ἀδέλφια της τὴν κόρην μαραμένην,
ἀντάμα οἱ πέντε ἐστέναξαν, τοιοῦτον λόγον εἶπαν:
''Εγείρου, ἡ βεργόλικος, γλυκύν μας τὸ ἀδέλφιν·
ἐμεῖς γὰρ ἐκρατοῦμαν σε ὡς γιὰ ἀποθαμένην
καὶ ἐσὲν ὁ Θεὸς ἐφύλαξεν διὰ τὰ ὡραῖα σου κάλλη.
Πολέμους οὐ φοβούμεθα διὰ τὴν σὴν ἀγάπην.'
Οἱ πέντε τὴν καταφιλοῦν καὶ ἐλιγοθυμῆσαν·
οἱ μὲν φιλοῦν τὰ χείλη της, οἱ ἄλλοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς της.
Κάθουνται οἱ πέντε ἀδελφοὶ καὶ ὁ ἀμιρὰς ἐκεῖνος·
κοινὴν βουλὴν ἐδώκασιν νὰ πάρουν τον γαμπρόν τους.
{εἰς Ρωμανίαν νὰ ἔβγουν}
Καὶ εἰς μίαν ὅρισε ὁ ἀμιράς· ἐκράτησε μετ' αὔτον
τοὺς ἀγούρους τοὺς θαυμαστούς, τοὺς εἶχε εἰς τὴν βουλήν του·
τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιλόγιασε καὶ ὑπᾶν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν.
Καὶ ὁ ἀμιρὰς ἐδιάγειρεν <ἀντάμα> μὲ τὴν κόρηι
καὶ μὲ τοὺς γυναικαδελφούς, 'ς τὴν Ρωμανίαν ὑπᾶσιν.

Digenés Akrítes (E): 187–203/4

[c os 'iðasin t a'ðelfja tis tiŋ 'gorin mara'meni(n)
And when saw the brothers(subject) of-her the girl(object) withered,
an'dama i 'pende 'stenaksan, ti'uto(n) 'loɣon 'ipa(n):
together the five groaned, such word said:
e'jiru, i ver'ɣolikos, ɣli'ci(m) mas to a'ðelfi(n);
'Arise, the slender(-one), sweet of-us the sister;
e'mis ɣar ekra'tuman se os ja apoθa'meni(n)
We for held you as for dead
c e'sen o 'θjos e'filakse(n) (ð)ja t o'rea su 'kali.
and you the God has-guarded because-of the beautiful of-you looks.
po'lemus u fo'vumeθa ði'a ti 'sin a'ɣapi(n).
Battles not we-fear because-of the your love.'
i 'pende tiŋ gatafi'lun ce eliɣoθi'misan;
The five her kissed-eagerly and swooned;
i-'men fi'lun ta 'çili tis, j 'ali tus ofθal'mus tis.
some kissed the lips of-her, the others the eyes of-her.
'kaθunde i pendj aðel'fi c o ami'ras e'cinos;
Sit the five brothers and the emir that;
ci'ni(n) vu'lin e'ðokasi(n) na 'parun to(n) ɣam'bron dus.
common decision they-gave that they-take him(as)brother-in-law of-them
c iz 'mjan 'orisj o ami'ras; e'kratise met 'afton
And at once gave-orders the emir he-kept with him
tus a'ɣurus tus θavmas'tus, tus 'içe s ti(n) vu'lin du;
the lads the wonderful whom he-had at the will of-him
tus 'alus epi'lojase c i'pan is ti si'ria(n).
the others he-picked-off and they-go to the Syria.
c o ami'ras e'ðjajiren an'dama me tiŋ 'gori(n)
And the emir returned together with the girl
ce 'me tus jinckaðel'fus, s ti roma'ɲan i'pasi(n).]
and with the wife's-brothers to the Romania they-go.

'And when her brothers saw the girl withered, the five groaned together, and spoke as follows: "Arise, lissom one, our sweet sister; we had you for dead, but you were protected

by God for your beautiful looks. Through our love for you, we fear no battles." The five kissed her fervently and collapsed; some kissed her lips, the others her eyes. The five brothers sat down and so did that emir; they gave a joint decision to accept him as their brother-in-law. And at once the emir gave orders; he kept with him the wonderful lads that he had at his command; the others he dismissed and they went to Syria. And the emir returned together with the girl and his wife's brothers; they went to Romania.'

The metre is the fully formed 15-syllable political verse, henceforth the standard metre of Greek poetry, now with predominantly iambic rhythm. The high incidence of elision, aphaeresis, crasis and synizesis, metrically guaranteed and reflected in the transcription, is characteristic of popular speech and poetry based on it.

Most obviously in evidence here is the parallel use of functionally equivalent morphology; e.g. 3pl non-past -ουν [-un]/-ουσι(ν) [-usi(n)], 3pl past -αν [-an]/-ασι(ν) [-asi(n)], as well as analogous variants in the 'reduced' paradigm of (ὑ)πά(γ)ω [(i)'pa(ɣ)o], namely ὑπᾶν [i'pan]/ὑπᾶσι(ν) [i'pasi(n)], see 11.8.5 (34c), (35b) and (35c). Similar variation occurs (though not in (5)) in the choice of thematic vowel in present and imperfect passives (e.g. 3pl -ουνται/-ουντα(ν) [-unde/-unda(n)] vs. -ονται/-οντα(ν) [-onde/-onda(n)], cf. 11.8.6 (35d) and (35e)), and in the aorist passive, e.g. 3sg -θη(ν) [-θi(n)] /-θηκε(ν) [-θice(n)], cf. 11.8.4 (33).

Possible explanations are many and varied, and by no means mutually exclusive. Many dialects retained the classical endings -ουσι(ν) [-usi(n)] etc., and these were used alongside their rivals in many oral songs and lays (the variation being metrically useful), as well as remaining standard in the written language. In vernacular verse, it is tempting to think in terms of source materials in different dialects (e.g. Probonás (1985), Trapp (1971)) and/or interference from the dialects of later copyists (e.g. Alexíou (1985: viii, xvii)). But since even early prose texts show similar inconsistencies, and in the absence of a codified vernacular standard, it is probably best to accept that free variation was typical of educated spoken and vernacular written styles, even if the options were exploited more freely in poetry.

Note in line 6 the negative οὐ [u] rather than modern δέν [ðen] and the possessive adjective σήν [si(n)] in place of the genitive pronoun σου [su] (in passive sense), along with the phrase οἱ μέν [i men] 'some' in line 8, all learned features that recur elsewhere. But vernacular features massively predominate; for example: abandonment of reduplication in the perfect passive participle (μαραμένην [mara'meni(n)]); ἀντάμα [an'dama] 'together' < ἐν τ(ῷ) ἅμα [en d(o) 'ama] (added by Alexíou, but not out of place in E); analogical -ν [-n] in the neuter adjective γλυκύν [ɣli'ci(n)]; the acc pl forms of clitic pronouns used not only in direct and indirect object functions but also as possessives, to the exclusion of the old genitive (cf. γαμπρόν τους [ɣam'bron dus], cf. 12.3.3 (15g)); 3pl aorist subjunctive πάρουν ['parun] 'they (may) take', with aphaeresis regularized, cf. classical ἐπ-άρ-ωσι(ν) [e'parosi(n)], from ἐπ-αίρω [e'pero] 'lift'; the form αὗτον ['afto(n)], built to the feminine demonstrative αὕτη ['afti] 'this', but used as a simple pronoun like αὐτόν [af'to(n)], cf. 11.7.8 (29d); ἄγουρος ['aɣuros] 'lad' < ἄωρος ['aoros] (modern ἀγόρι [a'ɣori] 'boy' < diminutive ἀώριον [a'orion]); use of the article as a relative pronoun (cf. τοὺς εἶχε [tus 'içe], probably a traditional feature of oral poetry, though by no means exclusive to it); μέ [me] with the accusative = 'with', and the frequent reduction of εἰς [is] to [s], cf. 11.7.1 (16); the νά [na]-clause after 'take a

decision' in l. 10, where a control infinitive might have been expected (infinitives are increasingly restricted to the complements of verbs expressing aspectual (e.g. l. 66: ἤρξαντο πάλιν κλαίειν ['irksando 'palin 'klein] 'they-began again to-weep') or modal notions (e.g. l. 142: ἂν σε εἶχαν εὑρεῖ [an s 'ixan e'vri] 'if you they-had/would(have) to-find (i.e. found)'), cf. 11.8.1 (30).

Though there are no relevant contexts in (5), one of the most important features in this early vernacular literature is the near total absence of the dative case other than in clearly literary passages. The accusative (e.g. l. 499: τοὺς ἀγούρους του ἔλεγεν [tus a'ɣurus tu 'elejen] 'to-the lads (acc) of-him he-spoke') and genitive (e.g. l. 390: τῶν ἀδελφῶν της ἔλεγεν [ton aðel'fon tis 'elejen] 'to-the brothers (gen.) of-her she-spoke') alternate freely in indirect object function, though the use of the genitive is preferred when there is also a preceding direct object (e.g. l. 53: δάκτυλον τοῦ δείχνει ['ðaktilon du 'ðiçni] 'finger to-him (gen) he-shows' (as a gesture of peace)), see 11.7.1 for further discussion of the variation.

12.2.2 *Ptochopródromos*

In the 12th century, the Komnenian court provided new impetus to creative writing, ushering in a period of literary experimentation under imperial patronage against the background of changes associated with the revival of learning and the return of a prosperous middle class. Lucian's satirical dialogues on the underworld (cf. 5.5), for example, provided the inspiration for the anonymous *Timaríon,* a humorous critique of 12th-century society (Alexíou (1982/3)), in which the eponymous hero dies after attending a fair in Thessaloniki and is brought to trial before the judges of Hades. We also have learned revivals of the Hellenistic romance, initiated (c.1143–9) by the appearance of *Rhodánthe and Dosiklés* by Theódoros Pródromos, the prolific court poet of Eiréne Doúkaina, wife of Aléxios I Komnenós, who was later employed by her son and grandson, Ioánnes II and Manouél I (see Kazhdan and Franklin (1984: ch. 3)). But most important in the present context is the small corpus of didactic and satirical verse composed in a more everyday language. This comprises the poem addressed to Manouél I from his prison cell by the intellectual Michaél Glykás, the didactic/advisory poem with the mysterious title *Spanéas* (cf. 8.4.5), and the four 'begging' poems known as the *Poems of Poor Pródromos* (*Ptochoprodromiká*) after the persona of the narrator ('Ptochopródromos') of two of them. These are very similar in character to the tongue-in-cheek appeal for employment which Theódoros Pródromos, having fallen out of favour at court, addressed to the emperor Manouél I in 1149 (see Majuri (1919)). The arresting use of everyday language here is explained by reference to the author's plight and the indifference of the intermediary through whom previous appeals had been made in the learned language. Scholars are now increasingly inclined to accept that Pródromos is the author of at least some of the other four poems too.

Characterized by wry Byzantine humour, these take the form of 'autobiographical' narratives, punctuated by petitions to the emperor or members of the imperial family, in which the author complains in turn of: (1) the pain of coping with a nagging wife who regrets her marriage to an educated pauper, (2) the impossibility of keeping body and soul together on the meagre patronage he receives, (3) the distress of the educated man of letters in the face of the impoverishment which his learning has brought him,

and (4) the arrogance and corruption of his superiors in the monastery where he lives as a young monk (the order follows Eideneier (1991)). The first, and perhaps the second, antedate the appeal to Manouél, and belong to the last years of the reign of Ioánnes II; the third and fourth are addressed to Manouél. The use of the vernacular is justified in a variety of ways ranging from the expression of a pious hope that the combination of linguistic playfulness with serious intent will be 'properly appreciated' (Eideneier 1), to an invitation to contrast the author's erudition with the language of the street, in which, in his desperation, he is reduced to begging for favours (Eideneier 3).

The 'autobiographies' of the personae involved should not, of course, be taken literally, though we may note that the conservative Pródromos was not born into the aristocracy, that he did fall from grace in the early years of Manouél's reign, and that, failing to regain his position at court, he remained at the church of the Holy Apostles, ultimately in monastic retreat, until his death (c.1165–70). It was a painful sign of the times that an interest in literature had begun to spread 'down' from its aristocratic preserve, and that wealth had been increasingly appropriated by merchants and craftsmen, who could easily become richer than those, like himself, who were dependent on the generosity of the court. The *Ptochoprodromiká* therefore exploit 'topoi' familiar from other satirical writing in a straightforward assault, rooted in envy and contempt, on the materialism of an age in which the privileges of court dependants was being undermined by 'new money'. We may reasonably assume that the language of the poems is based predominantly on the speech of the educated aristocracy, a variety which is sometimes deliberately distorted in the mouths of the would-be upwardly mobile, and supplemented for comic effect with items of everyday vocabulary and urban slang or the very formal language of the court. There is also reason to believe that it reflects specifically Constantinopolitan varieties in its marked preference for accusative indirect object pronouns, and its tendency to favour the extension of thematic -ου- [-u-] in many innovative verb forms (e.g. 1sg imperfect middle/passive in -ούμουν [-'umun], cf. 11.8.6 (35), and Part III, 17.4).

The standard editions are Hesseling and Pernot (1910) and Eideneier (1991) (see Alexíou (1994) for a critical review of the latter). The following extract, bemoaning the failure of education to deliver the promised life of leisured ease, is taken from poem 3 in Eideneier's edition (number 4 in Hesseling and Pernot). The range of variant readings is considerable, and for the sake of simplicity the text here largely follows that of Eideneier (1991: 119–20), apart from a few minor changes of orthography and punctuation, and the substitution of one or two alternative readings in keeping with the style of the passages in question (see below for discussion):

(6) Ἀπὸ μικρόθεν μ' ἔλεγεν ὁ γέρων ὁ πατήρ μου,
Τέκνον μου, μάθε γράμματα, καὶ "ὡσανν' ἐσέναν ἔχει".
Βλέπεις τὸν δεῖνα, τέκνον μου, πεζὸς περιεπάτει,
καὶ τώρα ἔν' διπλοεντέλημος καὶ παχυμουλαρᾶτος.
Αὐτός, ὅταν ἐμάνθανεν, ὑπόδησιν οὐκ εἶχεν,
καὶ τώρα, βλέπε τον, φορεῖ τὰ μακρομύτικά του.
Αὐτὸς μικρὸς οὐδὲν εἶδεν τὸ τοῦ λουτροῦ κατώφλιν,
καὶ τώρα λουτρακίζεται τρίτον τὴν ἐβδομάδα.
Ὁ κόλπος του ἐβουρβούριζεν φθείρας ἀμυγδαλάτας,
καὶ τώρα τὰ νομίσματα γέμει τὰ μανοηλάτα.

Τζάντζαλον εἶχεν στούπινον, καβάδιν λερωμένον,
κ' ἐφόρει το μονάλλαγος χειμῶνα καλοκαίριν.
Καὶ τώρα, βλέπεις, γέγονε λαμπρὸς καὶ λουρικᾶτος,
παραγεμιστοτράχηλος, μεταξοσφικτουρᾶτος.
Αὐτός, ὅταν ἐμάνθανε, ποτέ του οὐκ ἐκτενίσθη,
καὶ τώρα ἔν' καλοκτένιστος καὶ καμαροτριχάρης.
Καὶ πείσθητι γεροντικοῖς καὶ πατρικοῖς σου λόγοις
καὶ μάθε γράμματα καὶ σύ, καὶ "ὡσανν' ἐσέναν ἔχει".
Ἂν γὰρ πεισθῇς ταῖς συμβουλαῖς καὶ τοῖς διδάγμασί μου,
σὺ μὲν μεγάλως τιμηθῇς, πολλὰ νὰ εὐτυχήσῃς,
ἐμὲ δὲ τὸν πατέρα σου κἂν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ μου,
νὰ θρέψῃς ὡς ταλαίπωρον καὶ νὰ γηροτροφήσῃς.
Ὡς δ' ἤκουσα τοῦ γέροντος, δέσποτα, τοῦ πατρός μου,
(τοῖς γὰρ γονεῦσι πείθεσθαι φησὶ τὸ θεῖον γράμμα),
ἔμαθον τὰ γραμματικά, πλὴν μετὰ κόπου πόσου!
Ἀφοῦ δὲ γέγονα κἀγὼ γραμματικὸς τεχνίτης,
ἐπιθυμῶ καὶ τὸ ψωμὶν καὶ τοῦ ψωμιοῦ τὴν μάνναν,
καὶ δία τὴν πεῖναν τὴν πολλὴν καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν
ὑβρίζω τὰ γραμματικὰ, λέγω μετὰ δακρύων,
Ἀνάθεμαν τὰ γράμματα, Χριστέ, καὶ ὁποὺ τὰ θέλει,
ἀνάθεμαν καὶ τὸν καιρὸν καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν,
καθ' ἣν μ' ἐπαραδώκασιν εἰς τὸ διδασκαλεῖον,
πρὸς τὸ νὰ μάθω γράμματα, τάχα νὰ ζῶ ἀπ' ἐκεῖνα.

Ptochoprodromiká 3 (Eideneier (1991: 56–88))

[a'po mi'kroθen m 'elejen o 'jeron o pa'tir mu,
From small me(acc) used-to-say the old the father of-me,
teknon mu, 'maθe 'ɣramata, c osan e'senan 'eçi.
'Child of-me, learn letters, and "Hosannah to-you(acc) there-is".
'vlepis ton 'ðina, 'teknon mu, pe'zos perie'pati,
You-see the so-and-so, child of-me, on-foot he-used-to-walk-about,
ce 'tora n ðiplen'delinos ce paçimula'ratos.
and now he-is double-breastplated and fat-muled.
af'tos, 'otan e'manθanen, i'poðisin uk 'içen,
This-man, when he-was-a-student, footwear not had,
ce 'tora, 'vlepe ton, fo'ri ta makroˌmiti'ka tu.
and now, look-at him, he-wears the long-nosed(shoes) of-him.
af'tos mi'kros u'ðen ˌiðen to tu lu'tru ka'toflin,
He small not-at-all saw the of-the bath-house threshold,
ce 'tora lutra'cizete 'triton tin evðo'maða.
and now he-bathes third(time) the week.
o 'kolpos tu vur'vurizen 'fθiras amiɣða'latas
The lap of-him jumped (with-)lice like-almonds,
ce 'tora ta no'mizmata 'jemi ta manoi'lata.
and now (of-)the coins it-is-full the-(ones) (with-)Manouél's-head
'dzandzalon 'içen 'stupinon, ka'vaðin lero'menon,
Rags he-had of-tow, coat filthy,
c e'fori to mo'nalaɣos çi'mona kalo'cerin.
and he-wore it without-change winter summer.

ce 'tora, 'vlepis, 'jeɣone lam'bros ce luri'katos,
And now, you-see, he-has-become splendid and armoured,
parajemisto'traçilos, metaksosfiktu'ratos.
very-thick-necked, silk-tight-squeezed.
af'tos, 'otan e'manθane, po'te tu k ekte'nisθin,
He, when he-was-a-student, (n)ever of-him not combed-his-hair,
ce 'tora n kalo'ktenistos ce kamarotri'xaris.
and now he-is smartly-coiffured and arch-haired.
ce 'pisθiti jerondi'cis ce patri'cis su 'lojis
Both obey old-man's(dat) and father's(dat) of-you words
ce 'maθe 'ɣramata ce 'si, c osan e'senan 'eçi.
and learn letters also you, and "Hosannah to-you there-is".
an ɣar pis'θis tes simvu'les ce tiz ði'ðaɣma'si mu,
If for you-obey the advice and the teachings of-me,
si men me'ɣalos timi'θis, po'la na efti'çisis,
you on-one-hand greatly will-be-rewarded, much will you-prosper
e'me ðe tom ba'tera su kan en di telef'ti mu,
me on-other-hand the father of-you even in the end(dat) of-me,
na 'θrepsis os ta'leporon ce na jirotro'fisis.
will you-nurse as wretch and will you-look-after-in-old-age.'
oz ð 'ikusa tu 'jerondos, 'ðespota, tu pa'troz mu,
As and I heard the old-man(gen), master, the father(gen) of-me,
tiz ɣar ɣo'nefsi 'piθesθe fi'si to 'θion 'ɣrama,
the for parents(dat) to-obey says the holy writing,
'emaθon ta ɣramati'ka, plin meta 'kopu 'posu!
I-learned the letters, except with toil how-much!
a'fu ðe 'jeɣona ka'ɣo ɣramati'kos tex'nitis,
Since but became also-I in-letters expert,
epiθi'mo ce to pso'min ce tu pso'mju tim 'manan,
I-desire/miss both the bread and of-the bread the crumb,
ce ðja tim 'binan tim bo'lin ce tin stenoxo'rian
and through the hunger the much and the distress
i'vrizo ta ɣramati'ka, 'leɣo meta ða'krion,
I-revile the letters, I-say with tears,
a'naθema(n) ta 'ɣramata, xris'te, c opu ta 'θeli,
'Damn the letters, Christ, and whoever them wants,
a'naθema(n) ce ton ɟe'ro(n) c e'cini(n) tin i'mera(n)
damn also the time and that the day,
kaθ in me para'ðokasin is to ðiðaska'lio(n),
on which me they-handed-over to the school,
pros to na 'maθo 'ɣramata, 'taxa na 'zo‿ ap e'cina.]
for the that I-learn letters, as-though that I-live from those.'

'Ever since I was small, my old father used to say to me, "My child, learn your letters, and 'it's praise be to you' (*i.e. you're all right, Jack*). You see so-and-so, he used to go about on foot, but now he's wearing a double breast-plate and riding a fat mule. When he was a student, he didn't have shoes, but now, just look at him, he is wearing his 'long-toes'. When he was a student, he hadn't seen the threshold of the bath house at all, but now he is taking his third bath this week. His lap used to heave with lice the size of almonds, but now it's full of coins stamped with Manouél's head. He had rags of tow, a

filthy overcoat that he wore without changing, winter and summer, but now, you see, he's become splendid in his armour, thick-necked, with tight silk drawers. When he was a student, he'd never combed his hair in his life, but now he's well-groomed with a bouffant style. Just obey your old father's words and learn your letters too, and then 'it's praise be to you'. For if you follow my advice and my instructions, you will be greatly valued and enjoy much good fortune, while I your father, even at the end of my life, will be nursed by you in my misery and looked after in my old age." When I heard my old father, master (for holy scripture says one should obey one's parents), I learned to read and write – but what an effort! And ever since I too became an expert in letters, I've been longing for bread and even a crumb of bread, so in my great hunger and distress I curse literacy and say with tears, "Damn letters, Christ, and all who want them, and damn the time and the day when they handed me over to the school to learn my letters, as if I could live on them." '

Though the poems can be given a more colloquial or more conservative look according to the morphological choices made from the variant readings, the overall impression is of modern syntax: cf. for example, the standard medieval-vernacular positioning of clitic pronouns; ἔχει ['eçi] in the sense 'there is' (2/18, though this is a quoted colloquialism (Eideneier (1964: 336)); the use of the modern conjunctions ἀφοῦ (i.e. ἀφ' οὗ) [a'fu] (26) and ὅταν ['otan] + indicative (5, 15) in temporal clauses; the idiomatic use of ποτέ [po'te] + genitive pronoun (15); νά [na] + subjunctive in a future sense (20, 22); ἐπιθυμῶ [epiθi'mo] + accusative instead of genitive (27); the relative use of ὅπου [opu] (30); the substitution of a νά [na]-clause for the traditional infinitive in the nominalized clause after πρός [pros] (33); the modern idiomatic use of τάχα νά ['taxa na] to mean 'as though' (33); and ἀπό [a'po] + accusative (33)).

By contrast, the morphology remains quite traditional, subject only to the usual variations in verb endings (e.g. 3pl present in -ουν [-un]/-ουσι [-usi], past in -αν [-an]/ -ασι [-asi] etc.) and the incorporation of modern inflections for necessarily, or deliberately selected, colloquial forms (e.g. synizesis in the genitive of ψωμίν [pso'min] (27, cf. ancient ψωμός/ψωμίον [pso'mos/pso'mion] 'crumb, morsel'), or the addition of final -ν [-n] to neuter ἀνάθεμα-ν [an'aθeman] in (30, 31)). Thus the 3rd-declension consonant-stems, for example, generally retain their classical paradigm, and the adaptations, typically involving accusative singular in -ν [-n], might be restored to their original form except where popular expressions are pointedly employed in a particular context or quoted, as with the phrase containing ἐσέναν [e'senan] in lines 2 and 18. As already noted (cf. 10.8), this blend of learned morphology and more contemporary syntax was characteristic of educated usage in the period, though the updating has of course been taken much further here than in middle-register compositions.

In general, the narrative parts of the poems blend an overtly contemporary approach to sentence structure with a still conservative local morpho-syntax that continues many of the features of the basic Koine, including a general preference for the negative οὐ(κ) [u(k)] over (οὐ)δέν [(u)ðen] (except when the latter is emphatic, = 'not at all'), the use of γέγονα ['jegona] rather than innovations such as ἔγινα ['ejina], the preference for strong aorist forms in -ον [-on] rather than their replacements in -α [-a], the retention of some aorist middles, the use of both inflected participles (all cases) and infinitival complements to control verbs, and the retention of many ancient government requirements, such as the use of the genitive, and even the dative, after certain prepositions.

There seems no reason to doubt that this represents a somewhat elaborated version of the contemporary vernacular of the upper classes in Constantinople, fashionably adapted in the direction of other vernacular poetry of the period.

This style is also sometimes carried over into passages of direct speech, but here the concentration of modern forms increases in line with the relatively lowly social status of the speaker and/or the passion with which s/he is speaking. Consider, for example, the last four lines of (6), where the language of the speaker's heated sentiments is deliberately contrasted with the learned written language that has been so painfully and uselessly acquired. We therefore find neuter ἀνάθεμαν [a'naθeman] with analogical -ν [-n], relative ὁπού [opu] (deaccented), 3pl aorist ἐπαραδώκασιν [epara'ðokasin] with external augment (at least as one variant), τό [to] plus a νά [na]-clause, the colloquial expression τάχα νά ['taxa na], and ἀπό [apo] + accusative. In the passages addressed to the emperor, by contrast, the writing is archaizing; note the genitive after ἀκούω [a'kuo] (23), the ancient verb φημί [fi'mi] (24) with its infinitival complement (24), the dative after the middle πείθομαι ['piθome] (24), and the avoidance of synizesis in στενοχωρίαν [stenoxo'rian] (28).

Occasionally, however, the more learned and more popular styles are amusingly combined, as in the father's speech, where, especially in the peroration, the old man attempts to practise what he preaches. Thus the learned τέκνον ['teknon] (2, 3), the internal augment of περιεπάτει [perie'pati] (3), and the 'sandwiched' genitive of line 7 introduce a deliberately incongruous note in the context of the popular syntax, phraseology and vocabulary, including the characteristically over-the-top compounds, used throughout lines 2–16. Thereafter, a more learned style predominates, with the appearance of an aorist passive imperative (17), an adverb in -ως [-os] rather than -α [-a] (20), the contrastive particles μέν [men] and δέ [ðe] (20, 21), and dative complements after πείθομαι ['piθome] (17, 19) and ἐν [en] (21). But note too the solecistic use of the 2nd-person pronoun in line 17, where strictly speaking a 1st-person form is required in so far as the element in question modifies the head noun λόγοις ['lojis] ('*my* words') rather than the adjective πατρικοῖς [patri'cis] ('belonging to *your* father'), and the repeated quotation of the colloquial phrase meaning 'you're all right, Jack' (18). The language of the *Ptochoprodromiká* is certainly mixed, but it is a wickedly contrived mixture (whose impact is somewhat undermined by the textual uncertainty and variation) that reflects perfectly, and often amusingly, the problems associated with the diglossia of their time.

12.3 The 14th and 15th Centuries: The Palaiologan Court and Frankish Rule

12.3.1 The original romances of the Palaiologan period

Though the type of experimentation seen in the *Ptochoprodromiká* ceased some time before the capture of the Byzantine capital in 1204, Constantinople was also the context for the first romances to exploit the vernacular in the Palaiologan period, and it is clear once again that these original compositions were associated with the patronage of the imperial court. Though the *Tale of Achilles* has sometimes been seen to mark a transition from the slightly awkward blend of heroic and romantic themes seen in *Digenés*

Akrítes, it is probably later (mid-14th century) than the fully fledged literary romances *Líbistros and Rodámne, Kallímachos and Chrysorróe* and *Bélthandros and Chrysántza*. There is an overall generic affiliation with the contemporary romances of chivalry familiar in the west, but the roots of these works lie in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine traditions, including the learned and vernacular romantic writings of the 12th century.

The following extract is taken from *Kallímachos and Chrysorróe,* composed perhaps between 1310 and 1340 by Andrónikos Palaiológos, nephew of Michaél VIII Palaiológos, the first emperor of the dynasty that took control after the recovery of Constantinople from its western rulers. The standard edition is Pichard (1956); see also Kriarás (1955: 17–83), Apostolópoulos (1984):

(7) Ἀλλ' ἦν τὸ τεῖχος ὑψηλόν, εἰσέλευσιν οὐκ εἶχεν·
ἄνθρωπος οὐ παρέτρεχεν, οὐδὲ θηρίου φύσις,
οὐδὲ πτηνόν, οὐδὲ στρουθός· ἄγριος ἦν ὁ τόπος.
Ἀνέτρεχον, παρέτρεχον, τὴν εἴσοδον ἐζήτουν·
εἶχεν γὰρ πύργους ὑψηλούς, οὐρανομήκεις τοίχους.
Εὗρον τὰς πόρτας τὰς λαμπρὰς τούτου, τὰς πολυτίμους,
εἶδον τοὺς ὄφεις, ἔφριξαν τοὺς πυλωροὺς ἐκείνους.
Οὐκ ἔγνωσαν τὴν φοβερὰν καὶ θαυμασίαν πόλιν
τίνος τὸ κάστρον τὸ λαμπρόν, τίνα δεσπότην ἔχει.
Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπεστράφησαν, ἐστάλησαν ὀπίσω,
τάχα μὴ γένωνται τροφὴ τῶν πυλωρῶν ἐκείνων·
εἶδαν, ἐξεθαμ3ήθησαν, ἐτράπησαν, ἐφύγαν.

Kallímachos and Chrysorróe 197–208

[al in to 'tixos ipsi'lon, is'elefsin uk 'içen;
But was the wall high, entrance not it-had/there was,
'anθropos ou pa'retreçen, u'ðe θi'riu 'fisis,
man not ran-past, not-even of-beast nature/species
u'ðe pti'non, u'ðe stru'θos; 'aɣrios in o 'topos.
not-even winged-creature, nor-yet sparrow; wild was the place.
a'netrexon, pa'retrexon, tin 'isoðon e'zitun;
They-ran-up, they-ran-down, the entrance they-sought;
'içen ɣar 'pirɣus ipsi'lus, urano'micis 'tixus.
it-had/there-were for towers high, heaven-high walls.
'evron tas 'portas tas lam'bras 'tutu, tas poli'timus,
They-found the gates the bright of-this, the inestimable,
'iðon tus 'ofis, 'efriksan tus pilo'rus e'cinus.
they-saw the snakes, they-shuddered-at the gatekeepers those.
uk 'eɣnosan tin fove'ran ce θavma'sian 'polin
Not they-got-to-know the terrible and amazing city,
'tinos to 'kastron to lam'bron, 'tina ðes'potin 'eçi.
whose the castle the bright, what master it-has.
i men ɣar epe'strafisan, e'stalisan o'piso,
They on-one-hand for turned-round, they-shrank back,
'taxa mi 'jenonde tro'fi ton pilo'ron e'cinon;
perhaps lest they-become food of-the gatekeepers those;
'iðan, ekseθam'viθisan, e'trapisan, e'fiɣan.]
they-saw, they-were-amazed, they-turned, they-fled.

> 'But the wall was high, there was no entrance; no man passed by, nor any kind of beast, nor fowl, nor even a sparrow; the place was grim. They ran up and down and looked for the entrance; for there were high towers and walls rising to heaven. They found its splendid priceless gates, they saw the snakes, they shuddered at those gatekeepers. But as for this fearful and amazing township, they did not discover who owned the splendid castle, nor who its master was. For they just turned and shrank back, in case they became food for those gatekeepers; they saw, they were astonished, and they fled.'

Andrónikos Palaiológos may well have been the 'inventor' of the medieval Greek romance in its mature form, though he drew on both the ancient romances and the learned works of the 12th-century revival, as well as on the story of *Digenés* and perhaps other material from the popular tradition. The tale is set in a folkloric land of marvels in which a king, unable to decide which of his three sons should succeed him, sends them off to prove themselves. Kallímachos, the youngest, leads his brothers up a mountain to an ogre's castle guarded by snakes and dragons. The older brothers, after first giving Kallímachos a magic ring, beat a hasty retreat, but he vaults the wall and wrests the beautiful Chrysorróe from the ogre who is holding her prisoner. After a series of thrilling adventures, the pair finally live happily together as lord and lady of the castle.

The learned background of the writer is apparent here not only in the conservative morphology and lexicon (note especially the particle combination μὲν γάρ [men ɣar] in line 10), but also in his metrical practice, which permits occasional line-end enjambement (not illustrated) and over-running of the mid-line caesura (e.g. line 6), and his not-infrequent use of complex rhetorical periods, especially in the *ekphráseis* and the speeches made at moments of high drama, where the influence of the ancient/learned romantic tradition is greatest.

In the passage above, for example, only εἰσέλευσις [is'elefsis], πόρτα ['porta], κάστρον ['kastron] and ἐκθαμβῶ [ekθam'vo] are non-classical, though the first belongs to the higher registers of Byzantine writing and the last occurs in the Septuagint and the New Testament. Correspondingly, the small number of popular derivational formations seem often to be used for their 'affective' content in context rather than as simple variants of learned forms. This is particularly true of marked diminutives (i.e. those with suffixes other than -ιν [-in]): cf., for example, δενδρούτσικον [ðen'ðrutsikon] 'little tree' (1751), and δακτυλιδόπουλον [ðaktili'ðopulon] 'little ring' (1769), in a passage where Chrysorróe, thinking Kallímachos to be dead, finds her hero's magic ring hanging in a tree.

Similarly in inflectional morphology, only the suffix used in εἶδαν ['iðan] and ἐφύγαν [e'fiɣan] (for classical -ον [-on], and doubtless motivated by a desire for homoeteleuton in this line), together with the accentuation of the latter (given the rule that the penultimate syllable of the decapentesyllabic line must be stressed) reveal vernacular influence. The restricted use of such popular variants seems often to be metrically motivated: e.g. ἦτον ['iton] for ἦν [in] 'was', or aorist passives in -ηκα [-ika] for -ην [-in], because of their extra syllable (177, 1877); αὐτός [af'tos] for οὗτος ['utos] 'this', because of its different accent (188); the use of accusative for genitive after certain prepositions with nouns lacking columnar stress, or with an imparisyllabic declensional pattern (e.g. ἐκ το κράτημαν [ek to 'kratiman] (1769), for ἐκ τοῦ κρατήματος

[ek tu kra'timatos]); the substitution of 3pl -ουν [-un] for -ουσι [-usi] etc., of μέ [me] + acc, 'with', for μετά [me'ta] + gen (1771), or of του [tu]/της [tis] 'his/her' etc. for τούτου ['tutu]/ταύτης ['taftis] etc. (1771), in order to reduce the number of syllables.

Where the epic of *Digenés Akrítes* seems to be built on a vernacular base with a learned overlay, this poem seems to be rooted in the written tradition with concessions to the vernacular. The basis for including it among the vernacular compositions of the period lies primarily in the simplicity of its syntactic structure, which, elaborated passages and inflected participles[4] notwithstanding, reflects the paratactic conventions of popular compositions using the political verse form, and builds lines using the same metrical/rhetorical cola. Note too the standard medieval positioning of clitic pronouns (cf. 11.8 (9) and (10)), the regular use of the accusative to mark the indirect object (a Constantinopolitan feature), the frequent use of adverbially modified prepositional phrases headed by εἰς [is] and ἀπό [apo] (e.g. μέσον ['meson] (275), ἐπάνω [e'pano] (1765)), the use of νά [na]-clauses in place of infinitives (except after control and modal verbs, and occasionally in nominalized clauses (e.g. 286)), and the use of non-sandwiched adnominal genitives (e.g. 275, 1760) alongside their sandwiched counterparts, all of which point to a predominantly vernacular syntactic base.

The blending of materials and conventions from both branches of romantic fiction points the way towards the romances of the later middle ages (cf. 8.4.3–5). Since this task was first carried out in court circles, we should not be surprised that the balance (at least in morphology and lexicon) was tilted in favour of the learned tradition. The mixed romantic *Dichtersprache* became steadily more 'popular' in character with the passage of time and the loss of Byzantine control in many Greek-speaking areas after 1204. We must, however, be cautious in that the text of *Kallímachos* has come down to us in a single manuscript dating from around 1520, though it is likely to be a fairly close copy of the original because the concentration of learned language goes against the prevailing trend in manuscript copying of that period. On this basis, it is tempting to infer that a morphologically conservative vernacular was used for all the original 14th-century romances, and that the greater frequency of more popular forms in *Bélthandros* and *Líbistros* is due in part to adaptation on the part of later copyists in western-dominated areas, including Crete and the Dodecanese.

12.3.2 Greek–Romance contact: perfects/pluperfects, negative polarity, clitics

The most obvious linguistic consequence of the Latin conquest of 1204 was a massive influx of Romance loanwords into Greek, especially from Italian (Venetian and Genoese) and French, though Italian trading communities had been established in the empire long before the Latin conquest and Italian words had begun to enter Greek from the 11th century onwards. The grammatical impact of Romance, however, was probably less profound, and we may note in this connection that a number of striking syntactic parallelisms between Greek and Romance, which might be attributed to contact from the beginning of the 13th century onwards, turn out to have independent roots.[5] As in the Roman imperial period (5.3), the most that one can argue for in many

such cases is the mutual consolidation of changes already under way. A number of examples may briefly be considered here.

The first of these is one of the stronger cases for Romance influence on the development of later Medieval Greek:

(8) The local reintroduction, e.g. in Crete, parts of the Peloponnese and Roumeli, of the perfect active periphrasis involving 'have' + perfect passive participle agreeing (at least optionally) with the object.

This construction appeared sporadically in the literary register of the Koine in the Roman period, but is virtually unknown in Medieval Greek before the period of Frankish domination, when the aorist doubled functionally as a perfect, and the only perfect-like formation was the stative periphrasis consisting of 'be' + perfect passive participle agreeing with the subject. There was, however, a pluperfect active periphrasis, involving the past of 'be' + aorist active participle, at least for as long as the latter survived.

Nevertheless, there are isolated examples from the pre-Frankish period of the type in (9):

(9) τὸν γρόθον του εἰς τὸ μάγουλον εἶχεν ἀκουμπισμένον. (*Digenés Akrítes* (E), 418)

[to 'ɣroθon du sto 'maɣulo(n) 'içen akumbiz'meno(n)]
the fist of-him at-the cheek he-had rested(perf pass pple)

'He held his fist at rest against his cheek'

Though the near-literal sense of 'have' and the stative meaning of the participle are clearly apparent, it must be assumed that it was this comparatively rare native construction that lent itself to local grammaticalization as a true pluperfect/perfect active under the impact of Romance.

A similar type of development may have been involved in the case of the shift of the hypothetical pluperfect (or conditional), involving εἶχα ['ixa] + infinitive in counterfactual conditional protases (e.g. *Digenés* 141, 1538), into a true pluperfect (past-of-past) that could be used independently in main clauses (as, for example, in the *Chronicle of the Morea*). The regular Romance use of the pluperfect in clauses denoting past-time indefinite frequency (*if/when(ever) s/he had X-ed, s/he used to/would Y*) perhaps led in some areas to an extended interpretation of the formally parallel Greek structures, where the 'pluperfect' and imperfect of the protasis and apodosis were originally strictly modal/hypothetical in character (*if-ever s/he would (have) X(-ed)/had X-ed, s/he would (have) Y(-ed)*). Such a shift would have been readily accomplished, given an appropriate prompt, in the context of the familiar overlap between hypotheticality and past-time indefinite frequency as reflected in the dual functions of English *would* or the Medieval Greek imperfect. But this alternative pluperfect, to which a parallel perfect was eventually formed, did not emerge in important centres such as Venetian Crete, and its early distribution, including the parts of the Peloponnese ruled by the de Villehardouin family, perhaps points specifically to French influence: cf. the

observation of the Catalan writer Ramon Muntaner that there *'parlauen axi bell Frances com dins el Paris'* (ch. CCLXI).

In other cases, however, the relevant constructions are well-developed in Greek before any Romance influence can plausibly be invoked. In Ancient Greek, for example, there was a pronominal/adverbial system comprising strongly negative items on the one hand (meaning 'no-X', and requiring no independent verb negation when used preverbally), and indefinite items (formally related to interrogatives) on the other. The latter meant 'some-X' in assertive contexts, but 'any-X' in negative, interrogative and conditional ones, though the strongly negative items could also be used after a negative particle to impart a more emphatic negative force (i.e. in this order the cumulated negatives were reinforcing). Compare (10a) and (10b):

(10) (a) **οὐκ** ἄν **τινα** ... φαίης ἔχειν τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην ἐπιστήμην (Plato *Parmenides,* 134c)

[uk án tina ... pʰaíɛːs ékʰeːn tɛ̀ːn akribestátɛːn epistɛ́ːmɛːn]
not would anyone ... you-would-say to-have the most-accurate knowledge

'You would **not** say that **anyone** had completely accurate knowledge'

(b) **οὐκ** ἄρα ... γιγνώσκεται τῶν εἰδῶν **οὐδέν** (Plato *Parmenides,* 134b)

[uk ára ... giŋnóːsketai tôːn eːdôːn udén]
not then ... is-known of-the forms nothing

'Of the forms then **nothing** is known'

During the medieval period, however, the indefinite system underwent a process of formal renewal whereby the assertive ('some-X') and negative-polarity ('any-X') variants were progressively distinguished, to give, for example, κάποιος ['kapjos] 'some(one)' and κανένας [ka'nenas] 'any(one)' in place of τις [tis] 'some-/any-(one)' or κάτι ['kati] 'some(thing)', and τίποτε ['tipote] 'any(thing)' in place of τι [ti] 'some-/any-(thing)' (see 11.7.8 (29a)). The negative-polarity forms could, however, be pronounced not only neutrally, and used in a manner parallel to that seen in (10a), but also emphatically (almost all involve formal strengthening vis-à-vis the original indefinites), being used in this case like the strong negatives exemplified in (10b). In the latter case, of course, they acquired a correspondingly negative sense (though again reinforcing the negative particle rather than cancelling it), and as such could be preposed as negative foci, thus assuming the full range of positions/functions of the strong negative elements (see Giannakídou (1997) for a detailed study of negative-polarity items in Modern Greek). Over time, therefore, the strong negatives inherited from classical Greek disappeared in favour of the generalized use of emphatically stressed negative-polarity items, but since these, unlike the original forms, presupposed a negative (or interrogative/modal) licensing context, the conditioning negative particle was retained even when they appeared before it. Compare (11a), where no independent sentence negation is required, with the negative concord of (11b):

(11) (a) **οὐδὲν** αὐτῶν ἀτιμάσεις (Plato *Parmenides,* 130e)

[udèn autô:n atimáse:s]
nothing of-them you-will-undervalue

'You will undervalue **none** of them'

(b) **τίποτε οὐ** λογίζεται (*Digenés Akrítes* (E), 706)

['tipote u lo'jizete]
nothing/anything not he-thinks-of

'He thinks of **nothing**'

The dual use of negative-polarity items is very similar to that familiar from Romance (cf., for example, French *rien* = 'nothing/anything' etc.), but the usage was in fact well-established in vernacular Greek by the 12th century (not only in *Digenés* but also in the *Ptochoprodromiká,* as well as in the original romances composed later in the Byzantine capital), and the only extension that might reflect subsequent Romance interference is the independent use of these items in a negative sense in elliptical replies (e.g. *Have you seen anything? Nothing*). But it remains equally possible that popular Greek had already taken this natural extra step independently despite the absence of examples in the small corpus of relevant texts.

Similar observations apply to the emergence of apparently related restrictions on the order and combination of object clitic pronouns: i.e. if there are two such pronouns with a given verb, the first must denote the indirect object and the second the direct object, while the latter has also to be third-person (Mackridge (1985: 222–3)). Yet once again, all the examples involving two pronouns in the E *Digenés Akrítes* (64, 130, 475, 664, 668, 951, 1729) and the lay of *Armoúres* (47, 133) already conform to this rule, in a period in which Romance influence can safely be discounted. Note too that, though all the relevant examples in these two texts happen to involve pre-verbal clitics, the regular post-verbal order after gerunds and imperatives remains IO + DO (e.g. δώστε μού το ['ðoste ˌmu to] 'give to-me it'), which contrasts with Romance practice (cf. *donnez-le-moi*). It is also significant that in the modern Asia Minor dialects and many insular varieties, which have retained more of the medieval distribution of these elements (in some cases extending and generalizing post-verbal position), the same [verb + IO + DO] order applies even in simple declarative sentences with finite verb forms (cf. Mirambel (1963)). The placing of IO before DO, then, seems to have been a native characteristic of vernacular Medieval Greek, and any partial correspondence with later Romance must be seen as essentially accidental, even if there was a mutual reinforcement of trends. The basis for any common ground between Greek and Romance must be sought in parallel treatments of a common Indo-European inheritance ('Wackernagel' clitics, cf. Wackernagel (1892), Watkins (1964)), shaped by general pragmatic or syntactic considerations.

That said, the effects of Latin rule on attitudes to language were in some respects liberating. In the vast Greek-speaking areas under western control, where the old

capital was no longer the principal focus of political and cultural life, a knowledge of learned written Greek, even where this could still be obtained, gradually ceased to be the prerequisite for a successful career, and traditional values began to be eroded. With the return of more settled conditions after c.1300, Greek vernacular writing, encouraged by the widespread use of contemporary Romance for literary and official purposes, received a boost in the Latin-dominated west, a development eventually culminating in the emergence of Cretan dialect literature of outstanding quality during the late 16th and 17th centuries (14.2.4).

12.3.3 The *Chronicle of the Morea*

The occupation of Greek-speaking lands led to the writing of a number of vernacular chronicles celebrating the exploits of western dynasties (cf. 8.4.4), including the famous *Chronicle of the Morea,* the first such composition in verse. Following a lengthy prologue (1–1338), covering the first and fourth crusades, the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of the Latin empire, the anonymous narrator turns specifically to the conquest of the Peloponnese by Guillaume de Champlitte and members of the de Villehardouin family (Geoffroi I, Geoffroi II and Guillaume II), and its subsequent transformation, apart from a few Venetian strongholds in the west, into the principality of the Morea. After an account of the conflict with the empire of Nicaea, which culminated in the Frankish defeat at the battle of Pelagonia (1259) and the re-establishment of a Byzantine base in the Peloponnese (the beginnings of the despotate of the Morea), the poem turns finally to the period of decline which set in with the death of Guillaume II, ending with the events of 1292.

The oldest and fullest surviving version of this poem (H, in Copenhagen) comprises 9,219 lines, but the first pages of the codex, containing 104 lines, are missing. This and other, comparatively minor, lacunae may often be filled by reference to the shorter P (Paris) version, though this has omissions of its own, and seems to represent a later adaptation of the original in both language/metre and content (especially in the moderation or deletion of the more extreme expressions of anti-Greek and anti-Orthodox sentiment in H).

The work is customarily dated to the beginning of the 14th century, and since the story is told unashamedly from the conqueror's point of view, it is usually attributed to a Greek-speaking Frank (see now Shawcross (2009) for the wider background). The versification is often poor, and the language almost wholly vernacular, with extensive use of Romance vocabulary and idiom. There are also French, Italian and Aragonese versions (none in verse, the last two dealing with slightly longer periods), and it is still a matter of dispute whether the Greek text is an original composition or a translation, although in recent years some scholars have argued strongly for the primacy of the Greek version (see, for example, Jeffreys (1975)). The standard editions are those of Schmitt (1904) and Kalonáros (1940), and there is a useful analysis of the language of the *Chronicle* in Egea (1988). See also Beck (1971: 157–9), and the lexicon of Aerts and Hokwerda (2002).

The special significance of this work for the historian of Greek derives from the fact that the 'poet' clearly had little contact with, or interest in, the classicizing tradition of serious Greek literature, and wrote in a style reflecting his natural speech, subject

only to the observations that (a) literacy at any level involved contact with non-vernacular forms, and (b) the use of the political verse form, however poorly handled, presupposed some familiarity with the conventions of Greek vernacular poetry (including its archaisms). The language of the *Chronicle* therefore exhibits the usual high level of morphological and syntactic variation, though in this case there are clear misunderstandings in the use of certain non-vernacular forms (see below), while extremely high concentrations of truly popular, even vulgar, features are strongly in evidence. These include:

(12) (a) The appearance of many innovative present-stem formations, with a large number of competing doublets (11.8 (34)).
(b) The use of much innovative verb morphology, including aorist passive -θηκα [-θika] (11.8 (33)), imperfect passive -ομουν [-omun] (11.8.(35e): e.g. 6104), and reduced forms of the present of verbs such as ἀκούω [a'kuo] (11.8 (34e): e.g. 606, 2818, 4251).
(c) Some confusion of -έω [-'eo] and -άω [-'ao] contract verbs (11.8.5 (34e)), with innovative present passive in -(ε)ιόμαι [-'jome]/-(ε)ιέται [-'jete] (e.g. 845, 5801, 8290) and 3pl imperfect active in -οῦσαν [-'usan] (e.g. 117, 120, 2629) both in evidence.
(d) The absolute restriction of the dative to a set of fixed phrases.
(e) The limited use of feminine nouns in -ις [-is]/pl -εις [-is], and neuters in -ος [-os]/pl -η [-i], and the frequent assimilation of 3rd-declension consonant-stems, i-stems and eu-stems to the 1st declension (11.7.3–4 (18–21)).
(f) Regularization of nominative plural -ες [-es] in the 1st declension, as well as in consonant- and i-stem 'transfers' (11.7.4 (19) and (21)).
(g) The appearance of heteroclitic declensional patterns, including imparisyllabic a-stem plurals in -άδες [-'aðes] (11.7.4 (20): e.g. 4390, 6056), with some doublets of this type used even in o-stems (e.g. 5471).
(h) A tendency to regularize the accent in proparoxytone nouns and adjectives, so as to give ἄνθρωπος ['anθropos]/genitive ἄνθρωπου ['anθropu], in place of ἀνθρώπου [an'θropu] (e.g. 6844).
(i) The partial adaptation of 3rd/1st-declension adjectives to regular 2nd/1st-declension patterns (11.7.7 (25–8): e.g. 2042).
(j) The regular use of many innovative pronominal forms (11.7.8 (29)).

A particular feature of the syntax of the poem, over and above the usual vernacular variants, is the destabilization of the future periphrasis consisting of ἔχω ['exo] + infinitive occasioned by the development of the corresponding conditional into a true pluperfect (cf. 11.8.3 (32): the only potentially modal examples of εἶχα ['ixa] + infinitive occur in the protases of counterfactual conditionals, where they in fact function as hypothetical pluperfects). The standard forms of the future/conditional, as already in the *Ptochoprodromiká,* include θέλω ['θelo]/ἤθελα ['iθela] + infinitive 'I will/would', and the use of νά [na] + subjunctive/past indicative. But we also find a modally

strengthened form of the ἔχω ['exo]-periphrasis involving the prefixation of νά [na] (it is important to note that there are no examples of ἔχω ['exo] + infinitive used as a perfect). Just as plain νά [na] + subjunctive served as both subjunctive and future indicative, so too did the more complex periphrasis consisting of νὰ ἔχω [na 'exo] + infinitive, though subjunctive uses are predominant. This rather clumsy transitional form is also found sporadically in other works of roughly the same period (e.g. the *War of Troy*), but it did not find favour (lines containing it are regularly rephrased or omitted in P, for example), and it quickly disappeared.

In the category of straightforward errors involving learned forms, we may note in particular the frequent use of classical 3rd-declension nominative singulars denoting relatives by blood or marriage as accusatives (Browning (1983: 7–8)). Examples include γυνή [ji'ni] 'woman/wife' (e.g 7424), ἀνήρ [a'nir] 'man/husband' (e.g. 2519), πατήρ [pa'tir] 'father' (e.g. 454), μήτηρ ['mitir] 'mother' (e.g. 1323), and θυγάτηρ [θi'ɣatir] 'daughter' (e.g. 2477), as illustrated in (13):

(13) καὶ χαιρετᾷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκείνου την θυγάτηρ (*Chronicle of the Morea,* 2492)

[ce	çere'ta	tu	vasi'ʎos	e'cinu	ti	θi'ɣatir]
and	he-greets	of-the	king	that	the	daughter

'and he greets the daughter of that king'

This usage apparently follows the model of corresponding feminine vernacular forms where, after the general loss of final -ν [-n], nominative and accusative became identical (e.g. θυγατέρα [θiɣa'tera]), with analogical extension to the formally related masculines (where nom and acc vernacular forms were distinct). The metrical usefulness of the shorter forms is self-evident, and it seems that the author was simply ignorant of the classical paradigm.

The following extract (based on H) describes how the brothers Louis and Guillaume de Champlitte came to an agreement that the former should stay in France to manage the family estate while the latter sought his fortune in the east:

(14) Κι ὡσὰν ἀκούσουν κ' ἔμαθαν τὸ πῶς οἱ Φράγκοι ἐκεῖνοι,
ὅπου ὑπαγαῖναν στὴν Συρίαν μὲ θέλημα τοῦ Πάπα,
ἀφῆκαν τὸ ταξεῖδιν τους κι ἀπῆλθαν εἰς τὴν Πόλιν
κι ἐκέρδισαν τὴν Ρωμανίαν κ' ἐγίνησαν ἀφέντες,
βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν ὁμοῦ ἐκεῖνοι οἱ δύο αὐταδέλφοι.
νὰ μείνῃ ἕνας ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸ ἰγονικόν τους,
κι ὁ ἄλλος νὰ ἀπέλθῃ εἰς Ρωμανίαν διὰ νὰ κερδίσῃ τόπον.
Λοιπὸν, ως τὸ ἔχει ἐριζικὸν ἡ χάρις τῶν ἀνθρώπων,
κι οὐδὲν ὁμοιάζουν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ εἰς πρόσοψιν καὶ χάριν,
ἦτον ὁ ὑστερνότερος ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο αὐταδέλφους
ὁκάτι ἐπιδεξιώτερος καὶ φρονιμώτερός τους.
Κ' ἰσιάστησαν οἱ δύο ἀδελφοί, ὁ πρῶτος ν' ἐνεμείνῃ
ἐκεῖσε εἰς τὸ κοντᾶτο του ἐκεῖνο τῆς Τσαμπάνιας,
κι ὁ δεύτερος ἀπὸ τοὺς δύο, μισὶρ Γουλιάμος ἄκω,
εἶχεν καὶ ἐπίκλην ὁ λόγου του, τὸν ἐλέγαν ντὲ Σαλοῦθε,

νὰ εὕρῃ φουσσᾶτα ὅσα ἠμπορεῖ νὰ ἐπάρῃ μετὰ ἐκεῖνον,
κ' ἐκεῖνος νὰ ἔλθῃ εἰς Ρωμανίαν τοῦ νὰ ἔχῃ κουγκεστήσει
κάστρη καὶ χώρας τίποτε νὰ τὰ ἔχῃ ἰγονικά του.
Ο κόντος γὰρ τοῦ ἐξέδωκεν ὅσον λογάριν εἶχε,
καὶ εἶπεν του, 'Αδελφούτσικε, ἀφῶν ἐγὼ ἐνεμένω
ἀφέντης εἰς τὰ κάστρη μας κ' εἰς τὸ ἰγονικόν μας,
ἔπαρε τὸ λογάριν μας καὶ τὰ κοινά μας ὅλα
κι ἄμε μὲ τὴν εὐχίτσα μου ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ πατρός μας,
κ' ἐλπίζω εἰς τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ Θεοῦ ὅτι νὰ εὐτυχήρς.

Chronicle of the Morea, 1366–89

[c o'san a'kusun c 'emaθan to pos i 'franɟ e'cini,
and when they-hear and learned the how/that the Franks those,
opu pa'jenan sti si'rja me 'θelima tu 'papa,
that were-going to-the Syria with will of-the pope,
a'fikan to ta'ksiði tus c a'pilθan is tim 'boli
abandoned the journey of-them and went to the City
ce 'cerðisan ti roma'ɲa ce 'jinisan a'fendes,
and won the Romania and became lords,
vu'lin a'pirasin o'mu e'ciɲ i ðjo‿ afta'ðelfi;
counsel they-took together those the two full-brothers;
na 'mini 'enas ap af'tus e'ci sto‿ iɣoni'kon dus,
that should-stay one from them there on-the family-estate of-them,
c o‿ 'alos n a'pelθi s roma'ɲa (ð)ja na cer'ðisi 'topo.
and the other that he-should-go to Romania for that he-win place.
li'pon, os 'to çi rizi'kon i 'xaris ton a'θropo(n),
So, as it(obj) has (as-)fate the talent of-the men,
c u'ðen o'mjazun j aðel'fi is 'prosopsi(n) ce 'xari(n),
and not are-alike the brothers in looks and talent,
'iton o ister'noteros apo tuz ðjo‿ afta'ðelfus
was the younger from the two full-brothers
o'kati piðe'ksjoteros ce froni,mote'ros tus.
somewhat more-skilled and wiser of-them.
c i'sjastisan i djo‿ adel'fi, o 'protos n ene'mini
And they-agreed the two brothers, the first that he-stay-put
e'cis is to kon'dato tu e'cino tis tsam'baɲas,
there on the count's-estate of-him that of-the Champagne,
c o 'ðefteros apo tuz 'ðjo, mi'sir ɣu'amos 'ako,
and the second from the two, Monsieur Guillaume hear!,
'içe(n) k e'piklj o 'loɣu tu, ton 'leɣan de sa'luθe,
he-had also surname the self of-him, him they-called de Salute,
na vri fu'sata‿ osa mbo'ri na 'pari met e'cino,
that he-find armies as-big-as he-can that he-should-take with him,
c e'cinos na l'θi s roma'ɲa tu 'na çi kuŋges'tisi
and he that he-should-go to Romania for-the that he-will/may conquer
'kastri ce 'xoras 'tipote na 'ta çi ɣoni'ka tu.
castles and lands some that them he-may-have(as) patrimony of-him.
o 'kondos ɣar tu 'kseðoken oso lo'ɣarin 'içe,
The count then to-him gave as-much-as money he-had

c 'ipen du, aðel'futsice, afon e'ɣo‿ ene'meno
and said to-him, 'My-dear-brother, since I stay-put
a'fendis is ta 'kastri mas c is to iɣoni'ko mas,
(as-)lord in the castles of-us and in the family-estate of-us,
'epare to lo'ɣari mas ce ta ci'na mas 'ola,
take the money of-us and the common-goods of-us all,
c 'ame me tin ef'çitsa mu o'mjos ce tu pa'troz mas,
and go with the blessing of-me likewise also of-the father of-us,
c el'pizo s to‿ 'eʎos tu θe'u ˌoti na efti'çisis.]
and I-hope in the pity of-the God that will you-succeed.'

'And when they heard and learned that those Franks who were on their way to Syria by the will of the pope had abandoned their journey and gone to the City (*Constantinople*) and won Romania and become masters, the two full brothers together adopted a plan, that one of them should stay there on the family estate, and the other should go to Romania to win a place. Now, as the talents of men are a matter of fate, and the brothers were not alike in looks or talent, it was the younger of the two full brothers who was in some degree the more skilled and wiser of them. So the two brothers agreed that the first should stay behind there in that county of his in Champagne, and that the second of the two, Sir Guillaume mark you, and he also had a surname on his own account, he was called de Salute (*the chronographer is confused, since the individual concerned is Guillaume de Champlitte*), should find as large an army as he could to take with him, and should go to Romania to conquer some castles and estates to have as his patrimony. So the count gave him all the money he had, and said to him: 'My dear younger brother, since I am staying behind as lord in our castles and our family estate, take our money and all our common goods, and go with my blessing and our father's likewise, and by the mercy of God I hope that you will have good fortune.'

Perhaps the most striking feature here is the mismatch between the colloquial pronunciation required to meet the demands of the metre (as reflected in the transcription) and the conservative orthography which, if taken seriously, would produce many unmetrical lines. The principal difficulties arise when hiatus is naturally resolved in speech by elision, aphaeresis or crasis, while the archaizing conventions for writing Greek (the only ones available) generally ignore such junctural phenomena as well as word-internal synizesis, and require the uniform presence of final -*ν* [-n], at least in native vocabulary with a learned provenance: note how line 15, for example, can be made to scan correctly only if the -*ν* [-n] of ἐπίκλην [e'pikli] is ignored and the exposed final vowel run into the initial vowel of the following word. Such problems have been encountered before (most obviously in *Digenés Akrítes*), but not on this scale, and the situation in (14) provides the clearest testimony to the vernacular character of the diction of this poem. It is significant that in the P version some of the more striking metrical difficulties have been smoothed away by rephrasings that conform more closely to standard poetic conventions.

As noted earlier, Romance loanwords are used freely in the poem: cf. here κόντος ['kondos] (*comte*), κοντ-ᾶτο [kon'dato] (calqued on *comt-é*), μισίρ [mi'sir] (*monsieur*), κουγκεστ-ῶ [kunɟes'to] (*conqueste/conquête*); φουσσᾶτο(ν) [fu'sato(n)] ('army' < *fossatum*, 'ditched place/encampment') and κάστρο(ν) ['kastro(n)] ('fort', a singular built to neut pl *castra* 'fortified camp/stronghold'), however, are earlier borrowings from Latin,

though note here the heteroclitic plural κάστρη ['kastri], as if this were an s-stem neuter of the type λάθος ['laθos] 'error'.

Both morphology and syntax are consistently vernacular in character, and many of the relevant features have already been listed in general terms above, but note here:

(15) (a) The spread of the productive -άζω [-'azo] suffix (11.8.5 (34c)), cf. (ὁ)μοι-άζω [(o)'mjazo] (9), though this appears already in the New Testament (Mark 14. 70), and ἰσι-άζομαι [i'sjazome] (12), where the initial element is an adjectival stem built to nominal uses of ἴσος ['isos] 'equal' (e.g. τὸ ἴσον [to 'iso(n)] 'equality/fairness/level ground'), on the model of λόγος ['loɣos] (noun)/λόγιος ['lojos] (adjective) etc., to give ἴσιος ['isjos].

(b) The verb ἠμπορῶ [imbo'ro] 'be able', in place of the anomalous athematic δύναμαι ['ðiname] (16), cf. 11.8.5 (34e).

(c) The present stem (ὑ)παγ-αίν- [(i)pa'jen-] for earlier ὑπάγ- [i'paɣ-] (2), cf. 11.8.5 (34b), and the aorist 'passive' ἐγίν-η(ν)/-ηκα [e'jini(n)/-ika] (4), built to γίν-ομαι ['jinome] on the model of γράφ-ομαι ['ɣrafome], aorist ἐγράφ-ην/-ηκα [e'ɣrafi(n)/-ika], in place of earlier ἐγενήθην [eje'niθin] (itself a replacement for original ἐγενόμην [eje'nomin]). Modern ἔγινα ['ejina] is a formally related replacement for γέγονα ['jeɣona], the alternative popular substitute for ἐγενόμην [eje'nomin].

(d) Growing confusion about the character and function of unstressed initial vowels, illustrated in ἀπήρασιν [a'pirasin] (5) (P has ἐπήρασιν [e'pirasin]), alongside ἐπάρῃ [e'pari] (16) and ἔπαρε ['epare] (22). This originated in frequent aphaeresis and misanalysis of word boundaries in combinations such as τα 'πήρασιν [ta 'pirasin] 'them they-took' etc. (cf. 11.2, 11.3), but provided a major source of dialect variation across word forms in the later middle ages. Note too the prothetic vowel in ἰ-γονικόν [iɣoni'ko(n)] (6), and the loss of unstressed [-i-] in ὑστερ-(ι)νός [ister(i)'nos] (10), a novel formation built to the root of ὕστερ-ος ['isteros], cf. modern στερνός [ster'nos].

(e) The imperatives ἄκω ['ako] (14) and ἄμε ['ame] (23). The first belongs to the reduced paradigm of ἀκούω [a'kuo] 'hear' (11.8.5 (34c)), in which the thematic vowel is omitted (so here ἄκου-ε ['akue] > ἄκου/-ω/-ο ['aku/-o], as 2pl ἀκού-ε-τε [a'kuete] > ἀκοῦτε [a'kute]), while the second derives from intransitive use of ἄγωμε(ν) ['aɣome(n)] 'let's go' (> ἄωμε ['aome] > ἆμε/ἄμε ['ame]; cf. ἄϊ/ἄντε ['ai/'ade] < ἄγε/ἄγετε ['aje/'ajete]). The full form is also attested (e.g. 3787), but both came to be used colloquially as 2nd-person imperatives in contexts where an exhortation that grammatically includes the speaker is pragmatically intended for the hearer only (cf. English *let's be having you*).

(f) The frequent reduction of εἰς [is] to [s], and its conflation with a following definite article.

(g) The use of accusative plural clitic pronouns as genitives (3, 6 etc.), perhaps because of the unsatisfactory nature of gen pl μω(ν)/σω(ν)/τω(ν) [mo(n)/so(n)/to(n)], which had the sound either of neuter singular possessive adjectives related to the 1/2 singular pronouns (cf. μων/(ἐ)μόν [(e)'mon] 'my', σων/(ἐ)σόν [(e)'son] 'your' (sg)), or the masculine accusa-

tive singular of the definite article (cf. τω(ν)/τό(ν) [to(n)]). In some dialects we find a compromise 3pl τως [tos]. The general process of replacement must in any case have been aided by the use of sg ἐμένα/ἐσένα [e'mena/e'sena] as both acc and gen, and by routine genitive/accusative overlaps in indirect object and related functions.

(h) Many other popular or innovative pronominal forms (11.7.8 (29)), including: relative ὅπου ['opu] (2); ἕνας ['enas] for εἷς [is] (6); affirmative ὀκάτι [o'kati] for τι [ti], used adverbially = 'in some respect' (11) (the initial ὀ- [o-], extended from free-relative pronouns, is a regular feature in this period of forms expressing indefiniteness), beside negative-polarity τίποτε ['tipote] for τι [ti], used adverbially = 'at all' in a non-referential, generic context (18), cf. 11.7.8 (a).

(i) Popular derivational formations involving diminutive suffixes affected by palatalization (20, 23), a process perhaps partly supported by parallel Romance formations (Italian *-ucci*, *-izza* etc.); it is probably not accidental that some of the earliest examples come from southern Italy and Lusignan Cyprus.

In syntax, the modern use of (ὡ)σάν [(o)'san] in line 1 to mean 'when/as soon as', rather than 'as if', is noteworthy, the formation in this case being built to ὡς [os] on the model of ὅτε ['ote]/ὅταν ['otan] 'when', rather than continuing the ancient ὡς ἄν directly; cf. ἀφῶν [a'fon] (20), < the prepositional phrase ἀφ' ὧν, lit. 'from which', used here causally rather than temporally as in classical Greek (where the singular relative is usual, ἀφ' οὗ [af u]). Outside such lexicalized combinations, however, prepositions are generally used with the accusative (with only occasional genitives after ἀπό [a'po], and certain fixed expressions with the dative, such as ἐν τούτῳ [en'duto], lit. 'in this', i.e. 'meanwhile').

The nominalization of 'interrogative' complement clauses (1) is also a common vernacular feature of the period, reflecting their interpretation in certain contexts as direct-object free relatives (cf. *I asked [what he knew]/i.e. what did he know?* vs. *I discovered [what he knew]/i.e. the thing(s) that he knew*). We should note that this type of example, involving main verbs of knowledge and perception, explains the basis for the shift between interrogative πῶς [pos] 'how?'/ποῦ [pu] 'where?' and the modern complementizers πώς [pos]/πού [pu] 'that'.

There is a good example of the νά [na] + ἔχω ['exo] + infinitive construction in line 17, used here in a final sense and supported by the pleonastic genitive article τοῦ [tu] in continuation of the final infinitive structure common in the ancient Koine. In general, however, simple νά [na] + subjunctive is used both in true modal functions (6, 7 etc.) and as a future (24). Indeed, this construction is used routinely wherever Ancient Greek would have employed either a future-referring infinitival complement (with or without an overt subject) or a final conjunction, though in the latter case it may optionally be strengthened by διά [(ð)ja] 'for', e.g. (7). In fact the infinitive here, unlike in the more refined Greek of the romances, where it was also retained as an option after control verbs (occasionally), ἄρχομαι ['arxome] 'begin', and in indirect questions (e.g. *we don't know what to do*), is restricted to the complements of modal auxiliaries and to nominalized subject-orientated adjuncts of the type τὸ ἰδεῖ [to i'ði]/τὸ ἀκούσει [to a'kusi], lit. 'the to-see/the to-hear …', i.e. 'on seeing, hearing …' (e.g. 555, 631). These were

functionally very close to aorist gerunds like ἀκούσοντα [a'kusonda] (e.g. 351), or their learned partners such as ἀκούσων [a'kuson][6] (e.g. 378), and so enjoyed a relatively brief period of popularity before their demise.

New senses of ancient words, or of new derivations from ancient words, are also much in evidence. Note, for example: λογάριν [lo'ɣari(n)] = 'money' rather than 'piffling speech', and associated now with the verb λογαριάζω [loɣar'jazo] 'calculate' (especially of bills); and ταξ(ε)ίδιν [ta'ksiði(n)] = 'expedition/journey', an extension of the ancient use of τάξις ['taksis] in the sense of 'company of soldiers'. Of special interest, however, is the locution ὁ λόγου του [o 'loɣu tu] 'himself' (emphatic, as in *he did it himself*) in line 15. We should first note the use of prepositional expressions such as ἀπὸ/διὰ τοῦ λόγου του [ap(o)/ ðja tu 'loɣu tu] (e.g. 1395, 3460), lit. 'on his account', phrases perhaps originating in the learned world of book-keeping (note the genitive). As these came to be used idiomatically with the sense of emphatic 'self', the preposition was sometimes dropped, and we start to find the indeclinable phrase τοῦ λόγου του [tu 'loɣu tu] (but with free choice of possessive) used as an emphatic pronoun.[7] We also find substitution of the true reflexive pronoun for λόγου ['loɣu], to give ἀπ' τοῦ (ἐ)αυτοῦ του [ap tu (e)af'tu tu], lit. 'from the self of-him', whence began, via the abstraction of the complement of the preposition, the replacement of the forms of the simple reflexive, such as ((ἐ)αυτόν [(e)af'ton] 'himself', with τὸν (ἐ)αυτό(ν) του [ton (e)af'to tu] 'the self of-him', where 'self' is inflected as a masculine noun and only the possessive varies (the sole form of the reflexive in Modern Greek). Since other expressions of emphatic 'self' (e.g. ἴδιος ['iðjos]) could be used freely in the nominative, we also eventually get the apparent 'nominative reflexive' ὁ ἑαυτός του [o eaf'tos tu], and the parallel appearance of the article with ἴδιος ['iðjos] (even though this combination was already used to mean 'the same'). But in the transitional period when the simple reflexive remained in use, expressions such as ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ [af eaf'tu], lit. 'from/by himself', led also to parallel use of ἀπό λόγου του [apo 'loɣu tu] without the article. From this, λόγου του ['loɣu tu] was abstracted as an 'emphatic pronoun' (indeclinable + free choice of possessive), which could then be substituted into the frame of ὁ ἑαυτός του/ ὁ ἴδιος [o eaf'tos tu/o 'iðjos], to give ὁ – λόγου του [o 'loɣu tu], as in line 15. This last variant has not survived into the modern language, though the form without the article is still sometimes heard (if this is not simply a reduction of τοῦ λόγου του [tu 'loɣu tu]).

Conversely, we also find, on the assumption that an emphatic pronominal should agree with the item it modifies, the substitution of a fully inflected ἑαυτός [(e)af'tos] for the genitives (ἐ)αυτοῦ [(e)af'tu] or λόγου του ['loɣu tu] in prepositional phrases like ἀπ' αὑτοῦ/ ἀπό λόγου του [ap af'tu/apo 'loɣu tu], to form the rather odd-looking expression ἀπ' α(ὑ)τός [apa'(f)tos], which, in view of the obviously non-prepositional force of the preposition, is perhaps best written as a single word, ἀπα(υ)τός. On the apparent model of αὑτός (or αὐτός) του [af'tos tu], properly a reduction of ὁ αὑτός του [(w) af'tos tu], see above; this could then combine with a possessive to give ἀπα(υ)τός του [apa'(f)tos tu] (e.g. 5827). Such expressions enjoyed a lively later history in the spoken dialects of Modern Greek, but they are no longer a feature of the contemporary standard. In early Cypriot (see 12.4.3), there are also phrases like ἀπό 'ξ αὑτῆς του [apo ks af'tis tu], lit. 'from/by out-of self of-him', e.g. in Machairás' *Chronicle* (paras. 23, 71). Here ἀπό [apo] is a true preposition with a local or agentive sense, but it takes as its

complement a fossilized phrase (ἐ)ξ-αὑτῆς [(e)ksaf'tis], treated once again as an indeclinable reflexive/emphatic pronominal (with free choice of possessive), in which a feminine 'self' had earlier been substituted for the feminine head noun of phrases such as ἐκ μερίδος του/ἐκ μεριᾶς του [ek me'riðos tu/ek me'rjas tu] 'from part/side of-him' (local variants of the more usual ἐκ μέρους του [ek 'merus tu] 'from part/side of-him', 'on his behalf'). Subsequently, we also find a modernized version in which ἀπό [a'po] governs an accusative masculine 'pronoun' ξαυτόν [ksaf'ton], treated as equivalent to (ἑ)αυτόν [(e)af'ton] (cf. 12.4.2).

If we abstract away from the metrical conventions and archaisms associated with the tradition of vernacular verse, we may fairly conclude that the *Chronicle of the Morea* sustains a more comprehensively vernacular style than almost any other text of the period, and to that extent offers uniquely valuable insights into the development and chronology of many of the innovations presented in chapter 11.

12.3.4 The translated romances

Though the language of the romances translated or adapted from western originals is certainly more literary than that of the *Chronicle of the Morea,* it still belongs more centrally to the vernacular tradition than that of the original romances composed in the Byzantine capital. The translation of *Phlórios and Plátzia-Phlóre,* for example (a late 14th/early 15th-century version of a Tuscan adaptation of a French original, surviving in two manuscripts), was probably completed in the Frankish-dominated Peloponnese. The translator, who perhaps belonged to the Catholic ruling class, clearly knew the *Spanéas* poem and (probably) the *Chronicle of the Morea,* but was generally unconcerned to demonstrate any knowledge of Greek literature written in the learned language. By contrast, the use of innovative and often extravagant descriptive compounds, the verbal echoes of folk poetry, the avoidance of complex sentence structures and rhetorical periods, and the low incidence of learned forms (many of which may have been preserved in the oral folk tradition and vernacular writing deriving from it) are all familiar features of original compositions using popular forms of Greek.

The action of *Phlórios* takes place in Spain and Cairo, where Plátzia-Phlóre is sold into slavery. The heroine's father is a knight of Rome (the original, not the 'new Rome' of Byzantium), the hero a prince of Moorish Spain. After the usual adventures, the story closes with the reunification of the lovers, the conversion of the Spanish Muslims, and the election of Phlórios' father as king of Rome (this is a romance after all ...). In the following extract Plátzia-Phlóre laments her misfortune on being sold to slavers (see Kriarás (1955: 131–96)):

(16) Πρῶτον ψυχὴν ἐχώριζον μόνον ἀπὲ τὸ σῶμα,
μὲ τῆς πυρᾶς τὴν συμφοράν, μὲ τῆς ἱστιὰς τὴν καῦσιν,
καὶ νῦν ἐμὲ χωρίζουσιν ἐκ τὸν ἐμὸν τὸν πόθον,
ζωὴν νὰ ζῶ ἐπώδυνον, πάντοτε πονεμένην,
νύκτες νὰ κλαίω, νὰ θλίβωμαι, ἡμέρες νὰ λυποῦμαι,
τὸ τρώγω νὰ ἔνι ὀδυνηρόν, τὸ πίνω νὰ ἔναι πόνος,
δεῖπνος νὰ ἔναι συμφορά, ὀδύνη νὰ μὲ σφάζῃ,
ποτὲ νὰ μὴ ἔχω ἀνάπαυσιν, ἀλλὰ πικριὲς μεγάλες.
Πόθε μου, ἀγάπη μου καλή, ψυχή μου, ἐνθύμησίς μου,
ἐπιθυμιά μου, Φλώριε, καρδιά μου, ψύχωσίς μου,

παρηγοριὰ τῶν πόνων μου, γδίκη τῶν πειρασμῶν μου,
πάλιν κινδύνοι ἐφτάσασιν διὰ νὰ μὲ ξενώσουν
καθόλου ἀπὸ τὸν πόθον σου καὶ ἀπ' τὴν ἀσχόλησίν σου.
Τὴν πουλησιὰν οὐκ ἤξευρα καὶ θέλημά μου οὐκ ἦτον·
μ' ἐπιβουλιὰν τὸ ποίκασιν, ὁ Θεὸς αὐτοὺς νὰ κρίνη!
Ἐπαίρνουν με, ξενώνουν με, καὶ πλεὸν οὐδὲν μὲ βλέπεις.

Phlórios and Plátzia-Phlóre, 1002–17

['proto(n) psi'çin e'xorizon 'monon ape to 'soma,
first soul they-were-parting only from the body
me tis pi'ras ti si(m)fo'ra(n), me tis i'stjas tiŋ 'gapsi(n),
with of-the pyre the misfortune, with of-the fire the burning,
ce 'nin e'me xo'rizusin ek ton e'mon dom 'boθo(n),
and now me they-are-parting from the my the desire,
zo'i na 'zo e'poðino(n), 'pandote pone'meni(n),
life that I-may-live of-pain, always afflicted,
'nixtes na 'kleo, na 'θlivome, i'meres na li'pume,
nights that I-may-weep, that I-may-be-distressed, days that I-may-grieve,
to 'troɣo ˌna ɲ oðini'ro(n), to 'pino ˌna ne 'ponos,
what I-eat that may-be painful, what I-drink that may-be toil,
'ðipnos na 'ene si(m)fo'ra, o'ðini na me 'sfazi,
dinner that may-be misfortune, pain that me may-butcher,
po'te na 'mi xo a'napapsi(n), ala pi'krjes me'ɣales.
never that not I-may-have respite, but bitternesses great.
'poθe mu, a'ɣapi mu ka'li, psi'çi mu, enˌθimi'siz mu,
Desire of-me, love of-me fine, soul of-me, source-of-passion of-me,
epiθi'mja mu, 'florie, kar'ðja mu, ˌpsixo'siz mu,
object-of-desire of-me, Phlórios, heart of-me, source-of-life of-me,
pariɣo'rja tom 'bono(m) mu, 'ɣðici tom biraz'mo(m) mu,
consolation of-the pains of-me, vengeance of-the trials of-me,
'pali(n) cin'ðini 'ftasasi(n) ði'a na 'me kse'nosun
again dangers have-come for that me they-may-deprive
ka'θolu ap tom 'boθo su c ap tin asˌxoli'si su.
altogether of the desire of-you and from the attention of-you.
tim buli'sjan uk 'iksevra ce ˌθeli'ma m uk 'ito(n);
The sale not I-knew-about and will of-me not it-was;
m epivu'ʎa(n) to 'pikasin, o θjos a(f)tus na 'krini!
with treachery it they-did, the God them that he-may-judge!
e'pernu(m) me, kse'nonu(m) me, ce 'pʎon u'ðe me 'vlepis.]
They-take me, they- exile me, and (no-)more not me you-see.

'At first they tried only to part my soul from my body through the calamity of the pyre, by the burning of the fire, but now they part me from my beloved to live a life of pain, forever grievous, to weep by night and suffer, to grieve by day, that what I eat may be a source of sorrow, what I drink a source of pain, that food may be my misfortune, that my agony may slay me, that I may never have respite, but only great bitterness. My desire, my true love, my soul, my inspiration, object of my longing, Phlórios, my heart, source of my life, consolation of my sufferings, avenger of my torments, dangers have come once more to deprive me altogether of your desire and your attention. I did not know of the

sale and it was not my wish; they did it treacherously, may God be their judge! They are taking me, they are exiling me, and you will see me no more.'

The impression here is of a poem in a stylized version of contemporary speech, a polished form of language assimilated to the conventions of folk poetry and literate composition in the popular style. Synizesis is usually guaranteed by the metre, aphaeresis is often recognized (along with the assimilation of voiced obstruents in γδίκη ['ɣðici] < ἐκ-δίκη [ek'ðici] 'revenge'), the final vowel of ἀπό [a'po] is usually elided before the article (once, in line 1, with anaptyctic -ε [e]), and φτάνω ['ftano] 'I arrive' is consistently spelled φτ- rather than φθ-. We may therefore resasonably suppose, despite the orthography, that several other changes characteristic of popular Greek in the later medieval period had also gone through in the speech of the translator, including loss of final -ν [-n] other than in specified environments (cf. 11.2 (3)), and perhaps the shift of [fs] to [ps] in words such as καῦσιν ['kapsi] (11.6 (12)).

Note too the modern morphology of nominative plurals of a-stem nouns, e.g. ἡμέρες [i'meres] in line 5, cf. 11.7.4; of 3sg forms of the verb 'be', ἔναι ['ene], ἦτον ['ito(n)], cf. 11.8.5 (a) (ἔνι ['eni] in line 6 perhaps represents the prevocalic pronunciation of -αι as [-j], cf. καί/κι [ce/c] 'and'); and of the 3pl aorist ποίκασιν ['pikasi(n)], cf. 11.6 (14), 11.8.4. The usual metrical convenience of allowing 3pl alternations in -ουν [-un]/-ουσι(ν) [-usi(n)] and -αν [-an]/-ασι(ν) [-asi(n)] is, of course, in evidence. There are also new formations such as ἠξεύρω [i'kse(v)ro] 'I know' in line 14, built to aorist ἐξ-εῦρα/ἠξεῦρα [e'ksevra/i'ksevra] (then ἤξευρα ['iksevra]) 'I knew', originally 'I found out', as a replacement for γινώσκω [ji'nosko]/aorist ἔγνωκα ['eɣnoka]. In line 16, ξενώνω [kse'nono] 'I exile', for ancient ξενόω/ξενῶ [kse'noo/kse'no], and (ἐ)παίρνω [(e)'perno] 'I take', for ancient ἐπ-αίρω [e'pero], both show the intrusive -ν- [-n-] characteristic of many innovative imperfective stems, cf. 11.8.5 (b). We may also mention the regular use of the accusative with prepositions that require the genitive in the classical language (e.g. ἀπό [a'po] and ἐκ [ek] in the passage above), and the use of the genitive (mainly with pronouns, e.g. 491) or the accusative (mainly with full noun phrases, e.g. 986) to mark the indirect object.

By contrast, learned features such as the use of 3rd-declension inflected participles (e.g. in a causal sense after ὡς [os], 144), complement datives (e.g. 465, 480), and non-control infinitives (e.g. 480) are quite rare, and may be suspect if they confer no obvious metrical advantage or stylistic nuance.[8] In (16) itself, the only archaic/learned features worthy of note are the use of the possessive adjective in line 3, the rather free use of 3rd-declension nouns in -σις [-sis] (in comparison, say, with the *Chronicle of the Morea*), and the retention of the old two-termination declensional system for compound adjectives of classical origin (distinguishing only a joint masc/fem and a neuter form): contrast ζωὴν ... ἐπώδυνον [zo'i(n)...e'poðinon] 'life ... of-pain', in line 4, with κούπαν ... ὁλόχρυσην ['kupa(n) ... o'loxrisin] 'cup ... all-gold', in 984, where the adjective, as a vernacular formation modifying a vernacular noun, has a distinct feminine paradigm (11.7.7 (25)).

This 'progressive' form of the vernacular *Dichtersprache* constituted the norm for much of the fictional poetry of the 14th and 15th centuries, and crucially provided the foundation for much of the emerging dialectal literature of Crete, as discussed below (see also Part III, 14.2.4).

12.4 The First Dialect Literature: Cyprus and Crete

12.4.1 Introduction

Cypriot is the first modern Greek dialect to appear in its distinctive regional guise, our earliest example being a 14th-century legal text (*The Assizes*) translated into Greek from a French original. The early official and literary use of local dialect in Cyprus was undoubtedly connected with the fact that the island was partially insulated from the influence of the capital in the middle Byzantine period when, from the middle of the 7th century till the campaigns of Nikephóros Phokás in 965, it was under Arab or joint Arab–Byzantine rule. It was then reoccupied barely two hundred years later by the knights of the third crusade, and sold first to the Order of the Templars of Jerusalem and then to the French Lusignan dynasty (1192). French government continued until 1489, when the island passed to the Venetians, who were forced to abandon it to the Turks in 1571. The long period of western rule therefore continued an established tradition of semi-detached development in which the local vernacular had acquired a status generally denied to it in areas under continuous Byzantine rule.

The situation on Crete was superficially similar, in that Crete also had a period of Arab occupation (827–961), and was later administered by western rulers, in this case the Venetians (1211 to 1669), who had paid 1,000 marks to Boniface of Montserrat for the privilege. But the language of the vernacular literature which began to appear there from the late 14th century onwards is not very different from that used elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world, and though specifically Cretan dialect words and forms can certainly be found, the thoroughgoing use of what we now think of as Cretan dialect did not become established in literary composition until the second half of the 16th century. This difference merits examination.

In Cyprus, the early weakening of the traditions of Byzantium is confirmed by the writings of the aristocratic Leóntios Machairás, who composed his *Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* in the first half of the 15th century. In this work the author describes a world in which the Greek elite had long been integrated, and was subject to only residual influence from the higher forms of Byzantine culture. Even though he remained an Orthodox Christian who acknowledged the injustices his people had suffered at the hands of the Latin hierarchy (27, 29, 101) and lamented the influx of French loanwords into the speech of the island (158), Machairás also shows great respect for the feudal government and instinctively supports its suppression of revolt, whether by noble knights (259) or the Greek peasants whom he despises (697). His compositional technique, correspondingly, owes much to the practice of contemporary French writers, and his written Greek, as far as we can tell, already reflects the developed Cypriot dialect of the period quite closely. Learned language is almost entirely confined to scriptural quotation, and the fact that he sometimes misquotes the canonized text is a further indication that he lacked a conventional Greek education (e.g. in paragraph (1) he substitutes ψέματα τῶν ψεμάτων ['psemata tom bze'maton], lit. 'lies of lies', for ματαιότης τῶν ματαιοτήτων [mate'otis tom mateo'titon], 'vanity of vanities').

In Crete, by contrast, where the Arab occupation was comparatively short, Byzantine cultural traditions remained more firmly in place, a situation later reinforced by

reaction to the economic, political and religious oppression that marked the first two centuries of Venetian rule. Classical Greek could still be studied in the mid-14th century, classical and Byzantine learned texts continued to be copied (Holton (1991a: 3)), and even the vernacular literature which began to be composed in the latter part of the 14th century often looked back to Byzantine models, even if some poets were also beginning to show an interest in their own folk traditions and contemporary Italian work. This situation was, of course, reinforced by the influx of scholarly Byzantine refugees before and after 1453, and by the establishment of Venice as the most important printing centre in Europe, an industry in which Greeks, including many Cretans, played a prominent role.

Nevertheless, the fully fledged Cretan dialect of late 16th- and 17th-century literature did not emerge overnight, and the local speech, as with other dialects in the middle ages, must have evolved over a considerable period before a refined and expanded written version came to be used in literary composition. We should note in this connection that Venetian administrative documents, composed in, or relating to, Crete during the 13th and early 14th centuries, employ Greek styles ranging from a mildly modernized standard-official in decrees of the state (e.g. Miklosich and Müller ((1860–90: vol. VI, no. XC, 220–2)) to near-vernacular officialese in documents of a more local character (e.g. Miklosich and Müller (1860–90: vol. VI, no. CII, 238–9)). But even the worst-spelled texts of the latter type, which presumably reflect the 'civil-service' Greek learned *in situ* by minor officials, display few clearly dialectal elements: possible examples include regular 3pl -ουσι [-usi] in documents from the west (-ου(νε) [-u(ne)] was preferred in the east), and the occasional use of αὐτόνος [af'tonos] for αὐτός [af'tos] 'this' (cf. 11.7.8 (d)). Even the agreement of 1299 between the rebellious Cretan aristocrat Aléxios Kallérges and the Venetian authorities (Mértzios (1949: 264–74)), which Panayiotákis (1993) presents as one of the earliest documents in vernacular prose, looks relatively 'standard'. It seems, then, that the period in which Cretan developed most strongly in the direction of its modern form, at least for the educated/literate classes, began during the 14th century, a little before vernacular literature started to be produced on the island.

The relative rarity of dialectal features in earlier Cretan poetry would then reflect the continuing influence of the learned and vernacular Byzantine written traditions and the still-emerging character of the Cretan dialect among educated speakers in a period when many 'common' vernacular features remained in use alongside the 'popular' local variants that eventually replaced them. The key period of linguistic development probably coincided with important social changes that help explain the spread and acceptance of dialect forms. Even though the condition of the peasants remained wretched throughout the Venetian period, the Cretan and Venetian aristocracies eventually embarked on a process of symbiosis and integration (cf. Maltézou (1991)), and it was against this background of intermarriage and extended cultural cross-fertilization that the hold of the Byzantine tradition began to wane and Cretan dialect emerged as the common language of the island. Even the Venetian colonists began to abandon Italian (which was increasingly restricted to high-level administration and culture), and by the mid-16th century the greatly enhanced status of the local vernacular finally overcame any residual reluctance to its adoption as the basis for a literary language. This innovation was undoubtedly supported by the contemporary Italian movements to elevate

the more prestigious local dialects, including Venetian, into written languages (Cochrane (1988: 19–23)), and an elaborated, somewhat stylized form of Cretan soon became the vehicle for dramatic and poetic works of a quality that has since led to the period c.1580–1669 becoming known as the 'Cretan Renaissance'.

Since the major early works in Cypriot dialect belong to the 14th and 15th centuries, and since there is a natural break in the Cretan vernacular tradition that corresponds roughly with the end of the period covered by this chapter, the discussion of Cypriot and Cretan literature is conveniently divided into two parts. The earlier period is therefore discussed below, and the works of the 16th and (for Crete) 17th centuries are presented and analysed in chapter 14.

12.4.2 Early dialect literature in Cyprus: Machairás' chronicle

This 15th-century work is one of the earliest examples of extended vernacular writing in prose, and is one of the most important documents for the study of the popular Greek of its period. It has survived in three manuscripts, all of the 16th century, in Ravenna (R), Venice (V, containing also the later chronicle of Geórgios Boustrónios), and Oxford (O, with serious lacunae and a more colloquial/dialectal style, including a larger set of French loans). These versions are sometimes strikingly different, and even the internal linguistic variation is noteworthy, with both vernacular/non-regional and learned variants in use alongside specifically Cypriot forms. In general it seems that educated Cypriot tolerated a fair measure of free variation between older vernacular and innovative local forms, and that this variety, like educated speech everywhere, had also assimilated elements from written Greek that remained in use in higher spoken and written functions independently of specific learned sources. The standard edition, based on V (taken to be the most reliable guide to the original), is that of Dawkins (1932); see also Pierís and Nikoláou-Kónnari (2003).

Modern Cypriot is markedly different from standard Modern Greek (see e.g. Newton (1970), Kondosópoulos (2001), Chatziioánnou (1999)), and a number of its more prominent characteristics are already in evidence, directly or indirectly, in Machairás' work. The following phonological developments serve to illustrate the point (Dawkins (1932: 31–40)).

(17) There are many instances of assimilation of a vowel to that of a following syllable: γεναῖκα [je'neka] for γυναῖκα [ji'neka] 'woman'; παρπατῶ [parpa'to] for περπατῶ [perpa'to] 'walk'; λουτουργία [lutu'rjia] for λειτουργεία [litu'rjia] 'service' etc.). While some, such as those just mentioned, are attested only as alternants to the common forms, others are fully regular (e.g. πολομῶ (-άω [-'ao]) [polo'mo] 'I do' (a developed sense < 'I fight/strive (for)/accomplish'), distinguished from πολεμίζω [pole'mizo] 'I make war').

(18) In contemporary Cypriot intervocalic voiced fricatives are often lost, and we already find occasional examples in Machairás' *Chronicle* such as ὁ ρήας [o 'rias] for ὁ ρήγας [o 'riɣas] 'the king' and σανία [sa'nia] for σανίδα [sa'niða] 'a dish'.

(19) Palatalization of voiceless velar fricatives before [i (j)] and [e] has led to [ʃ] (as opposed to common [ç]) in modern Cypriot, and there is an identical palatal

articulation of σ (originally [s]) before [j], and sometimes before [i]. Spelling confusions reflecting these developments are already found in Machairás: e.g. πεντακόχιες [penda'koʃ(j)es] for πεντακόσιες 'five hundred' and ψυσικόν [psiʃi'kon] for ψυχικόν 'spiritual'.

(20) A most important modern characteristic of Cypriot is the retention of word-final [n], and its assimilation to a following word-initial consonant[9] (which may represent a stage through which all dialects passed). The Cypriot situation is occasionally reflected in variant spellings of word-final [n] before words beginning with certain fricatives and nasals. Thus alongside -ν σ-/φ-/ν-, we also find examples where -ν is dropped (e.g. πᾶσα φοράν ['pasa(f) fo'ran] 'every time', γυρεύγου να ἦνε [ji'revɣu(n) na 'ine] 'they-ask that they-be'), together with variants involving -νς σ- (e.g. εἰς αὐτόνς σου [is aftos su] 'to self of-you')[10] and -ς σ- (e.g. ἂς σᾶς ξηγηθῶ [as sas ksiji'θo] 'if I to-you explain', assuming that the first word is indeed ἂν [an] 'if', rather than ἂς [as] < ἔασε ['ease] 'let', which is often used equivalently in Medieval Greek.

(21) In contemporary Cypriot (and south-eastern dialects generally) the double consonants of the ancient language are preserved, and many other words have acquired secondary double-consonant articulations. This latter development, curiously reminiscent of the analogical doubling of liquids and nasals in the ancient Aeolic dialects, is well attested in Machairás' *Chronicle*, though whether there are any precisely formulable 'rules' controlling its operation is unclear. The potential targets are initial and intervocalic liquids, nasals, voiceless plosives (pronounced [pp^h, tt^h, kk^h] in modern Cypriot), and fricatives, though the effect is sometimes restricted to specific grammatical morphemes (e.g. already in Machairás the comparative in -ττερος [-tt^heros] and the perfect passive participle in -μμένος [-m'menos]), sometimes apparently a feature of specific words (e.g. in the text of Machairás νναί [ɲɲe] 'yes', ἄννοιξα ['aɲɲiksa] 'I opened'; ἔσσω ['esso] 'within'; νησσίν [ɲis'sin] 'island'; ἔππεσα ['epp^{h}esa] 'I fell'; πολλύς [poʎ'ʎis] 'much'; ποττέ [pot't^{h}e] '(n)ever' etc.).

A major issue, however, is variation, and a few instances will suffice to illustrate the nature of the problem (references are to the paragraphs of Dawkins' text). For example, virtually the full set of possible feminine plural variants, apart from articular nom pl αἱ [e], is in apparently free use (cf. 11.7.2–4 (17–21), 11.7.6 (24)); thus nominative οἱ 'μέραι [i 'mere] 'the days', with classical nominal ending, occurs beside οἱ 'μέρες [i 'meres], with vernacular nominal suffix (1); and the wholly classical accusative τὰς παλαιὰς ἱστορίας [tas pale'as isto'rias] 'the old histories' is used alongside the mixed τὰς παλαιὰς ἱστορίες [tas pale'as isto'ries] (2) and the wholly vernacular τὲς γυναῖκες [tez ji'nekes] (26) 'the women'. Similarly, though the assimilation of i-stems to the a-stems, orthography notwithstanding, is generally well-advanced in Machairás (cf. nom sg ἡ τάξι [i 'taksi] 'order' (14); acc sg τὴν τάξιν [tin 'daksin] (13, 28); gen sg τῆς τάξις [tis 'taksis] (13); nom/acc plurals in -ες [-es], e.g. τὲς χρῆσες [tes 'xrises] 'the needs' (25), πύρεξες ['pirekses] 'fevers' (33), and τὲς γιάσες [tez 'jases] 'the cures' (33)), learned forms are not uncommon, and are sometimes used side by side with their popular equivalents. Thus nom sg such

as ἡ διάβασις [i 'ðjavasis] 'the crossing' (10), ἡ τάξις [i 'taksis] 'the class/order' (15), and χρῆσις ['xrisis] 'need' (50) occur with some regularity, even though gen sg forms such as ἀποκαλύψεως (θεοῦ) [apoka'lipseos (θe'u)] 'revelation (of God)' (35) and (πατριάρχην) Κωνσταντινουπόλεως [(patri'arçin) konstandinu'poleos] '(patriarch) of Constantinople' (40) (alongside vernacular Κωνσταντινόπολις [ko(n)standi'nopolis] (22)) seem to be reserved mainly for religious contexts, in which the traditional language of the church has influenced the choice of form.

Other examples include the preposition meaning 'from', the classical form of which (ἀπό [a'po]) appears freely alongside dialectal ἀπού [a'pu] without any apparent shift of register. The general vernacular ἀπ' [ap] is used before words begining with a vowel, but ἀπέ [ape] with anaptyxis is used regularly before forms of the definite article beginning with [t-] (and sometimes other words with the same initial consonant). Similarly, the aorist of 'come' is inflected according to both a traditional paradigm, e.g. 3pl ἦλθαν ['ilθan] (48), and a vernacular/dialect one, e.g. 3pl ἦρταν ['irtan] (48).[11] We may compare the aorist of 'die', which has 3sg ἐπέθανεν [e'peθanen] (19) beside 3pl ἐποθάναν [epo'θanan] (31), and (classical) 3sg ἀπέθανεν [a'peθanen] (21) alongside 3sg ἀπόθανεν [a'poθanen] (41), revealing all kinds of uncertainty about the role and position of the augment in compound verbs (as well as motivating innovative presents (ἀ)ποθαίνω [(a)po'θeno]/(ἀ)πεθαίνω [(a)pe'θeno], cf. 11.8.5 (b), 11.8.6 (b)).

Some of this inconsistency is presumably due partly to later scribal practice, but Machairás himself may well have used learned and educated vernacular forms alongside more popular local variants. In any case, as a pioneer in the adaptation of the vernacular for literary prose, he would necessarily have fallen back on the conventions of traditional writing, particularly those of prose chronicles (see below). Nor should we discount the possibility that some of the purely orthographic variation conceals a more consistent pronunciation in an era when the only standardized orthography was that of the traditional written language.

The following brief extract, dealing with the aftermath of the Templars' sale of Cyprus to Guy de Lusignan of Jerusalem, provides a typical sample of the language (the transcription attempts to represent a specifically Cypriot pronunciation):

(22) Καὶ ὄντα τὴν ἐγόρασεν ὁ αὐτὸς ρὲ Οὖνγκε τὴν Κύπρον ἀπὲ τοὺς Τεμπλιῶτες και τοὺς Λαγκοβάρδους, μανθάνοντα τὴν ἀγανάκτησιν ὅπου τοὺς ἐποῖκαν καὶ τὸν σφαμὸν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἦτον εἰς μεγάλην ἔννοιαν καὶ ἐννοιάζετον πῶς νὰ ποίσῃ νὰ μὲν ἔχουν κακὸν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον, ὅτι ὅλος ὁ τόπος ἦτον γεμᾶτος Ρωμαῖοι, καὶ ἐλάλεν εἰς τὸν ἐμαυτόν του, Ὅποτε θελήσου νὰ ρεβελιάσουν κατὰ μένα, ἠμποροῦ νὰ τὸ ποίσουν καὶ θέλουν ἔχειν βοήθειαν τὸν βασιλέαν τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολις, καὶ ἐμποροῦν μὲ δύναμιν νὰ σηκώσουν τὸ ρηγάτον ἀπὲ τὰς χείρας μου. (*Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus* 22)

[tʃe 'onda tin e'ɣorasen o af'tos re 'uŋge tin 'dʒipron ape tus
And when it he-bought the same king Guy the Cyprus from the
tem'bʎotes tʃe tus laŋgu'varðus, maθ'θanonda tin aɣa'naktisim
Templars and the Lombards, learning the vexation
pu tus e'pikan tʃe tos sfam'mon (i)s tix 'xoran, 'iton iz me'ɣalin
that for-them they-made and the slaughter in the land, he-was in great

'eɲɲan tʃ eɲ'ɲazeton pos na 'pisi na men 'exun ka'kon (i)s tin
concern and gave-thought-to how that he-may-make(it) that not they-have trouble in the
'dʒipron, oti 'olos o 'topos 'itoj je'matos ro'mei, tʃ e'laʎen (i)s
Cyprus, because all the place was full(of) Byzantines/Greeks, and he-was-saying to
ton emaf'ton du, 'opote θe'lisun na reve'ʎasun kata 'menan,
the self of-him, 'Whenever they-want that they-rebel against me,
imbo'run na to 'pisun tʃe 'θelun 'eʃin vo'iθjan tov
they-can that it they-do and they-will to-have (as) help the
vasi'ʎan tis kostandi'nopolis, tʃ embo'run me 'ðinamin na si'kosun
king of-the Constantinople, and they-can with force that they-take
to ri'ɣaton ape taʃ 'ʃiraz mu.]
the kingdom from the hands of-me.'

'And when the aforementioned king Guy bought Cyprus from the Templars and the Lombards, learning of the vexation that they (*the Greeks*) had caused them and the slaughter in the land, he was greatly concerned and began to consider how he could arrange for them not to have trouble in Cyprus, because the whole place was full of Greeks, and he would say to himself, "Whenever they want to rebel against me, they can do it, and they will have the support of the king of Constantinople, and they can take the kingdom from my hands by force." '

Some of the features here have already been mentioned. Note, however, ὄντα(ν) ['ondan] 'when', a by-form of ὅταν ['otan] widely used in vernacular Greek (dialectal ἄντα(ν) ['andan] also occurs), and the aorist ἐ-γόρασεν [e'ɣorasen] from ἀγοράζω [aɣo'razo] 'I buy', involving the typically south-eastern extension of the syllabic augment to verbs with an initial vowel (as also in Pontic, cf. 11.8.6 (b)). The clitic doubling construction of the first sentence too is characteristic of popular Greek (the effect being to topicalize/background the doubled noun). But it is also important to observe the continued influence of chronographic conventions (cf. 10.2), for example in the discourse deictic use of ὁ αὐτός [o af'tos] 'the same', and the participial syntax of the second subordinate clause (albeit with the modern indeclinable gerund μανθάνοντα [maθ'θanonda]). Machairás was clearly familiar with at least this traditional form of writing.

Vernacular assimilation of the voiced fricative [ɣ] before a nasal is seen in σφαμός [sfam'mos] < σφαγμός [sfaɣ'mos] 'slaughter' (cf. forms such as πρᾶμμαν ['pramman] < πρᾶγμα ['praɣma] 'thing' for the geminate), and in ἔννοια ['eɲɲa] < ἔγνοια ['eɣnia]/ἔκ-νοια ['ek-nia] 'worry/concern' (lit. 'out-of-mind-ness', earlier 'madness'); in most dialects the fricative was deleted (or the geminate resulting from fricative assimilation was simplified).

The nominative after γεμᾶτος [je'matos] 'full (of)' is rather surprising, but the form ἐλάλεν [e'laʎen], which superficially seems to involve the equally surprising transfer of the contract verb λαλῶ [la'lo] to the non-contract paradigm, in fact conceals the popular recharacterized formation ἐλάλει-ε(ν) [e'laʎen] (11.8.5 (e)), where palatalization has proceeded to the point where the [j] of earlier [e'laljen] has been fully absorbed. The generalization of the 1st-person (rather than the 3rd-person) reflexive as the head noun in τὸν ἐμαυτόν του [ton emaf'ton du] is not uncommon in vernacular texts; the crucial thing is that the owner of the 'self' is marked by the genitive pronoun, the use of the 1st-person form being no more illogical than that of the 3rd. Note finally that the semantic contrast between νά [na] and infinitival complements to θέλω ['θelo]

is well illustrated in Guy's speech to himself, the former meaning 'want', the latter marking future 'will'. The θέ [θe] + *νά* [na] construction underlying the standard Modern Greek future is not attested in early Cypriot, but the synonymous μέλλει *νά* ['melli na] + subjunctive 'it will (be) that' is already a regular variant (e.g. in para. 1).

Vocabulary items worth noting here include the loans ρεβελιάζω [reve'ʎazo] 'rebel' and ρηγᾶτον [ri'ɣaton] 'kingdom', in which Latin/Romance roots have been equipped with Greek suffixes, and σηκώνω [si'kono] 'lift' or, as here, 'take' < ancient σηκόω [si'koo]. This last originally meant 'weigh in a balance', but the upward movement of items as weights were added to the other side of the balance led to the extended sense of 'raise/lift', as in Modern Greek.

12.4.3 Early vernacular literature in Crete

The first known Cretan poet, Stéphanos Sachlíkes (late 14th century), belonged to the bourgeoisie of Kástro (modern Iráklio), but dissipated most of his inheritance on whoring and gambling, and ended up in jail on the accusations of a woman. After a period of retirement in the country, living on his sole remaining fief, he finally enjoyed a characteristically flawed career as an advocate back in Kástro (cf. van Gemert (1991: 51–6)).

Using the techniques and language of the songs of the Cretan oral tradition, his early surviving work, much of it written (?as if) from his cell, consists of satirical poems of a personal kind composed in the 15-syllable metre and clearly designed to be recited. These include *Praise of Pothotsoutsouniá* ('Lust-for-Cock'), a pseudo-heroic work in which the heroine boasts of her sexual prowess to a group of visiting madams, a series of four 'didactic' poems on the loyalty (or otherwise) of friends, the jail, the prison warders, and his own warder, and *The Council of the Whores*, which in fact consists of three separate pieces composed for the first time in rhymed blocks (typically consisting of four lines). Later work is composed in rhyming couplets, an innovation which became standard in the Cretan tradition, and led to the rhyming of a number of earlier heroic and romantic classics in Venetian printed editions. These poems were clearly designed to be read, and comprise *Advice to Phrantziskés* (the son of a friend) and *The Remarkable Story of the Humble Sachlíkes* (his less-than-objective 'autobiography').

Sachlíkes is remarkable for his early use of elements of folk song and local dialect, and his vividly realistic treatments, inspired in part by the contemporary work of Francesco di Vannozzo, mark a break with the stylizing and distancing traditions of the Greek-speaking world. The contrast with Linárdos Dellapórtas (early 15th century) could hardly be greater. Like Sachlíkes, Dellapórtas was born into the bourgeoisie of Kástro, and at one point found himself in jail through the accusations of a woman. But there the similarity ends, since he spent his youth abroad in the service of Venice, returning in 1389 to be appointed as an advocate, and ended his life as director of the hospital of St Lazarus (cf. van Gemert (1991: 56–8)). Even though most of his work has still to be published, it is at once apparent that he rejected dialectal language and rhyme, and persisted with the traditions of written Greek. Four poems survive, of which the most important (*Dialogue between an Unfortunate Man and Truth*) draws

heavily on the Bible and various Byzantine works, the whole being characterized by dull didacticism.

The aristocratic Marínos Faliéros (15th century) was the second son of the Cretan branch of the Venetian family of Falier, and one of the greatest landowners in the eastern half of the island (cf. van Gemert (1991: 58–62)). His surviving work, which takes much of its inspiration from Italian literature, especially the work of the Venetian poet Leonardo Giustinian, comprises a love-dream entitled *Story and Dream* (with perhaps also a second love-dream and one other erotic poem) and three religious-didactic poems, *Lamentation of the Virgin on the Passion and Crucifixion, Poem of Comfort* (addressed to a friend who had lost his wife, children and property) and *Advice of a Father to his Son*, all in rhyming couplets and without obvious influence from the Byzantine tradition. There is a marked preference for dramatic treatments and dialogue form. It is important, however, to note the natural use of Greek and the 15-syllable metre on the part of a Venetian nobleman, confirming that by the 15th century many of the colonists not only spoke and understood Greek but also used it for writing. His Greek, like that of Sachlíkes, has a mildly dialectal feel, reflected in features such as a tendency to generalize ἤ- [i-] as the accented augment (an east Cretan characteristic, cf. 11.8.6 (b)), the appearance of the intrusive -γ- [-ɣ-] in the suffix -εύ(γ)ω [-'ev(ɣ)o] (cf. 11.8.5 (d)), and the occasional use of weak forms of the definite article ending in -ς [-s], e.g. τς [ts] for fem gen sg τῆς [tis]. See Part III, 14.2.4, for further discussion of characteristic Cretan innovations.

The most important work of this period, however, is undoubtedly the *Apókopos* ('Exhausted') of Bergadés (no first name is known), who was perhaps connected with the noble Bragadin/Bregadin family of Réthymno (cf. van Gemert (1991: 62–5)). The poem, now dated to the beginning of the 15th century, takes its title from the opening words: Μιὰν ἀπὸ κόπου ἐνύσταξα ... [mɲan apo 'kopu 'ɲistaksa ...], 'once after toil I-felt-weary ...', and apparently urges its readers to enjoy their life on earth because the dead are soon forgotten, a clearly anti-traditional line of argument. Interpretation remains controversial, however, as the original ending has been lost through later adaptation (perhaps in an effort to give the poem a more conventional moralizing character). In brief, the narrator has a dream in which, while hunting a deer, he sees a marvellous tree (symbolizing life). He climbs the tree to get honey from a beehive (life's pleasures), but two rats, one black and one white (night and day), start to nibble the trunk, and the tree begins to topple. Suddenly it appears to be swaying over the edge of an abyss, and when it finally slips over, the narrator falls into the open mouth of a serpent and enters the world of the dead. There he meets the shades of two young men who ask about the pleasures of the world above and whether they are still remembered, in particular by their widows and mothers. The narrator replies that the dead are quickly forgotten, and the shades sing a dirge on the faithlessness of women. It transpires that they are brothers killed in a shipwreck while on their way to visit their pregnant sister, who in turn had a dream of the disaster, miscarried and died. Though reunited in Hell, the three have no recollection of when these events took place, because time has no meaning in the underworld. The terrified narrator, desperate to escape from the darkness and surrounded by importunate shades who want him to take messages to the living, runs out towards the light.

It is clear that Bergadés was familiar with a wide range of both written and oral literature, Greek and western, though the roles of the participants in many traditional episodes are reversed, possibly in reaction to more conventional underworld poems such as the *Mournful Rhyme* of Ioánnes Pikátoros of Réthymno. The language of the poem is a now familiar blend of standard medieval vernacular (including archaisms from ecclesiastical writing) with elements of the developing Cretan dialect such as -εύγω [-'evɣo], accented augment ἤ- ['i-], thoroughgoing palatalization of [-s-/-r-] before [j] arising from synizesis (giving e.g. -εῖς [me'rʲa] for μεριά [mer'ja] 'side'), and many local vocabulary items. It is notable, however, that final -ν [-n], which was eventually lost even in 3pl verb forms and the gen pl of nouns/adjectives, is still preserved in writing (perhaps merely as a concession to the standard orthography).

12.5 Conclusion

It was noted at the end of Part I that most of the major phonological developments in the transition from Ancient to Modern Greek were completed by the late antique period. But though some of the major changes in morphology and syntax also have their roots in the same period, the completion of these changes, and the advent of many new ones, belongs properly to the medieval period. By the end of the 15th century the component parts of what would evolve into standard Modern Greek were largely in place, but the language itself remained fundamentally fragmented. Archaizing written Greek had variants of its own, while attempts at writing the vernacular remained unstable, involving a variable admixture of forms from written registers and educated speech into bases reflecting different oral traditions and regional developments. Only in the realm of romantic verse fiction did anything like a 'standard', non-regionally specific, vernacular style develop as a model, and even this was undermined by the fragmentation of the empire as it fell under western and then Ottoman domination. The efforts made to forge a modern standard from the disparate elements of the medieval linguistic legacy are the major theme of Part III.

Notes

1 The adjective πολιτικός [politi'kos] here seems to mean no more than 'public/common', cf. the later use of πολιτική [politi'ci] to mean 'prostitute'.
2 In line 7 πομπεύουν has been substituted for πομπεύουσιν for metrical reasons.
3 The text is that of Jeffreys (1998: 252) except that (i) the half-line following l. 10 is assumed to be an interpolated gloss, and (ii) the second half of l. 11 has been transposed from after l. 12. following Ricks (1990).
4 Though these are almost always nominative and subject-orientated, in modern style.
5 A possible exception is the parallel development of the use of reduced forms of the verb meaning 'want/will' in Old Venetian, Provençal and Greek. Markopoulos (2009: 186–208) argues that the original impetus towards the development of future θέ νά [θe na] was therefore due to Greek–Romance contact.
6 Note, incidentally, that these aorist gerunds have generalized the o-ending of the imperfective participle, and that even the learned variants are employed indeclinably – another example of the misunderstanding of learned forms.

7 Such expressions continue in colloquial use in Modern Greek, now often ironically/humorously.
8 Some introduce a metrical oddity: e.g. the rhythm of the first hemistich of 466, τοῖς δημίοις ἐλάλησεν [tis ði'miis e'lalisen] 'to-the executioners she-spoke', is greatly improved if the popular accusative, with columnar accent, is substituted, giving τοὺς δήμιους ἐλάλησεν [tuz 'ðimius e'lalisen].
9 Other than voiceless plosives, of course.
10 The orthographic nasal here is probably no more than a graphic device to show that the form is accusative.
11 The [l] > [r] shift before fricatives, now standardized in some common words, is first attested sporadically in the Egyptian papyri of late antiquity.

PART III

Modern Greek

From the Ottoman Empire to the European Union

13

Ottoman Rule and the War of Independence

13.1 The Early Years

Since most of the former Byzantine empire had already been occupied by the Ottoman Turks, the capture of Constantinople in May 1453, though shocking, was largely symbolic. The remnants of Greek-speaking territory, including some of the lands formerly under western rule, were then progressively incorporated into the Ottoman state, Trebizond in 1461, Athens, the Peloponnese and much of the Aegean by the 1470s. Some islands, however, held out a while longer, Rhodes till 1522, Chios and Naxos till 1566, Cyprus till 1571, and Crete till 1669. Uniquely, the Ionian islands (Heptanese) remained under Venetian control, after a brief interlude of Ottoman rule, until 1797, when they were first ceded to France, and then became a British protectorate.

Though Greek continued to be spoken in Sicily and southern Italy, all the principal concentrations of Greek speakers, in mainland Greece, the archipelago, the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, Constantinople, the shores of the Sea of Marmara, the southern coastline of the Black Sea (Pontus) and central Anatolia (Cappadocia), therefore eventually fell under Ottoman rule, and the popular spoken dialects of the remoter regions, especially at the western and eastern peripheries, began to develop more independently, as communications became more difficult and cultural activity declined.

Many Greek-speaking Christians, recalling the treachery of 1204, initially claimed to prefer Ottoman rule to domination by the Catholic Venetians, but the Venetian connection at least had the merit of promoting Greek cultural life. In the first centuries of Ottoman rule the University of Padua began to draw large numbers of Greek students from both Venetian and Ottoman lands, and Venice itself, as noted earlier, became a major centre of Greek publishing. Even after the fall of Crete, the Ionian islands continued to provide an important channel for western influence at a time when the majority were increasingly isolated from developments in the west.

After the fall of Constantinople, the Turks consolidated their grip on Serbia, Bosnia and Albania, and brought the Danubian states of Moldavia and Wallachia (the component parts of modern Romania and Moldova), together with much of Hungary, under their control. The various subject peoples were then organized into *milletler*

('nations') on the basis not of language but of religious faith, and in return for guaranteeing the loyalty of the Orthodox population (comprising not only Greeks, but also Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians and many Albanians), the patriarch of Constantinople was granted wide-ranging powers, including the administration of justice, the organization of education and the raising of taxes.

But despite these concessions, the Christians of the empire remained disadvantaged; their evidence was not accepted against that of a Muslim, Christian men could not marry Muslim women, the wealthy were not permitted to retain their estates, and all were subject to a tax in lieu of military service. They were also obliged to deliver children to be brought up as Muslims and educated for imperial service. This janissary levy provided the empire with its military and administrative elite, and offered the children of poor families an opportunity of advancement to the highest offices, but was bitterly resented. Inevitably, some converted to Islam, especially in Asia Minor and later in Crete. It is important, however, to appreciate that language and religion were never in a simple one-to-one relationship. Some of those who kept their religion became Turkish speakers (e.g. the Karamanli Christians of Asia Minor and Constantinople), while the Cretan apostates typically remained Greek-speaking. This mismatch was to have serious consequences after the Greek defeat in Asia Minor in 1922 (see chapter 16).

In these difficult years the ecumenical patriarchate provided a focal point for the empire's Christians. Thanks to Turkish willingness to devolve authority, the church was able to sustain Orthodox values not only when Ottoman power was at its height but also as the empire began to crumble. Though in time these values began to seem unenlightened to many, and though the church itself eventually fell victim to Ottoman venality, the patriarchate's policies were instrumental in the preservation of traditional Christian values and customs in an era when the chief preoccupation of the Greek-speaking population was the daily struggle for survival. The role of the church was also significant in the field of language, since the conservative practices of the ecclesiastical intelligentsia dominated education at all levels, and continued a written standard that helped both to sustain an educated spoken norm and in part to constrain the regional diversification of popular Greek, at least in less marginal areas. The cultural and linguistic foundations for a Greek national movement were therefore largely in place when the Ottoman empire began its long and painful decline.

13.2 Ottoman Decline

In Europe, decay set in quite quickly. Military weakness spawned internal corruption, and in a context of failing central authority, provincial governments began to operate semi-autonomously. Though revolutionaries sought periodically to exploit Turkish difficulties by risking armed resistance, as after the defeat of the Ottoman navy by Spain, Venice and the papacy at Lepanto (Náfpaktos) in 1571, or during the Veneto-Ottoman war of 1645–69 (when Crete was lost to the Turks and the Peloponnese temporarily occupied by Venice), the most persistent form of resistance came from *kléftes*, bandits who had fled to the mountains to avoid taxation and/or Turkish jurisdiction. Though they cheerfully robbed anyone with money, their assaults on Ottoman

officials earned them a Robin Hood reputation and spawned a magnificent collection of 'kleftic' ballads (see 14.3). In response, the authorities recruited local irregulars called *armatolí*, though in practice the distinction between these and the klefts they were supposedly fighting was a fine one, with frequent defections in both directions, determined largely by the rate and regularity of government pay. Such bands became increasingly powerful as central authority waned, and provided much of the military muscle in the struggle for independence that began in the 1820s.

By the end of the 18th century large areas of the empire had fallen under the control of local dynasties whose defiance, along with that of the klefts, provided an education in the possibilities of independent action. The Turks also began to encounter external difficulties, as Russia's territorial ambitions combined, during the reign of Peter the Great (1682–1725), with a growing political interest in the fate of their fellow Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule. Russian propaganda began to be distributed and fresh uprisings were encouraged (e.g. in 1770 the unsuccessful attempt by Orlov, under Catherine the Great, to foment a revolt in the Peloponnese).

These changes coincided with a number of shifts in the higher levels of Greek-speaking Orthodox society. As the Ottoman empire declined, it was obliged to negotiate with the European powers, and here the Turks relied on Greek-speaking 'interpreters', who thereby acquired great influence over foreign policy. The members of this new elite, which had grown up around the institution of the ecumenical patriarchate, were known as the *Phanariótes* (Phanariots), after the *Phanári* ('beacon/lighthouse') district along the Golden Horn to which the patriarchate had moved in 1601. Individuals from the very small number of families involved soon came to be appointed as governors of the Aegean islands and eventually as 'princes' (*hospodars*) of the semi-autonomous Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, where their courts, accessible to western influence from Vienna via the Danube, promoted cultural life and provided vital political experience for a future Greek ruling class.

The ambition of the Phanariots was reflected *inter alia* in an expansion of the education system, which, by the end of the 17th century, was staffed largely by western-educated graduates and included not only the long-established patriarchal academy in Constantinople but newly founded academies in the cities of Jassy (the capital of Moldavia) and Bucharest (the capital of Wallachia). During the 18th century, other 'advanced' schools were founded in Chios, Smyrna and Ayvalik, and the emphasis in the curriculum began to shift to the ancient classics, mathematics and the natural sciences under the influence of the French Enlightenment.

Just as important for the emergence of a Greek national movement was the rise of a business class, both inside and outside the empire, during the 18th century. The Greek-speaking population of Constantinople, Smyrna (Izmir) and Thessaloniki grew rapidly, commercial colonies were established in Italy, the south of France, central Europe and Russia's Black Sea ports, and the Greek merchant navy soon became a major force. It has sometimes been argued that the new bourgeoisie, intolerant of Ottoman incompetence, eventually threw its influence behind the struggle for independence in the hope of establishing a stable and more profitable business climate. But the merchants' overall reluctance to rock the boat is well-documented, though many contributed financially to the educational and consciousness-raising programmes that took place in the period before independence, partly from patriotic motives, but chiefly

in response to the growing demand for educated Greek speakers to help run their companies.

One consequence of these developments was the increased secularization of educated Greek-speaking society, which combined with a growing awareness that the culture and achievements of the ancient Greeks were greatly admired in the west. This bred a new confidence among the intelligentsia, who increasingly saw themselves as the heirs of the ancients. It also led to a depressingly predictable debate about the future development of a Greek national language, which proved to be both ferocious and protracted. One group argued for the purging of all foreign loans and the re-establishment of the classical tongue; diametrically opposed were the 'demoticists', who advocated the contemporary spoken vernacular(s) as the basis for a modern national standard, spoken and written; others still urged a pragmatic compromise, in recognition of the linguistic realities of the time (see chapters 15 and 17 for a full discussion of this central issue).

As yet, however, such considerations were the exclusive concern of a small minority of intellectuals, many of whom lived outside the Ottoman empire. The vast majority of Greek speakers remained illiterate, with their culture centred on folk song and religion, and their ignorance reinforced by the clergy, who, steadfastly opposed to the western ideas they felt to be undermining their authority, now presented the Ottoman empire as a divinely ordained protector from the heresy of Catholicism. With the example of the French Revolution before them, many intellectuals came to despise the church, and sought vigorously to promote secular education among their less fortunate compatriots. These efforts were not without success, and large numbers of ordinary Greeks, while retaining their faith, came also to blame the clergy for their stifling of national aspirations.

In the context of European Romanticism and its notions of national genius, and set against a background of increasing frustration with Ottoman brutality and incompetence, the scene was now set for the assertion of a distinctively Greek identity and even a struggle for independence. The chief obstacle was that many of the best-educated and most enterprising, who might in principle have provided effective leadership, lived outside the empire, while the elite within (the Phanariots, the church hierarchy and at least some of the mercantile class) had a vested interest in preserving the status quo, from which they were currently deriving considerable advantage. At this juncture, the aftermath of the French Revolution proved to be catalytic.

Alarmed by the ceding of the Ionian islands to France in 1797 and Bonaparte's invasion of Ottoman Egypt in 1798, the Turks concluded a hasty alliance with Russia and sought to repel the French. After a turbulent period, the Ionian islands became a British protectorate in 1814. This 'independence', however notional, provided an important example, and the islands offered a safe haven for mainland klefts and an opportunity to learn how large-scale warfare was conducted by a professional army. At least one leading figure in the war of independence, the kleftic *kapetánios* Theódoros Kolokotrónis, served at this time with the British forces.

Another important development was the foundation of the Friendly Society (η Φιλική Εταιρεία [i fili'ci ete'ria]) in Odessa in 1814. While other organizations had promoted educational and cultural projects, this one sought national liberation by armed insurrection. Its initiators and chief supporters were mainly members of the

lower middle class, and an important factor in its success was the fiction, never denied, that it had the official support of the Russians, seen by many as future liberators. This fiction was sustained through the society's attempts to forge connections with important expatriate Greeks such as Count Ioánnis Kapodístrias, joint foreign minister of Tsar Alexander I, and the tsar's aide-de-camp Prince Aléxandros Ypsilándis, who eventually became the society's leader in 1820.

13.3 Revolution and Independence

In the summer of that year, as the Ottoman government was attempting to restrain Ali Pasha, the maverick ruler of mainland Greece, Ypsilándis saw his opportunity. While large numbers of Ottoman troops were engaged in Greece, an invasion of the Danubian principalities was planned for the spring of 1821 in the hope that Russia might be drawn into the struggle. Though this assault proved disastrous, it provided a useful distraction from the uprisings which took place in the Peloponnese almost simultaneously, perhaps as part of a co-ordinated strategy. The revolt spread quickly to parts of mainland Greece north of the isthmus, and to the islands of Hydra, Spétses and Psará, the home of a now powerful Greek navy that guaranteed Greek control of the seas and proved to be a major factor in their eventual success.

In the short term, however, the Greeks had little hope of victory without western support, and although the execution of the patriarch Gregórios V for his failure to guarantee the loyalty of the sultan's Orthodox subjects provoked widespread outrage, the European powers maintained a neutral position until 1823. Nevertheless, news of the Greek revolt won support from enlightened opinion throughout Europe, and led to the establishment of philhellenic societies dedicated to fundraising and the recruitment of volunteers, including Lord Byron, whose death from fever at Mesolóngi in 1824 promoted wider international awareness of the struggle.

In 1824 and 1825 the war began to turn in favour of the Ottoman forces, but the Greek effort in sustaining the fight brought about a change of attitude among the western powers, and Britain now joined with Russia in proposing an autonomous Greek state, undertaking, with France, to impose mediation on the warring parties. Though the Greeks endorsed the terms proposed, the Ottoman government refused to suspend hostilities, whereupon its fleet was destroyed at the battle of Navaríno (Pylos) by combined British, Russian and French forces on 20 October 1827.

Some form of Greek independence was now assured, and Kapodístrias, who had been elected president *in absentia*, arrived in Greece in January 1828. He immediately alienated all shades of opinion with his autocratic style, and was eventually assassinated in October 1831, but in the meantime, the conference convened to consider the frontier question recommended a boundary running from Arta to Vólos as a basis for negotiation with the Ottoman government. Thereupon the search began for a king (the great powers having decided in their wisdom that Greece should be a monarchy), and some reforms were attempted, including the setting up of a national army, an administrative bureaucracy and an education system.

But the war had led to internal confrontation between fighting men like the former kleftic leader Theódoros Kolokotrónis, and elements of the traditional elite of land-

owners, naval captains and Phanariot politicians. The former thought mainly in terms of a religious struggle against Turkish/Islamic oppression, and hoped to impose their own oligarchy in the event of a successful outcome, with the church retaining its traditional role; the latter conceived of the revolution in overtly nationalist terms, and planned for a modern, secular state on western lines. Though the westernizers were a minority, their education and external connections, combined with the need to retain European backing, allowed them to force through their vision of the future. But their superimposition of western-style government on a conservative and still rather oriental rural society created tensions which had a profound effect on Greek politics for much of the country's subsequent history.

Despite these problems, and the temporary anarchy following the murder of Kapodístrias, the hereditary sovereignty of Greece was finally offered in 1832 to Prince Frederick Otto, second son of King Ludwig of Bavaria. A country called 'Greece', against all earlier expectation, had achieved its formal independence from the Ottoman empire, with its provisional capital at Náfplion in the Peloponnese. The young king duly arrived there on a British warship in February 1833, to be greeted by an ecstatic crowd, though this early enthusiasm proved to be short-lived (see chapter 16). But before considering subsequent developments, not least the challenge of creating a unified 'modern Greek' identity from a ragbag of ancient myths, Byzantine traditions and heterogeneous contemporary *realia*, we must first examine the impact on the Greek language of nearly 400 years of Ottoman rule. See Clogg (1973, 1976, 2002) for further background to the struggle for independence.

14

Spoken Greek in the Ottoman Period

14.1 The Impact of Turkish

The Greek of the areas under Ottoman control, including eventually the dialects of Cyprus and Crete, naturally began to adopt Turkish vocabulary. Where Greek remained the dominant language and bilingualism was limited, the loans were typically nouns (and to a lesser extent, adjectives) borrowed to describe new social, political, cultural and religious objects and institutions. In general, these words were adapted to Greek phonology in fairly predictable ways. The chief correspondences are as follows:

(1) (a) ç [tʃ] and c [dʒ] > τσ [ts] and τζ [dz]
(b) ş [ʃ] > σ/ς [s]
(c) ğ > γ [ɣ/j](originally denoting a voiced velar/palatal fricative, this merely marks a preceding vowel as long in modern Turkish)
(d) ö [œ] > ϵ/ο [e/o]
(e) ü [y] > ου [u]
(f) ı [ɯ] > ι [i]

Nouns and adjectives were also morphologically assimilated to established paradigms:[1]

(2) (a) In the case of nouns ending in a vowel denoting inanimate objects, some of those in *-a*, such as *boya* [boja] 'paint', were taken over directly as feminines, μπογιά [bo'ja] (cf. the native type γιαγιά [ja'ja] 'grandmother'); others, such as *yaka* [jaka] 'collar', *teneke* [tenece] 'tin', acquired a final -ς [-s] and appear as masculines, γιακάς [ja'kas], τενεκές (cf. (2b)).
(b) Nouns ending in a vowel denoting males, like *baba* [baba] 'dad', also added a final -ς [-s], μπαμπάς [ba'bas] (cf. the native type ψωμάς [pso'mas] 'baker').
(c) Nouns in *-i* or -ı that denote objects, such as *cami* [dʒami] 'mosque' and *rakı* [rakɯ] 'raki' naturally appeared as neuters in -ί [-'i], τζαμί [dza'mi]/ρακί [ra'ci] (cf. the native type παιδί [pe'ði] 'child').

(d) In the case of nouns ending in a consonant, those denoting objects, like *sokak* [sokak] 'street', typically added -ι [-i] and appear as neuters, σοκάκι [so'kaci] (cf. the native type χέρι ['çeri] 'hand'), though there are exceptions such as *cep* [dʒep] 'pocket' > feminine τσέπη ['tsepi];[2] those denoting people, such as *bakkal* [bakkal] 'grocer', added -ης [-is] (cf. the type of agent nouns like ναύτης ['naftis] 'sailor') to give μπακάλης [ba'kalis] etc.

(e) Turkish agent nouns in *-ci* [-dʒi], or, given that Turkish suffixes are subject to vowel harmony determined by the quality of the vowels in the root words to which they are attached, *-cı, -cu* and *-cü* [-dʒɯ, -dʒu, -dʒy], were standardized with the suffix -τζής [-'dzis]. Examples include μπογιατζής [boja'dzis] 'painter' < *boya-cı* [bojadʒɯ], τενεκετζής [tenece'dzis] 'tinsmith' < *teneke-ci* [tenekʲedʒi], and παπουτσής [paputsis] 'shoemaker' < *papuç-çu* [paputʃu], where the voiceless final consonant of the root has devoiced the initial consonant of the suffix. There are also many examples of more recent formation, in which the suffix is added to a non-Turkish element, such as βιολιτζής [violi'dzis] 'violinist' and ταξιτζής [taksi'dzis] 'taxi-driver'.[3]

(f) Adjectives ending in a consonant often acquired the suffix -ης [-is], e.g. *tembel* [tembel] 'lazy' > τεμπέλης [te'(m)belis]. The feminine of this type was in -α [-a]; the neuter in -ικο [-iko] was borrowed from the regular paradigm in -ικος [-ikos], which was also exploited, e.g. *bol* [bol] 'abundant' > μπόλικος ['bolikos] (cf. 11.7.7).

(g) Adjectives ending in *-i* (or its vowel-harmonic equivalents) usually appeared in Greek with the accented suffix -ής [-'is] (cf. the type ουρανής [ura'nis] 'sky-blue'), e.g. ατζαμής [adza'mis] 'unskilled, clumsy' < *acemi* [adʒemi], with feminine in -ιά ['ja], neuter in -ί [-'i], phonetically analogous to γλυκ-ύς [ɣli'c-is] -ιά ['ja]/(< -εîα) -ύ [-'i] 'sweet'.

For the most part verbs were not borrowed. Those that were were standardly formed by the addition of the productive -ίζω [-'izo] to the Turkish past-tense stem formed with the suffix /-di-/ (with vowel harmony): e.g. *kavur-mak* [ka(v)urmak], 'to roast', past-tense stem *kavur-du-*, producing Greek καβουρντίζω/καβουρδίζω [kavur'dizo/ kavur'ðizo].

Particularly interesting is the large number of set phrases and idiomatic or figurative usages which Greek and Turkish came to share through loan translation. To mention just a few of the more obvious examples, the standard greetings καλώς ήλθατε/ορίσατε [ka'los 'ilθate/o'risate] and *hoş geldiniz* [hoʃ gʲeldiniz], lit. 'well you-came', and the standard replies καλώς σας βρήκαμε [ka'los sas vrikame] and *hoş bulduk* [hoʃ bulduk], lit. 'well (you) we-found', correspond almost exactly morph for morph. Similarly, the varied uses of ορίστε [o'riste] and *buyurun* [buirun] (used to invite someone to enter, to ask someone what they want, or to repeat or accept something, etc.) are very largely parallel, and both forms are originally imperatives of verbs meaning 'command'. Other common phrases of politeness include περαστικά (σας) [perasti'ka [sas]]/*geçmiş olsun* [ɟeçmiʃ olsun], lit. 'passing (for you)'/'past let-it be', said to someone who is ill, and γειά στα χέρια σου [ja sta 'çerja su]/*eline sağlık* [eline sa:lɯk], lit. 'health to-the hands of-you'/'hand-your-to health', said to a cook who has

prepared a delicious meal. Though some of these seem to be the product of Turkish influence on Greek, we must be wary of assuming that the process was entirely one way. The phrase καλώς υμάς εύρομεν [ka'los imas 'evromen] 'well you we-found', for example, is used by Konstantínos Porphyrogénnetos, while καλώς ήλθες [ka'los'ilθes] is a routine greeting in vernacular texts like the *Chronicle of the Morea* (e.g. l. 4101) long before any major Turkish influence on mainstream Greek can plausibly be assumed.

Though a large number of words and phrases of Turkish origin remain in common use today, equally large numbers have disappeared, either because the circumstances conditioning their use have themselves passed into history or as a direct result of language planning and lexical replacement in the years following independence (see chapter 17). One of the difficulties involved in reading folk songs composed in the later Ottoman period and for some time after (see 14.3), or even prose written in the colloquial Greek of the period of the war of independence, is the large number of Turkish loans that have since fallen out of use or become restricted to the most colloquial registers.

The most important such prose work is the memoirs of General Makriyánnis, one of the great commanders of the war, who taught himself to write, employing an idiosyncratic phonetic spelling system, in order to record his achievements and his ambitions for his country. These were finally published in a conventional orthography (obliterating much phonetic detail) at the beginning of this century, revealing a simple and vigorous popular Greek of the period c.1830, and a style that displays the natural drive and rhetorical skill of a born leader. Apart from its inherent interest, Makriyánnis' work stands as a virtually unique example of 'demotic' prose from an era otherwise dominated by the learned conventions of the literary/bureaucratic tradition. Some apparently unselfconscious examples of Turkish vocabulary now defunct or employed with derogatory/colloquial meanings include: ασκέρι [as'ceri] 'army' (now 'rabble'); ζαπίτης [za'pitis] 'policeman'; κεμέρι [ce'meri] 'belt'; κεχαγιάς [cexa'jas] 'steward'; τσασίτης [tsa'sitis] 'spy'; χοσμέτι [xoz'meti] 'service'; τσιρακλίκι [tsira'klici] 'apprenticeship'; κιοτής [co'tis] 'cowardly' (colloquial); καζαντίζω [kazan'dizo] 'win/gain' (now 'make a pile').

In most areas where large Greek communities survived, the influence of Turkish was confined to such lexical borrowings. But in eastern and central Anatolia, where Turkish influence began earlier and apostasy and bilingualism were more routine, the spoken dialects of the increasingly beleaguered Greek villages eventually began to show phonological and grammatical convergence with the dominant language (see 14.2.5).

14.2 The Spoken Dialects of Modern Greek

14.2.1 Introduction: diversification, and the basis for a modern spoken standard

As communications became more difficult with the breakdown of central authority and the advent of kleftic bands, the mass of people in the provinces of the empire came to lead rather circumscribed lives, and though the standard speech of the educated continued (alongside archaizing written Greek) to form a relatively stable conservative core, the popular regional dialects began to diverge quite rapidly, especially at the periphery.

The geographically remote varieties of Pontus and Cappadocia had already started to develop idiosyncratically when the ties with Byzantium were weakened by the Seljuk invasions of the 11th century. Similar observations apply to the South Italian dialects, which were detached from the Byzantine mainstream by the Norman conquests in the same period, and we have already seen that the southern dialects of Cyprus and Crete had begun to take on their characteristically local forms as a result of disrupted Byzantine administration and the subsequent advent of Latin government (12.4). Even rural parts of Greece itself had acquired many local idiosyncracies during the middle ages, partly through the dislocating effects of Slavic and then Albanian immigration (the latter reaching a climax in the 14th century), partly through the impact of Latin rule. We may take as early illustrations the problems experienced by Michaél Choniátes with the Athenian patois (11.1, 11.2), and the evidence for major sound change in the vowel systems of northern dialects during the 12th century (see 14.2.6 below).

The continuation of such regional developments during the Ottoman period, in conjunction with various population movements (some major), led to the creation and consolidation of the principal dialect divisions of modern Greek, as summarized in (3) (cf. Newton (1972), Browning (1983: 119–37), Christídis (1999, 2000), Tzitzilís (2000), Kondosópoulos (2001), Trudgill (2003)):

(3) (a) Pontic, still spoken in mainland Greece and in the region of Trebizond, with offshoots in Georgia, Abkhazia and areas of the Caucasus south of Rostov (see Oikonomídis (1958), Drettas (1995, 1999, 2000), Mackridge (1999), Pappoú-Zourávliova (1999)); and Cappadocian, together with the dialects of Phárasa and Sílli (see Dawkins (1916), Janse (in press)). Pontic is now residual, Cappadocian on the brink of extinction.

(b) South-eastern, spoken on Chios, in the Dodecanese and in Cyprus. (See Pernot (1907b), Tsopanákis (1940), Newton (1970), Chatziioánnou (1999), Karyolémou (2000).)

(c) Cretan-Cycladic. (See Thumb (1897), Anagnostópoulos (1926), Pángalos (1955), Kondosópoulos (1970), Ímellos (1963).)

(d) Peloponnesian-Heptanesian, including other offshore islands; this region provided the principal vernacular input to the formation of standard modern Greek, on which see below. (See Pantelídis (2001).)

(e) Tsakonian, surviving residually in remote villages on the eastern slopes of Mt Parnon in the Peloponnese, but also once spoken by colonists on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara. The ancient Laconian dialect of the eastern Peloponnese was only partly assimilated to the ancient Koine (cf. 4.4.3), and though subject to further influence from the mainstream in the middle ages and subsequently, some archaisms still persist. (See Pernot (1934), Kostákis (1951, 1980), Charalambópoulos (1980)).

(f) Old Athenian, surviving residually in Megara, central Euboea and, if this is properly to be included here, the Mani. (See Fávis (1911), Chatzidákis (1915/16), Mirambel (1929), Karatzás (1944), Alexandrís (1958).)

(g) Northern, spoken widely in the mainland north of Attica and in the northern Aegean, though see below on the impact of the standard. (See Papadópoulos (1927), Andriótis (1933, 1943/4), Sympósio (1977).)

(h) South Italian, surviving residually in isolated villages of Apulia and Calabria, apparently with many archaisms preserved from the ancient speech of Magna Graecia, despite Byzantine overlays. (See Rohlfs (1924, 1930, 1933, 1950, 1962), Karatzás (1958), Profíli (1999a, 1999b), Katsoyánnou (1999), Manoléssou (2005b).)

In the later Byzantine and Turkish periods, however, the Peloponnesian area was unique within Greece in a number of respects. Once it had been recovered after the Slavic invasions of the early middle ages, it remained a Byzantine possession until the arrival of the Franks in the 13th century. But large areas were then restored to Byzantine rule, and by the middle of the 14th century towns such as Mystrás had again become major centres of Byzantine culture. Even under Ottoman rule after 1461 the Peloponnese retained a large class of powerful Greek landowners, who eventually began to engage in trade in line with the upsurge of Greek commercial activity in the 18th century. The resulting development of the Peloponnesian towns and ports revived contacts with the great centres of Greek population both inside and outside the empire, while the Ionian islands, though themselves outside the empire, provided a major gateway between Italy and Ottoman Greece.

Much of this region had therefore remained closely linked with Constantinople and the Greek mainstream from the middle Byzantine period through into the declining years of the Ottoman empire. The Byzantine heritage was well sustained, and in the years before independence, the educated speech of Constantinople, Smyrna, the Danubian courts and the major expatriate communities was widely in use in its commercial and cultural centres. Such long-term links inevitably had a constraining effect on the spoken varieties of this core region, which neither developed the radical innovations nor retained the more striking archaisms that came to characterize more peripheral regions.

The fact that the war of independence was initially carried to a successful conclusion in this area inevitably led to its dialects becoming the principal 'popular' component in the evolution of a new spoken standard in the independent kingdom. These were easily subsumed beneath elite spoken varieties, whose impact was reinforced by the aristocratic and middle-class immigrants who flooded into Greece to take up positions of power and responsibility. The creation of state institutions, and the eventual building of a new capital in Athens, soon provided the social, cultural and political focus necessary for the forging of a new spoken norm from these components. This continued to be influenced in its higher forms by the traditional written language, however, and eventually by the impact of the increasingly acrimonious debate about the form this should take in the future (see chapter 17).

With a few residual differences, an evolved version of this form of Modern Greek has now replaced the former local varieties in most of southern and central Greece, including Athens and many neighbouring areas once dominated by Albanians, in Thessaloniki and areas of the north previously occupied by Slavs, Vlachs, Albanians and Turks, and in many of the smaller Aegean islands. Indeed, with the partial exception of Cyprus, dialect speech everywhere is succumbing to the standardizing effects of universal education, access to mass media, the flight of the young to the cities, and the advent of easy mobility.

The development of the various spoken dialects in the period before independence is a highly complex and specialized subject, and it cannot be examined in detail here. Some of the most important issues will, however, be taken up briefly in the following sections.

14.2.2 Local vernaculars in the central region; Sofianós' grammar and the educated standard

Within the core Greek-speaking area comprising mainland Greece, Constantinople and the western coast of Asia Minor, including most of the immediately offshore islands (cf. Karatzás (1958: 26–39) for the notions of 'core' and 'periphery'), the Ottoman period probably saw the completion of the final stages of the characteristically 'northern' sound changes discussed in 14.2.6, producing forms such as [put'kos] (Thasos) < ποντικός [po(n)di'kos] 'mouse', and [ʒba'θo] (Ayássos on Lesbos) < συμπαθῶ [si(m)ba'θo] 'feel sympathy for'. Similar but probably independent developments also took place in the popular speech of rural areas in Asia Minor, including those further to the east.

The regularization of either the genitive or the accusative of clitic pronouns to mark the indirect object had probably been settled well before the Turkish period (see Lendári and Manoléssou (2003)), with the genitive favoured in the south, and the accusative in the north, including in this case the dialects of Constantinople and most of Asia Minor. But the selection of partially distinct sets of endings in the north and south for those parts of the verb paradigm still in flux in the Byzantine era clearly belongs to this period; an obvious example is the imperfect medio-passive (cf. 11.8.6 (e)). Indeed, much of the variation inherited from the middle ages now started to be settled region by region. The choice between -σα [sa] and -κα [ka] as the regular aorist of vowel-stem verbs, for example, was standardly resolved in favour of the former, with the latter prevailing only in Epirus and a geographically more or less coherent area comprising parts of the Peloponnese (excluding the Mani) and the region of Old Athenian speech. Many of the archaic oddities of the latter had begun as a result of the city's greatly reduced importance in the middle Byzantine period, but the tendency to autonomous development was reinforced by later Albanian immigration, which, by Ottoman times, had turned Megara, Aegina, Athens and Kyme (in Euboea) into Greek enclaves.

Though some northern grammatical characteristics still persist as variants in Modern Greek (e.g. the use of accusative indirect object pronouns), it was, as noted, developments in the Peloponnesian-Heptanesian vernaculars that chiefly predominated, as shaped by features of the more or less common educated speech of the core region, and we must therefore consider now the evidence provided by the first grammar of the vernacular of the Greek intelligentsia in the Ottoman period, written during the first half of the 16th century by the Corfiot Nikólaos Sofianós.

The Ionian islands had come under Venetian rule after the fourth crusade (whence their commonly used Italian names, e.g. Corfu for Kérkyra, Zante for Zákynthos), and remained so until ceded first to France and then to Britain (cf. chapter 13). From the 16th century we have a collection of poetry in a literary version of the spoken language of the times, and though the Heptanesian aristocracy became increasingly Italianized,

the Greek vernacular tradition survived in the oral songs and poetry of country areas, and was later reinforced by the advent of Cretan refugees after the fall of the island to the Turks in 1669. In the present context, however, the most important document of the period is Sofianós' grammar (Legrand (1874)), the motivation for which derived from contemporary Italian movements to elevate certain varieties of the spoken language to written status. Though not published until the 19th century, it is an important reminder that there were already in the 16th century people who believed that a systematic account could be given of 'common/vulgar' Greek, and that the production of such a grammar was a worthwhile exercise. This work was followed in the 17th century by the grammatical writings of Girolamo Germano (Pernot (1907a)), Simon Portius (Meyer-Lübke (1889)) and Romanós Nikefóros (unpublished, but cf. Legrand (1874: 14–19)), and in the 18th century by a lexicon of spoken Greek compiled by Father Alexis de Sommevoir (Alessio de Somavera (1709), cf. Legrand et al. (1918, 1928)), though it is probably no accident that three of these linguistic pioneers were foreigners.

Sofianós himself was educated in Rome, where he worked for a time copying Greek manuscripts and publishing drawings of ancient sites in Greece. He then moved to Venice where he resolved to address the problem of the lack of modern teaching materials by planning a series of introductory works in and about the contemporary language, and by translating Ancient Greek classics. In the dedication to Book One of his Grammar he informs the reader of his motives:

(4) Cum viderem plerasque nationes … hac nostra tempestate suas certatim linguas exornare, non solum scribendo res scitu dignas … verum ad regulas Grammatices diligenter eas dirigendo, coepi etiam ipse cogitare an operae pretium facturus essem, si linguam nostram, qua vulgo Graeci utimur, ad methodum et canonas revocarem, et putavi me non inanem laborem suscepturum, ut hi qui graecae linguae studio tenentur non solum veterem illum Graecorum sermonem, sed recentiorem et hunc percipere possent; tum etiam ut qui vellent in Graecia et finitimis illi regionibus Turcarum imperio subjectis versari facile sibi commercium pararent. Dum igitur hanc nostram, quam vocant vulgarem, linguam cum illa antiquorum confero … reperi multis in rebus hanc nostram vetere illa minime inferiorem esse. (Legrand (1874: 25))

'When I saw that most nations … in our time honour their (*spoken*) languages with enthusiasm not only by writing things worthy of note in them … but by diligently reducing them to the rules of Grammar, I myself began to wonder whether it would be worth my while if I brought our language, which we Greeks use for everyday purposes, back to order and rule, and I thought it would not be a waste of effort that those engaged in the study of Greek should be able to understand not only the ancient language of the Greeks but also the more recent, and further that those who wanted to travel in Greece and the adjacent territories subject to the Turkish empire might readily communicate. So while I was comparing this language of ours, which they call "vulgar", with that of the ancients … I found that in many respects ours was very little inferior to the ancient one.'

A grammar in three parts is promised (morphology, orthography and syntax), together with a lexicon, but the surviving manuscripts, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and one in the Vatican, contain only the first part, comprising a list of the parts

of speech and a set of illustrative morphological paradigms, of which he observes in his closing remarks:

(5) και μη βαρυγομήση τινάς αν εκείνα που εις πολλούς χρόνους και καιρούς με πολύν κόπον και καλούς διδασκάλους μετά βίας μαθαίνονται, τώρη να τα βλέπουν εις τέτοιαν γλώσσαν κοινήν οπού και οι γυναίκες σχεδόν να την γρυκούν, ότι ... διά τούτο οι νέοι θέλουν αφήσει να μηδέν σπουδάζουν στα μαθήματα τα ελληνικά. (Legrand (1874: 78))

[ce mi variɣo'misi tinas an e'cina pu is po'lus 'xronus ce ce'rus
And not let-grumble anyone if those-things that in many years and periods
me po'lin 'gopon ce ka'lus ðiðas'kalus meta 'vias ma'θenonde, 'tori na ta
with much labour and good teachers with force are-learned, now should them
'vlepun is 'tetjan 'ɣlosan ci'nin opu ce i ji'neces sçe'ðon na tin
see in such language common that even the women almost may it
ɣri'kun, oti ... ðja 'tuto i nei 'θelun a'fisi na mi'ðen
understand, because ... for this the young-men will abandon that not-at-all
spu'ðazun sta ma'θimata ta elini'ka]
they-study in-the lessons the Greek.

'And let no one grumble if he now sees in such a common form of language that even women may pretty well understand it, those items (*i.e. paradigms etc.*) that are learned under duress over long years and periods with great labour and good teachers (*i.e. in the traditional education system based on Ancient Greek*), because … in this way young men will abandon their reluctance to study in their Greek classes.'

Though this reveals all too clearly the position of women at the time, Sofianós' implementation of the proposal to make the contemporary language an object of study by providing a grammar gives us an insider's account of the contemporary spoken language of the privileged elite (i.e. those who could afford to send their children to school). As expected, we find a version of Greek morphology considerably removed from the conventions of the standard written language, but it is striking how conservative it still is by comparison with developments seen in the vernacular literature of the 14th and 15th centuries. Certain features may simply be graphic conventions carried over from the standard orthography (final -ν (n), for example, is consistently noted, and synizesis is not represented by a shift of the written accent), but the following are revealing:

(6) (a) The syllabic augment is used uniformly in all past tenses.
(b) The extension of the κα-paradigm to the aorist passive is restricted to 1sg.
(c) (i) The -έω [-'eo] class of contract verbs shows little sign of collapse with the -άω [-'ao] type, and retains its ancient present paradigm. It does, however, show a mixed imperfect combining ancient forms (e.g. 1sg εκράτουν [e'kratun] 'I was keeping', 2pl εκρατείτε [ekra'tite]) with different types of innovation (e.g. 2/3sg εκράτειες [e'kratjes]/ εκράτειε [e'kratje], 1pl εκρατούμαν [ekra'tuman] and 3pl εκρατούσαν [ekra'tusan]). Subsequently, many dialects, including the modern standard, generalized -ουσ- [-us-] throughout, but in some Aegean and Heptanesian varieties a split system developed, with -ει- [-j-] in

the singular and -ουσ- [-us-] in the plural. The origins of this can be seen plainly here.

(ii) The present passive is similarly mixed (retaining ancient -ού- [-'u-], but substituting -ειέ- [-'je-] for -εί- [-'i-]), and the imperfect passive has been reworked (retaining only 1pl εκρατούμεθα [ekra'tumeθa], but as yet without a coherent overall pattern of innovation).

(d) The -άω [-'ao] type, however, shows the expected substitution of -ού- [-'u-] for -ώ- [-'o-] except in 3pl present passive and 1/3pl imperfect passive (which is odd in other respects). In the imperfect active the innovative -ούσ- [-'us-] formant has been generalized from 3pl to 1pl (though the suffix remains -μεν [-men] rather than following the -έω [-'eo] type in having 'past-tense' -μαν [-man] (there are many such minor inconsistencies across paradigms). The extension of the -ειέ- [-'je-] formant to the passive paradigm of this class (as in the *Chronicle of the Morea*) is not in evidence.

(e) Though 3rd-declension consonant stems normally have modern nom sg in -α [-a]/-ας [-as] (except in feminines ending in -της [-tis] such as κακότης [ka'kotis] 'wickedness'), and modern acc pl in [-es] (usually written -αις), the acc sg and gen sg still end in -α [-a] and -ος [-os]; the latter has even been extended to a few 1st-declension nouns like κοπέλα [ko'pela]/gen κοπελός [kope'los] 'girl' (on the model of θυγατέρα [θiɣa'tera]/gen θυγατρός [θiɣa'tros] 'daughter'), a characteristic Heptanesian feature.

(f) The traditional i-stem paradigm is retained except, oddly, in nom/acc pl, where the common form -ες [-es] is given.

(g) The old eu-stem paradigm is retained except once again in the nom. sg. (e.g. βασιλέας [vasi'leas] 'king').

What we seem to have, then, is a snapshot of a language in transition, an elite version of the vernacular that contains many innovative morphological features familiar from late Byzantine texts, but which also shows evidence of retarded development vis-à-vis more popular varieties. Thus Sofianós offers only θέλω ['θelo] + infinitive as the future tense. Since we know that θε να [θe na]/θα να [θa na] + subjunctive was already widely used in the 16th century, it seems that these have been censored as too colloquial. On the other hand, the pluperfect is given in two forms, είχα ['ixa] + perfect passive participle and είχα + aorist infinitive, while the corresponding perfect with έχω ['exo] is represented only by the participial construction. Clearly the infinitival perfect had yet to be formed to the model of the pluperfect, and given the absence of this innovation in even the most vernacular texts of the late Byzantine period, we may be confident that the gap was not exclusive to educated varieties (cf. also Thumb's assertion about the continued rarity of the infinitival perfect in the popular spoken Greek of the 19th century (1912: 162–3)).

Nevertheless, a number of issues are decisively settled. The spoken language of the educated classes in the 16th century did not include the dative case, inflected participles, or the infinitive (other than as a fossilized complement to θέλω ['θelo] 'I will' and έχω ['exo] 'I have'), even if such elements retained a place in the most formal speech and the traditional written language. Though Sofianós continues to recognize the full set of traditional grammatical categories as abstract entities, presumably in line with

his intention to show that Modern Greek has all the resources of its predecessor, he does not hesitate to list genitive forms as instantiations of the 'dative' or to give *να* [na] + subjunctive as the form of the 'infinitive'. Similarly, though the spellings reveal the influence of ancient optative forms, the 'optative' itself appears as a periphrasis (e.g. άμποτε *να* γράψοι ['ambote na 'ɣrapsi] 'I-wish that s/he-may-write', ἄμποτε *να* είχε γράψοι ['ambote na 'içe 'ɣrapsi] 'I-wish that s/he-had written'). It is significant, however, that such ancient-style spellings are used only where the pronunciation of the modern form is unaffected (cf. 2/3sg aorist subjunctive *νά* γράψης/γράψη [na 'ɣrapsis/'ɣrapsi], but 3pl *να* γράψουσι [na 'ɣrapsusi]).

There are also a number of oddities that defy explanation, most notably the inclusion of a so-called 'second aorist', which consists of είχα ['ixa] 'I had' + the imperfective infinitive, otherwise attested only in hypothetical conditionals meaning 'would (have)'. The fact that 3pl present -ουν [-un]/-ουσι [-usi] and past -αν [-an]/-ασι [-asi] are given as free variants with indicative forms, while in 'optatives' and 'infinitives' after *να* [na] we have only -ουν [-un], and in 'subjunctives' after εάν [ean] only -ουσι [-usi], is equally intriguing, but again lacks obvious corroboration in documentation of the period.

14.2.3 Greek in the west: the South Italian dialects

Magna Graecia had become a major centre of Greek civilization in the ancient world with the establishment of many important cities of predominantly Doric speech in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Hellenization of the area seems to have been quite comprehensive; the whole of Sicily, for example, was Greek-speaking by the 1st century BC, though communities of Sikels, Sikans and Elymians doubtless survived in the remoter districts of the east and the interior. The expansion of Rome, and with it the use of Latin, eventually restricted the role of Greek, though a reading of Petronius' *Satyricon* (1st century AD) reveals a southern Italian world in which Greeks and Greek remained prominent, while the historian Tacitus in the same period refers to Naples (a Greek foundation: Νεάπολις [ne'apolis] = 'Newtown') as *urbs quasi Graeca*, 'a quasi-Greek city'.

Though there is debate about the continuity of Greek from antiquity into the Byzantine period,[4] there was certainly an influx of Greek speakers following Ioustinianós' reconquest, and we should therefore not be surprised to learn that Greek was still spoken widely as a native language in north-western Sicily, Calabria and Apulia at the beginning of the second millennium AD, a situation supported by a continuous tradition of Greek Orthodoxy and intermittent Byzantine rule (punctuated by Lombard and Arab invasions) that was only terminated by the Norman conquest at the end of the 11th century. Refugees from the Slav and Avar invasions of the Peloponnese in the 6th/7th centuries, clerics fleeing the Iconoclast controversy of the 8th century, and settlers from other areas during the period of territorial gains from the Arabs in the late 9th and 10th centuries all helped to sustain the area's close links with the culture and traditions of Byzantium, and even after 1071 the Norman kings and the Hohenstaufens cultivated learning in Greek, Latin and Arabic, thus allowing the region to hold on to its Byzantine heritage until at least the 14th century.

The koineization process of the Hellenistic and Roman periods proceeded much as in other areas where West Greek was long-established, and produced spoken varieties with a considerable dialect residue. Subsequently, the presence of Byzantine administrators, together with the arrival of monks, refugees and settlers from other parts of the empire, reinforced the use in educated society of traditional forms of written Greek[5] and the spoken standard, both of which served to keep local vernaculars in touch with the mainstream of medieval Greek development. None the less, the severing of the political connection with the empire after 1071, combined with a steady influx of Italians and the spread of Catholicism, led to a gradual decline of Greek language and culture, and to autonomous dialectal development as areas of Greek speech were reduced to isolated enclaves. But we should be careful not to exaggerate the speed of the process: Petrarch in the 14th century could still advise someone who wished to learn Greek to go to Calabria, and the Orthodox church retained adherents in both Calabria and Apulia into the early 17th century.

Eventually, however, Greek disappeared completely from Sicily, and the number of Greek-speaking villages in southern Italy began to decline sharply during the 18th and 19th centuries. Thus the fourteen Greek-speaking settlements in each of Calabria and Apulia in the early 19th century had fallen to six and eight respectively by the middle of the 20th. None the less, Greek still remains in use in two remote and geographically separated areas, the mountainous Aspromonte region at the tip of Calabria, and the fertile Otranto peninsula south of Lecce in Puglia. The dialect groups concerned are often referred to as Bovézika (after the village of Bova, where Greek is now extinct) and Otrandínika (after the Terra d'Otranto). Here Greek is a 'domestic' language, and bilingualism has produced a situation in which it has partly converged in lexicon and grammar with the dominant language. The position of Greek in Calabria is now perilous (c.500 native speakers in the traditional villages, all elderly, though there are Greek-speaking communities of migrants in Reggio); in Puglia, by contrast, 'Grico' survives more strongly (c.20,000 speakers) and there are even efforts at revival.

The principal interest of these varieties, apart from providing observable examples of the process of 'language death', is that they have preserved a number of archaic features, including elements which were once widespread in medieval Greek before falling out of mainstream use. Since the same is true of the Asia Minor dialects, any points of agreement between the western and eastern peripheries are likely to be of significance for the reconstruction of the medieval vernacular. Of particular interest in this connection is the retention of infinitives in both South Italian and the Pontic dialects of the Muslim communities on the Black Sea Coast in the region of Trebizond (see Mackridge (1993b, 1999), from whom the data below are taken).[6] In the Italian dialects, the range of verbs that can optionally be complemented by an infinitive (perfective only) is still quite wide, and includes control verbs (cf. Rohlfs (1950)):

(7)	(a)	Bova:	zzéri pézzi s/he-knows to-play	(παίξ-ει(ν) ['peksi(n)])
			e θθéli míni not s/he-wants to-stay	(μείνει(ν) ['mini(n)])
	(b)	Otranto:	áfiston dzísi let-him to-live	(ζήσ-ει(ν) ['zisi(n)])

Deffner (1877) lists parallel uses for Pontic, though these have not been confirmed by Mackridge (1993). It seems, however, that this is a fairly recent loss rather than erroneous observation, since his findings are confirmed by Thumb (1912), who lists a similar range of usage. None the less, the dialects of the region of Ofis east of Trebizond residually retain infinitival complementation with 'want' when this is aorist and negative (the examples here and subsequently come from Sarákho):

(8) utʃ eθéleses písin a (ποίσ-ειν ['pisin])
not you-wanted to-do it

Note that this dialect retains descendants of the ancient, apparently Ionic, negative οὐ(κ)/οὐκί [u(k)/u'ki], generally *ki,* but *u* or *utʃ(é)* in the Ofis region.

Verbs meaning 'be able' also take infinitives, both in South Italian (where a *νά* [na]-clause alternative is apparently lacking) and Ofitic, though in the latter again only when the verb is negative and aorist:

(9) (a) Bova: sónnite érti (ἔρθ-ειν ['erθi(n)])
you-can to-come
(b) Sarákho: utʃ epóresa staθíne (σταθ-είν/-ῆν [sta'θin])
not I-could to-stay

In addition, the South Italian dialects use infinitives in indirect questions, a retention supported by the corresponding Italian construction (cf. *non ho dove andare/cosa fare*):

(10) Bova: ðen éxo pu pái (πά-ει(ν) ['pai(n)])
not I-have where to-go

These have no surviving correlates in Pontic, though the construction is common in medieval vernacular literature (e.g. *Digenés Akrítes* (E) 869: οὐκ ἔχω τί ποιήσει [uk 'exo ti pi'isi], lit. 'not I-have what to-do'; *Chron. Mor.* 5830: τὸ τί λαλήσει οὐκ εἶχεν [to ti la'lisi uk 'içen], lit. 'the what to-say not he-had') and is still in use in Cretan Renaissance literature (cf. 14.2.4).

The abandonment of the infinitival complementation of control verbs and the gradual restriction of the occurrence of the infinitive to embedded interrogatives and future/conditional or potential auxiliaries (the former often generic, the latter almost always negative) can be seen clearly in medieval vernacular texts. For example, with only one exception (109), the infinitives in the poem *Spanéas* are used in prospective/generic clauses after θέλω ['θelo] 'will' (e.g. 'if anyone does X, s/he will Y'), and in potential contexts with negative/interrogative δύναμαι ['ðiname]/εὐπορῶ [efpo'ro] 'can' (e.g. 'should anyone do X, s/he cannot Y/how can s/he Y?' Similarly, in the romances of the 14th/15th centuries, both θέλω ['θelo] and negated verbs of 'capability' may routinely take an infinitive, though infinitival complementation is already rare with both true control verbs and aspectual verbs like 'begin' (a reduction accelerated in the case of the latter by semantic incompatibility with the increasingly dominant perfective infinitive). Given that the process of reduction never really began in the ordinary Greek of the Italian west, and was severely retarded in the east of the Greek-speaking area, we may be confident that the limited infinitival usage of later medieval vernacular literature is not a learned/archaic feature but in fact offers a fair picture of the spoken norm of the period in the central regions (cf. Joseph (1983: 77)). The unique survival of ἔχω ['exo]/εἶχα ['ixa] + aorist infinitive in standard modern Greek must then be

attributed to the isolation of this construction caused by the radical shift from future/conditional to perfect/pluperfect use.

Other archaisms shared by South Italian and Pontic include the avoidance of synizesis and the retention of the ancient aorist imperative in -σο(ν) [-so(n)] (replaced elsewhere with -σε [-se] modelled on imperfective -ε [-e]). The ancient aorist participle also survives in South Italian (in the modified and uninflected form *-sonda* familiar from medieval texts like the *Chronicle of the Morea*), though many other features are peculiar to the region, e.g. the use of *tíspo* 'anyone' < τίς ποτε ['tispote], lit. 'anyone ever', parallel to the standard neuter τίποτε ['tipote] 'anything/nothing'. This alternative to κανείς [ka'nis] once again emphasizes the early independence of this dialect group from the mainstream.

14.2.4 Greek in the south and south-east: the Dodecanese, Cyprus and Crete

Popular literature continued to be produced in these areas for as long as they remained free of Ottoman control. From the Dodecanese, for example, we have a collection of love songs and a number of poems by Emmanouíl Yeoryillás (early 16th century), though the cultural life of the islands declined after the Turkish conquest of 1522. Something has already been said about the dialect of Cyprus (12.4.2) and the extent to which its modern characteristics can be traced in the earliest documents. From the 16th century we have a collection of love poems (sonnets), composed in the Petrarchan manner, the style and quality of which can be seen in the following extract from poem 22:

(11) Κοντεύγ' η ώρα κι ο καιρός, κυρά μου,
που μέλλει νά μισέψω από ξαυτό(ς) σου
όμως αφήννω 'δά στον ορισμόν σου
όλον τον εμαυτόν μου, αγγέλισσά μου.

Μηδέ απορής, αν εμπορώ, θεά μου,
μισεύγοντα ν' ἀφήσω εμέν σ' αυτόν σου·
μισεύγω αμμ' όπου πάγω, γοιόν δικό(ς) σου,
μένουσιν μετά σεν τα πνεύματά μου.
Siapkarás-Pitsillídis (1952: 118)

[kon'devj i 'ora tʃ o tʃe'ros, tʃi'ra mu,
Approaches the hour and the time, lady of-me,
pu 'melli na mi'sepso͜ apo ksaf'tos su
that it-will(be) that I-leave from self of-you
'omos a'finno ða ston oriz'mos su
but I- leave now at-the command of-you
'olon don emaf'tom mu, an'ɟelis'sa mu
all the self of -me, angel of-me
mi'ðe͜ apo'ris, an embo'ro, θe'a mu,
and-not you-be-at-a-loss, if I-can, goddess of-me,
mi'sevɣonda n a'fiso͜ e'men s af'tos su.
in-leaving that I-entrust me to self of-you.
mi'sevɣo͜ amm opu 'pao, joð ði'kos-su,
I-leave but when I-go, as yours,
'menusim meta sen ta 'pnevma'ta mu.]
remain with you the spirits of-me.

'The hour and the time approach, my lady, when I shall leave you, but now I leave my whole self at your command, my angel. And do not be perplexed, my goddess, if, in leaving, I am able to leave myself to you; I am leaving, but when I go, as yours, my spirit stays with you.'

The phonetic transcription assumes that written double consonants (including those of secondary origin, as in αφήννω [a'finno] 'I leave behind') were pronounced double as in the modern dialect, and that certain characteristically Cypriot changes, not noted in the orthography, had already gone through, e.g. the development of [k, x] > [tʃ, ʃ] before [i] and [e] (now typical of many 'southern' dialects, including that of Crete). Another south-eastern/Cretan phenomenon is the appearance of -γ- [-ɣ/j-] between original root-final [a/ev] and a verb ending, as in κοντεύ-γ-ει [kon'dev-j-i], 'approaches' (cf. 11.8.5 (d); this verb is derived from κοντός [kon'dos] 'short', first attested in Byzantine writers). The retention of final -ν [-n] (with assimilation to a following consonant, sometimes noted, sometimes not) is also a south-eastern characteristic, while the selection of 3pl present endings in -ουσι [-usi] rather than -ουν [-un], cf. μένουσι ['menusi] 'they remain', is typical not only of Cyprus and the Dodecanese but also (in part) of Chios and Crete.

A number of individual words and constructions are also worthy of note, over and above the various forms of the reflexive/emphatic pronoun (see 12.3.3). The particle αμμ(έ) [am'm(e)] 'but', for example (elsewhere usually αμ(μ)ή [a'mi]), derives from αν μη [am mi] 'if not/unless', while γοιόν [jon] 'as'/'like' continues ancient οἷον ['ion] 'such as', and is a regular feature of Cypriot texts. Interestingly, the accusative of the 1sg/2sg personal pronouns shows the addition of the recharacterizing final -ν [-n] familiar from the Egyptian papyri of late antiquity, but not the further addition of -α(ν) [-a(n)], a striking archaism perhaps in part motivated by the resilience of final nasals in this dialect. Μισ(σ)εύγω [mi'sevɣo] 'I leave' is a medieval neologism combining the suffix -εύ(γ)ω with a lexical root borrowed from the Latin perfect passive participle *miss-us* 'having been sent' (from *mittere* 'to send'). In the second line, the aorist subjunctive of this verb (μισέψω [mi'sepso], with shift of [fs] to [ps]) forms part of a future periphrasis with impersonal μέλλει να ['meli na] 'it-will-be that', a medieval Cypriot variant of the usual θε να [θe na] (cf. modern Cypriot εννά [en'na] < θέλ' να [θen'na]).

After the Turkish conquest of Cyprus in 1571, the flourishing literary culture of the island collapsed, and survived only as an oral tradition of folk poetry. Thereafter, the most important cultural centre of the Greek-speaking world was the island of Crete, where a more integrated urban society had emerged with the decline of the feudal system, and intellectual life was stimulated not only by its western connections but also by the arrival of scholars and artists from the capital after 1453.

In contrast with the earliest Cretan vernacular literature (see 12.4.3), the magnificent collection of dramatic and narrative texts dating from the later 16th century onwards is composed in a refined, and more or less consistent, form of Cretan dialect. The Cretan Renaissance, and in particular the revival of drama (which had withered in Byzantium), owed much to the influence of Italian models. One of its leading figures was Yeóryios Chortátsis, a contemporary of Shakespeare and El Greco (the Cretan Domínikos Theotokópoulos), who wrote the tragedy *Erofíli*, the comedy *Katzoúrbos* and the pastoral drama *Panória*, a play from each of the genres of contemporary Italian theatre.

Although Chortátsis employs the popular 15-syllable line, his use of it, involving rhyme and extensive enjambement, is far removed from the usual practice of folk song (on which see 14.3). He also uses 11-syllable lines with *terza rima* in the choruses of *Erofíli*.

The other surviving plays of this period are the tragedies *King Rodolínos* by Ioánnis Andréas Tróilos, and *Zínon* (possibly composed in the Ionian islands by a refugee after the fall of Crete), together with the comedies *Státhis* (possibly by Chortátsis and surviving only in a late abridgement) and *Fortounátos* by Márkos Andónios Fóskolos. We also have the important biblical drama *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, which is often attributed on stylistic grounds to Vitséntzos Kornáros, the author of the romantic epic *Erotókritos* (see below). Dealing with the familiar story of God's command to Abraham to sacrifice his son, the play is a reworking of *Lo Isach* by the Italian playwright Luigi Grotto. The play is unique in ignoring the conventional unities, and in having no division into acts or scenes. Its versification and language are quite simple, and in some ways reminiscent of the folk tradition, but see below on *Erotókritos* for important qualifications that also apply here. For bibliography and further background to Cretan drama, see the articles in Holton (1991a).

The pinnacle of Cretan Renaissance literature, however, is the long romantic poem *Erotókritos*, written in the late 16th/early 17th century by Vitséntzos Kornáros in the tradition of the Hellenistic romances and their medieval successors (in this case, modelled on the French tale of *Paris et Vienne*, see Holton (1991a, 1991c)). It is a tale in five books (comprising some 10,000 lines) about Aretoúsa, daughter of the king of Athens, and Rotókritos (as his name appears in the text), son of the king's counsellor. Rotókritos falls in love with Aretoúsa and serenades her without revealing his identity. She in turn begins to fall in love with her unknown admirer, but Rotókritos, convinced of the hopelessness of his passion, goes abroad. In his absence Aretoúsa discovers Rotókritos' secret, and when he returns, he discovers to his surprise that his feelings are reciprocated. Presently, the king arranges a tournament in order to find a husband for Aretoúsa, in which, after Herculean struggles, Rotókritos emerges the victor, and asks his father to appeal to the king for permission to marry his daughter. The king, however, regards the prospect of a morganatic marriage with horror and banishes Rotókritos with a view to marrying Aretoúsa off to the king of Byzantium. She refuses and is thrown into a dungeon. Three years later Rotókritos discovers that Athens is under siege by the Vlachs and returning in disguise saves the kingdom. In gratitude the king offers his unknown saviour his realm, but Rotókritos asks only to marry Aretoúsa. Not recognizing him, she at first refuses, but then, when he reveals himself to her after further testing her fidelity, she consents to the marriage and the pair reign happily together.

It was once routine to compare the language and the versification of the poem with those of popular song, but more recent scholarship has revised this view in a number of important respects (cf. Holton (1991b, 1991c). The decapentesyllable was the metre not only of oral poetry but also of literate personal, narrative and dramatic poetry, a major characteristic of which, from the 14th century onwards, was the use of rhyming couplets taken over from western models. Traditional folk poetry, by contrast, was unrhymed, and those branches that eventually adopted rhyme did so under the influence of written compositions. Other characteristics of folk poetry that distinguish it from the more sophisticated techniques of *Erotókritos* include:

(12) (a) Apart from occasional stress on the first syllable, departure from the natural iambic rhythm of the line is quite rare.
(b) Lines of verse coincide with syntactic boundaries/sense units.
(c) There are formulaic building blocks of the type that has formed the basis of the oral poet's compositional technique from the earliest times, and there is considerable verbal redundancy and repetition of the type that often characterizes an oral style.
(d) The popular line normally falls into two balancing halves (and the first may be divided in turn).

The couplet in (13), taken from a song on the theme of exile, illustrates these basic points, together with the co-ordinative syntactic structure of folk compositions that often requires the listener to supply the necessary connections:

(13) 1 4 6 10 12 14
Μάνα, πολλά μαλώνεις με || κι ἐγώ μισέψει θέλω,

2 8 10 14
να φύγω,| να ξενιτευτώ, || στα ξένα να γυρίζω

['mana, po'la ma'loniz me c e'ɣo mi'sepsi 'θelo,
mother, much you-scold me and I to-leave I-shall,
na 'fiɣo, na ksenitef'to, sta 'ksena na ji'rizo]
that I-go, that I-go-abroad, to-the foreign-parts that I-return

'Mother, you tell me off too much and I want to leave, to go, to emigrate, to return to foreign lands.'

While the familiarity of such 'folksy' patterns is sometimes exploited in *Erotókritos*, Kornáros employs complex subordination, extensive enjambement, and a great variety of rhythm and phrasing (including trochaic rhythms with stresses on odd-numbered syllables). Hiatus is also avoided, but synizesis across word boundaries (i.e. the running together of word-final and word-initial vowels) and elision/prodelision are common and often highlight the narrative. In (14), for example, Aretoúsa's feelings are accentuated by the unusual effect of the multiple synizesis:

(14) σήμερο ἀπόμεινα ἄφοβη· δὲν ἔχω μπλιο ἴντα ' λπίζει (V 1021)

['simero‿ a'pomina‿ 'afovi; ðen 'exo bʎo‿ 'inda l'pizi]
today I-stayed fearless; not I- have more what to-hope

'Today I remained without fear; I no longer know what to hope for.'

The language of the poem is based on the dialect of eastern Crete (Kornáros was from Sitía). Note in particular the following:

(15) (a) The characteristic absorption of [j] after [s] and sometimes [r] in words such as άξος ['aks^{j}os] for άξιος ['aksios] 'worthy' and μακρά [ma'kr^{j}a] for μακριά [ma'krja] 'far'.

(b) The use of 3pl verb forms in -ου(νϵ) [-u(ne)] rather than west Cretan -ουσι [-usi].
(c) The stressed syllabic augment ή- ['i-], e.g. ή-φϵρα ['ifera] 'I was bringing'.
(d) The use of 3pl clitic possessive τως [tos] (or ντως [dos], with the initial consonant deriving from misanalysis after words ending in -ν [-n]), rather than west Cretan τωνϵ/ντωνϵ ['tone/'done] 'their'.
(e) Sg aorist passive in -θηκα [-θika], -θηκϵς [-θikes], -θηκϵ [-θice], rather than the west Cretan -θη [-θi], -θης [-θis], -θη(ν) [-θi(n)] (the extended forms are regular in the plural).

The west Cretan variants are also admitted, however, particularly when these are metrically different and offer the poet advantages in composition (i.e. by having a different number of syllables, as 3pl -ουσι [usi] beside -ου(ν) [u(n)]), while other features, some typical of all the southern insular dialects, are general Cretan, including the palatalization of /k/ to [tʃ] or the softening of [ç]/[j] to [ʃ]/[ʒ] before [i/e] (made clear in the Latin alphabet used in a number of manuscripts) and a number of other characteristics:

(16) (a) Loss of final -ν [-n] (even in gen pl -ω(ν) [-o(n)] and 3pl verb forms in -ουν [-u(n)]) except where a word forms part of an intonational phrase with a following word beginning with a vowel or voiceless plosive (i.e. retention is not confined to phrases involving articles and pronouns), e.g. I.10 σϵ μια φιλιάν αμάλαγη [se mɲa fi'ʎan a'malaʒi] 'in a pure love').
(b) Partial generalization of clitic possessives with initial ντ- [d-] (e.g. ντου [du] 'his/its') from contexts after a word ending in -ν [-n].
(c) Loss of medial -ν- [-n-] before a fricative: e.g. άθρωπος ['aθropos] 'man' for άνθρωπος ['anθropos].
(d) The gen fem sg of the article and clitic pronoun is not only της [tis] but also τση [tsi] or τς [ts], while the masculine and feminine acc pl, beside their standard forms, also appear as τσι [tsi] and τσ' [ts]. The spellings of these variants are conventional, and all derive from syncope of an unstressed vowel and the addition of a final [-i] to aid pronunciation when the next word began with a consonant.
(e) (i) κιανϵίς [tʃa'nis] 'anyone'/no-one' is used for κανϵίς [ka'nis], both < κ(ι)άν (i.e. καὶ ἄν) + ϵίς [k(j)an is] 'even one'.
(ii) καθαϵίς [kaθa'is] 'everyone' beside καθϵίς [ka'θis], both < κάθ(ϵ/α) + ϵίς 'each one'.
(iii) αυτόνος [af'tonos] and αυτϵίνος [af'tinos] are sometimes used for αυτός [af'tos] 'this', with suffixes modelled on that of ϵκϵίνος [e'cinos/e'tʃinos] 'that'. In the case of αυτόνος [af'tonos], this is added to the stem in nom sg, but otherwise to the inflected form of the standard equivalent (thus gen sg masc αὐτου-νού [aftu'nu] etc.). This same suffix is also used as a genitive for ϵτούτος [e'tutos], giving ϵτουνού [etu'nu], and sometimes with other pronouns.

(iv) forms of the article beginning with τ- [t-], το(ν)/τη(ν)/το [to(n)/ti(n)/to] etc., are used as relative pronouns alongside οπού [opu]/ απού [apu] ‘that’.

(v) (ε)ίντα ['inda] ‘what?’ < τί είναι τα ['ti n da] ‘what are-they which?’, is used for τί [ti].

(f) Perfects and pluperfects are formed on the Romance model, with perfect passive participles and the verb ἔχω ['eco] ‘have’. The participle usually agrees with a pronominal or lexical direct object, though it may also have an invariant neuter plural form if the sense is generic, as in a free relative clause:

(i) ... την είχασι δοσμένη (I. 433)

[...tin 'ixasi ðoz'meni]
her(acc fem sg) they-had given(acc fem sg)

‘they had given her’

(ii) ... ό,τι έχεις μιλημένα (III. 506)

[... 'oti 'eçis mil'imena]
... whatever(acc neut sg) you-have said(acc neut pl)

‘everything you have said’

(g) The future is formed with θέλω ['θelo] + aorist infinitive, or with θε να [θe na] + subjunctive; the conditional uses either ἤθελα ['iθela] or εἶχα ['ixa] + aorist infinitive. These may be used, in combination with an imperfect, in either the protasis or the apodosis of a hypothetical conditional, and they also express past habituality in temporal clauses; the latter, however, is never used as a true (real-time) pluperfect:

(i) είς πού 'τρεμεν ως σ' είχε δεί ... (I. 1601)

[is 'pu tremen os s 'iʃe ði ...]
one that used-to-tremble when you he-would see

‘one who trembled whenever he saw you’

(h) Object pronouns are regularly placed after the verb that governs them unless the verb is part of a clause that includes a subordinating conjunction or sentential operator (negative, modal, interrogative or focal) to which the verb has been attracted (i.e. the normal pattern of Medieval Greek is preserved). Thus the pronoun ordinarily follows:

(i) ... λέγει της ό Ρωτόκριτος ... (III. 1355)

[...'leʒi tis o ro'tokritos...]
... speaks to-her the Rotókritos ...

But where there is a negative/focal element etc., it precedes:

(ii) ... στη χέρα της το δίδει (V. 524)
[... sti 'ʃera tis to 'ðiði]
... into-the hand of-her it he-gives

(i) Much of the vocabulary of the poem is dialectal, e.g. ἀζιγανιά [aziɣa'ɲa] 'treachery', βερτζί [ver'dʒi] 'red', γιάντα ['ʒanda] 'why', δαμάκι [ða'matʃi] 'a little', ἐδά [e'ða]/ἐπά [e'pa] 'now'/'here', ζάλο ['zalo] 'footstep' etc., while familiar-looking words such as ἄδεια ['aðja], βολετός [vole'tos], δόλιος ['ðoʎos], κρίνω ['krino] and φτηνός [fti'nos] mean not 'leave/permission', 'convenient', 'wily', 'I judge' and 'cheap', but rather 'space/opportunity', 'feasible', 'poor/wretched', 'I think' and 'generous'.

But the language of the poem is not a straightforward representation of any dialect then spoken on the island (still less that of Cretan folk poetry). Close inspection reveals a conscious refinement immediately apparent from comparison with the language of comedy or day-to-day documents of the period, a process involving the exclusion of Italian vocabulary characteristic of the island vernacular and the use of 'poetic' phraseology alien to the folk-song tradition, such as νόστιμος κιλαδισμός ['nostimos tʃilaðiz'mos] 'tasty singing' or νέφαλο θολό ['nefalo θo'lo] 'lustreless cloud'. Kornáros also employs many words of learned origin, e.g. βρέφος ['vrefos] 'infant', εὐλάβεια [ev'lavja] 'awe', ἤγουν ['iɣun] 'namely', κάλλος ['kalos] 'beauty', λίθος ['liθos] 'stone', ὀδύνη [o'ðini] 'pain', συμβουλεύγω [simvu'levɣo] 'confer', τέκνο ['tekno] 'child' and ὕψος ['ipsos] 'height'. We must always bear in mind, however, that the modern standard developed from a different dialect base and has been greatly influenced by the learned tradition (see chapter 17), so that even the most serious Cretan poetry may quite wrongly seem to have a rustic/archaic feel from a contemporary point of view.

The following extract (from the edition of Alexíou (1980)) illustrates many of these phenomena. Here Rotókritos, in disguise, is about to test Aretoúsa's fidelity by telling her that he is dead, and the narrator pleads with him to reconsider:

(17) Ἄδικον είν', Ρωτόκριτε, ετούτα να τα κάνης,
βλέπε μ' αυτάνα έτσ' άδικα να μην την αποθάνης.
Θωρείς τη πώς ευρίσκεται, μ' ἀκόμη δεν πιστεύγεις·
ίντ' άλλα μεγαλύτερα σημάδια τση γυρεύγεις;
Τα πλούτη και την αφεντιάν αρνήθηκε για σένα,
πάντα 'ν' τα χείλη της πρικιά, τα μάτια της κλαημένα·
ζει με τσι κακοριζικιές, θρέφεται με τους πόνους
και μες στη βρωμερή φλακήν εδά 'χει πέντε χρόνους.
(V. 723-30)

['aðikon in, ro'tokrite, e'tuta na ta 'kaɲis,
Wrong is, Rotokritos, these-things that them you-do
'vlepe m af'tana 'ets 'aðika na min din apo'θaɲis.
beware with these-things so wrong that not her you-kill.
θo'ris ti pos ev'ristʃete, m a'komi dem bis'tevʒis;
you-see her how she-is found, but still not you-believe;
'ind 'ala meɣa'litera si'maðja tsi ʒi'revʒis?
what other greater signs of-her you-seek?
ta 'pluti tʃe tin afen'dʲan ar'niθitʃe ʒa 'sena,
the wealth and the nobility she-refused for you,
'panda n da 'ʃili tis pri'tʃa, ta 'matʲa tis klai'mena;
always are the lips of-her bitter, the eyes of-her tearful;
zi me tsi kakorizi'tʃes, 'θrefete me tus 'ponus
she-lives with the misfortunes, she-is-fed by the pains
tʃe mes sti vrome'ri fla'tʃin e'ða ʃi 'pende 'xronus]
and inside at-the filthy prison now she-has five years

'It is wrong to do this, Rotókritos, beware in case you kill her with these wrongs. You see the state she is in, but still you do not believe; what other, greater tokens do you seek from her? She has refused wealth and nobility for you, her lips are always bitter, her eyes full of tears; she lives with misfortunes, she is nourished on pain, and has now been inside her vile prison for five years.'

14.2.5 Greek in the east: Pontus and Cappadocia

The dialects of the eastern frontier districts were subject to foreign infiltration and influence even in Byzantine times, and though Trebizond always remained in touch with Constantinople and contacts were maintained more generally through trade, ties with the remote regions away from the Black Sea and Mediterranean coasts had been loosened with the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert in 1071.

Cappadocia fell immediately under Seljuk control and, with the growth of bilingualism and conversion to Islam, its dialects began to show signs of Turkish influence and later of convergence with the dominant language. After the Greek military disaster of 1922–3 and the deportation of the Christian population to settlements in central and northern Greece (see 16.1), the central and eastern Anatolian varieties fell into what till recently was believed to be terminal decline. In 2005, however, it was discovered that there were descendants of Cappadocian refugees in central and northern Greece who still spoke their traditional language fluently. The position of Cappadocian remains precarious, but it is certainly not yet extinct (see Janse (in press)).

By contrast, Pontus, never properly occupied by the Seljuks, was incorporated into the Ottoman empire only after the fall of Trebizond in 1461. Thereafter, the large and stable Greek-speaking population of this important region, stretching along the southern coast of the Black Sea from Inépolis (Inebolu) to Ofis (Of) with major centres at Aryiroúpolis (Gümüşhane) and Trebizond (Trabzon), preserved its distinctive identity and its language with some success. Even after the deportations of 1923, the authorities in Trebizond were obliged to employ interpreters to work with the remaining Muslim Pontic speakers in the law courts, and the language is still spoken in some villages of the region centred on Of (see Mackridge 1987, 1999). Although Turkish is

now the sole medium of education, and the inhabitants of these villages regard themselves as Turks, the adherence to Greek is remarkably strong, and only very recently have some parents come to the view that a knowledge of Pontic may be an impediment to their offspring's prospects in the wider world. Thus even though a degree of bilingualism is now routine, some women remain fluent only in Greek (known as *roméika*), and even the youngest still speak the language well. Though the Pontic dialects of refugees and their descendants spoken in Greece have been subject to convergence with the standard language, and had already been affected prior to 1923 by church attendance and the language policies of the Greek state implemented through local schools, the varieties still *in situ*, with their Muslim speakers cut off from such standardizing influences, have remained in a more 'natural' state, growing Turkish influence notwithstanding. The overall result is a family of dialects which, in contrast with those of Cappadocia, still present a rather conservative aspect.

Quite apart from the stock of antique vocabulary, there are a number of phonological and grammatical archaisms that continue the medieval speech of the region:

(18) (a) Retention of many unstressed initial vowels, including the syllabic augment, where standard dialects have undergone aphaeresis (e.g. *ospítin* for σπίτι ['spiti] 'house', from Latin *hospitium*); note too the absence of synizesis in -ία [-'ia] etc.

(b) Survival of some ancient pronominal forms: e.g. possessive clitic *emon* < ancient gen pl ἡμῶν [(h)ɛ:mô:n] 'of us' in place of standard μας [mas], and ancient possessive adjectives, e.g. *temón* < τὸ ἐμόν [tò emón], lit. 'the my', in emphatic possessive/predicative use in place of standard το δικό μου [to ði'ko mu], lit. 'the own of-me'; this latter is also a feature of Cappadocian.

(c) Many ancient/medieval verb forms and system characteristics, including:

(i) 2sg imperatives in *-son* continuing ancient aorist forms, where other dialects have -σε [-se].

(ii) the absence of the /k-/ element in aorist passives (also in Cappadocian), thus 3sg *efovéθe* < ancient ἐφοβήθη [epʰobɛ́:tʰɛ:] for standard φοβήθηκε [fo'viθice] 's/he was afraid'.

(iii) retention of some archaic suppletions such as *féro: énga* continuing ancient φέρω: ἤνεγκα [pʰéro:/ɛ́:neŋka], 'I bring/I brought', instead of standard φέρνω: έφερα ['ferno/'efera]).

(iv) loss of the ancient perfect system has not been made good by either of the periphrastic types familiar from other dialects (έχω γράψει/έχω γραμμένο ['exo 'ɣrapsi/'exo ɣra'meno]), supporting the conclusion that spoken Greek of the early/middle Byzantine periods, prior to contact with Romance, lacked a formal expression of this category.

(v) use of the ancient passive in -ούμαι [-'ume] of verbs originally in -όω [-óo:]; these have been replaced by formations in -ώνω [-'ono] in all modern dialects, but only Pontic (and Cappadocian) have failed to generalize the new stem form to the passive.

(vi) residual retention of the infinitive (perfective only), though apparently only in dialects still spoken in Pontus, and sometimes in modified forms (e.g. with the addition of personal endings).

The features in (i), (ii), (iv) and (vi) correlate with mainstream Medieval Greek vernacular literature and provide an important control for discriminating between living forms and learned borrowings.

One further feature of Pontic (shared also by Cappadocian) that is standardly presented as an archaism is the pronunciation in certain contexts of etymological -η- as [e] rather than standard [i] (as in 3sg aorist passive *efovéθe* < ancient ἐφοβήθη [ep^hobɛ́:t^hɛ:]). But closer inspection gives pause for thought. The most obvious difficulty with this theory, apart from the inherent implausibility of an explanation that requires us to believe that the speech of this important part of the Roman empire was unaffected by a sound change completed everywhere else, is that the [i]-vowel of standard speech is often represented by Pontic [e] even where the source of [i] is spelled ι, ει, οι and υ, i.e. never represented the sound [ɛ:] even in Ancient Greek. Thus alongside πεγάδ' [pe'ɣað] 'well' (standard πηγάδι [pi'ɣaði]), κλέφτες ['kleftes] 'robber' (standard κλέφτης ['kleftis]), νύφε ['nife] 'bride' (standard νύφη ['nifi]) etc., we also find έμορφεσσα ['emorfesa] 'beautiful (fem)' (the standard suffix, though not used in these adjectives, is -ισσα [-issa]), όνερον ['oneron] 'dream' (standard όνειρο ['oniro]), κοδέσπενα [ko'ðespena] 'mistress of the house' (standard οικοδέσποινα [iko'ðespina]), λεχνάρι [lex'nari] 'oil lamp' (standard λυχνάρι [lix'nari]) etc. (Oikonomídis (1958)).

It seems more likely, therefore, that this is another manifestation of the vowel-weakening processes that also result (especially in immediately post-tonic syllables) in the loss of unstressed [i] and [u]. Thus similar developments appear to have affected [o] in άλεγον ['aleɣon] 'horse' (standard άλογο ['aloɣo]), and όνεμα ['onema] 'name' (standard όνομα ['onoma]). It is characteristic of such weakenings that they do not conform to fixed rules and are subject to both variable local phonetic conditioning and extensive analogical levelling. One consequence of the latter is the secondary appearance of 'weakened' vowels in stressed syllables, e.g. fem ψηλέσσα [psi'lesa] to masc ψηλός [psi'los] 'high'/'tall', on the model of the large numbers of adjectives where the suffix was unaccented (e.g. fem έμορφεσσα ['emorfessa] 'beautiful'). We may compare the situation in many verb paradigms, e.g. μαερεύω [mae'revo] 'I cook' (standard μαγειρεύω [maji'revo]) alongside imperfect εμαέρευα [ema'ereva] (standard μαγείρευα [ma'jireva] etc.). Furthermore, the absence of the phenomenon in many varieties where the [i]-vowel is stressed appears to confirm the essentially unpredictable character of these developments (cf. αγοραστής [aɣoras'tis] 'buyer/shopper', ασκητής [aʃci'tis] 'hermit', beside κλέφτες ['kleftes] 'robber', ψεύτες ['pseftes] 'liar'), though many of the former class may be of relatively recent learned origin and so unaffected by earlier developments.

The main effect of detachment from the mainstream, however, was independent development, and there are many striking innovations:

(19) (a) The changes of unstressed [ia/ea] > [æ] and unstressed [io/eo] > [œ], vowels unknown in the standard.
(b) Weakening and/or deletion of many unstressed vowels, reminiscent of the northern dialects (see below) except that in Pontic the effects are

more variable and loss is predominantly confined to post-tonic syllables (in Cappadocian to final syllables).

(c) 'Columnar' stress in adjectives and verbs, even where this breaks the standard rule that the accent must fall on one of the last three syllables; thus *eγápisa/eγápisame,* 'I loved'/'we loved' beside standard ἀγάπησα/ἀγαπήσαμε [a'ɣapisa/aɣa'pisame].

(d) Loss of the imperfective/perfective opposition outside the indicative in most varieties, with exclusively imperfective forms used in 'subjunctive' clauses.

(e) Uniform post-verbal positioning of clitic pronouns, even where the verb complex involves negatives, mood markers and other sentential operators; the accusative also replaces the ancient dative to mark the indirect object as in the northern dialects. This uniform ordering distinguishes Pontic from other conservative dialects such as Cypriot, Cretan and Cappadocian, which have similarly favoured post-verbal position after finite verbs but have also retained preverbal position in the context of negatives etc. (in the medieval fashion).

(f) The beginnings of the breakdown of the gender system, involving a distinction into ἔμψυχα ['embzixa] and ἄψυχα ['apsixa], effectively a distinction between 'human' and 'non-human'. Modifiers of the former in the plural tend to adopt masculine forms, while modifiers of the latter (with the partial exception of immediately preceding definite articles) take neuter forms across the board. Feminine ἔμψυχα ['embzixa] themselves sometimes have masculine forms in the plural (at least as variants), while plural ἄψυχα ['apsixa], if not already neuter, show parallel signs of assimilating to neuter declensional patterns (i.e. with accusative forms serving also as nominative, and sometimes with substitution of actual neuter endings). Consider the examples below:

(i)	i the (masc nom pl)	kalí good (masc nom pl)	i the (masc nom pl)	jinéces women (fem nom pl)
(ii)	to the (neut nom/acc sg)	kócinon red (neut nom/acc sg)	i the (fem nom sg)	kosára hen (fem nom sg)
(iii)	ta the (neut nom/acc pl)	paléa old (neut nom/acc pl)	ta the (neut nom/acc pl)	cerús times (masc nom/acc pl)

This fundamental split in the declensional system, shared also by Cappadocian, was perhaps initiated by the local transfer in antiquity of large numbers of masculine and feminine inanimates of the 3rd declension to the neuter paradigm in -ίν [-in], and subsequently accelerated by universal use of neuter possessive adjectives (prompted by the gender-invariant form of corresponding genitive pronominal possessives: e.g. *temón/teméteron i nífe* 'the-my/our the daughter-in-law'), a development which then provided a model for other adjectival usage (at least for ἄψυχα ['apsixa]).

The correspondence with Cappadocian, despite differences of detail due in part to later Turkish influence on the latter, points strongly to an earlier period when the two groups formed a single dialect area. The initial development of the gender system along these lines clearly had nothing to do with Turkish, which has no grammatical distinctions based on animacy.

Another oddity of Pontic is that masculine nouns of the 2nd declension (the type in [-os]) show the 'accusative' ending [-o(n)] (some dialects retain final [-n], others do not) in subject as well as object function when the noun in question is definite, and employ the 'standard' nominative form in [-os] only when a subject is indefinite: thus *o fílo(n)/(ínas) fílos* 'the friend'/'(a) friend', as opposed to standard ο φίλος/ (ένας) φίλος [o 'filos/('enas] 'filos]. In Cappadocian, the regular use of the accusative ending was latterly confined to definite direct objects, with an associated generalization of the nominative form to indefinite objects (a clear case of Turkish influence, since this language has only a definite object marker). But there were also residual examples of the use of the accusative to mark definite subjects, which again points to an early common origin (Dawkins (1916: 94)). The original basis for this development seems to have been an attempt to re-mark the definiteness of subjects involving human-denoting nouns in a dialect area where the definite article with nominative forms of this class was increasingly dropped (with some spread to masculine and feminine άψυχα ['apsixa] if they retained their masc/fem articles), a development presumably connected with the phonological weakness of ο/η/οι [o/i/i] (recall that άψυχα ['apsixa] tended to acquire neuter determiners and modifiers), which were prone to crasis or loss when in contact with words beginning or ending in a vowel. If Thumb's attempt to link the change with the parallel use of the accusative for the nominative in second-declension nouns in a number of 3rd-century inscriptions from Cyprus is well-founded (Thumb (1906: 258)), the phenomenon may once have characterized the whole of the eastern Koine. Whatever the original motivation, the change engendered paradigm interference from both 3rd-declension masculines in -ων [-on]/gen -ονος [-onos] and neuters in -ον [-on], which often followed the model of the neuters in -ίν [-'in] where the gen -ίου [-'iu] (without synizesis) had developed to -ί' [-'i] through loss of unstressed final [u]. Thus we find (ο) λύκον [(o) 'likon] 'wolf' with gen λύκονος ['likonos], or (ο) άρθωπον [(o) 'arθopon] 'man' with gen αρθωπί [arθo'pi], etc.

The tenacity of Greek in Pontus, reflecting its status as a majority language in much of the region for more than 2,000 years, effectively limited the impact of Turkish to the lexicon and phraseology, but the scale of such borrowing far exceeds that seen elsewhere (other than in Cappadocia). Not only nouns and adjectives but also verbs have been widely borrowed (the last involving the addition of -εύω [-'evo] to the Turkish present stem: e.g. *konuşmak* [konuʃmak] 'to speak', present stem *konuş*, giving *konușévo* 'I speak'). The erosion of the Greek lexicon is particularly marked in the varieties still spoken in Turkey, where Turkish phraseology is even beginning to introduce Turkish syntactic structures. For example, the expressions *resim çekmek* [resim çek^{j}mek^j], lit. 'photograph to-draw/pull', and *telefon etmek* [telefon etmek^j], lit. 'telephone to-make', have been adopted with morphological adaptation of the noun and substitution of the corresponding Greek verb, but the Turkish verb-final order has also been retained: *resmín ésires?* 'picture did-you-draw/pull?', and *telefónin písite* 'telephone make-2pl (imp)' (Mackridge (1987: 135)). The dialects of the Of region

show other signs of Turkish influence in the postposing of locative and directional adverbs in the manner of the agglutinative suffixes of Turkish (Mackridge (1987: 133)):

(20) as páme si ʃékʲersun dʒan (dʒan < καὶ ἄνω [c 'ano], lit. 'and up')
let we-go to-the Shekersu up

'Let's go up to Shekersu'

This latter-day assimilation of the Pontic dialects still spoken in Pontus must be very similar to what had long been happening to the dialects spoken in central Anatolia before 1922/3, where the early decline of Greek, despite this having once been a fully integrated part of the Byzantine empire, is already revealed in a document dated 1437:[7]

(21) … in multis partibus Turcie reperiuntur clerici … qui portant vestimenta infidelium et locuntur linguam ipsorum et nihil aliud sciunt in Greco proferre nisi missam cantare et evangelium et epistolas. (*Néos Ellinomnímon* VII (1910: 366))

'… in many parts of Turkey (*meaning Anatolia*) clerics are to be found … who wear the dress of infidels and speak their language and know how to pronounce nothing in Greek beyond singing the mass and reciting the gospel and the letters.'

None the less, at the beginning of the 20th century, Greek still had a strong presence in Silli north-west of Konya (ancient Ikónion), in Phárasa and other villages in the region drained by the Yenice river (some 100 km south of Kayseri, ancient Caesarea), and in Cappadocia proper, at Arabisón (Arapsu/Gülşehir) north-west of Nevşehir (ancient Nyssa), and in the large region south of Nevşehir as far down as Niğde and Bor (close to ancient Tyana). This whole area, as the home of St Basil the Great (329–79), his brother St Gregory of Nyssa (335–94) and his friend St Gregory of Nazianzos (330–89), was of great importance in the early history of Christianity, but is perhaps most famous today for the extraordinary landscape of eroded volcanic tufa in the valleys of Göreme, Ihlara and Soğanlı, and for the churches and houses carved into the 'fairy chimneys' to serve the Christian population in the middle ages. Many of the rock churches, which range in date from the 6th to the 13th centuries, contain magnificent frescos. Away from the valleys, some of the villages have vast underground complexes containing houses, cellars, stables, refectories, cemeteries and churches, affording protection from marauding Arabs in the days when the Byzantine empire extended to the Euphrates, and serving later as places of refuge from hostile Turkish raiders. The most famous of these are at Kaymaklı and Derinkuyu, formerly the Greek villages of Anakú (Inegi) and Malakopí (Melegob), where the chambers extend down over several levels to depths of up to 85 metres.

By the time of Dawkins' monumental study (1916), the speech of the major villages of Cappadocia (e.g. Sinasós (Mustafapaşa)) had already been influenced by the teaching of 'standard' Greek in local schools (including *katharévousa*, see chapter 16), while that of many others (e.g. in Fertéki (Fertek)) showed considerable Turkish influence in the form of vowel harmony and the adoption of Turkish syntactic structures. A good example is provided by phrases of the type *kanís kokusú* (from Ulaĝaç, lit. 'someone smell-his', where a morphologically unmarked possessor precedes rather than follows the head (as in Turkish) and the head itself (a Turkish word) is marked as possessed in the Turkish way with the suffix *-(s)i* (complete with vowel harmony). Another

version of this construction involves the addition of Greek *-t* (a truncation of the 3rd-person possessive του [tu] used without gender discrimination) in place of Turkish *-(s)i*, e.g. ***kasáp-baʃí semaðemenjú-t ta tsólʲa*** (from Floïtá), lit. 'butcher betrothed-his the clothes', where this combines with the Greek genitive ending *-jú*, originally the neuter -ιού, but now used agglutinatively for all genders in the Turkish fashion. Other features, such as the use of the 2nd-declension masculine accusative ending -ο(ν) [-o(n)] for definite objects (with nominative -ος [-os] extended to mark indefinite objects), similarly follow the Turkish pattern, while the treatment of adjectives, with neuter paradigms fully generalized, confirms the massive impact of genderless Turkish on an already destabilized system. Only the speech of the remotest areas (e.g. Axós (Hasaköy) and Phárasa further east), where schools were few or non-existent and Turks rarely ventured, proved to be relatively well preserved.

Abstracting away from obvious Turkisms, Dawkins concluded (1916: 205–6) that northern and eastern Anatolia must once have formed a single linguistic area, united by such 'early' innovations as the development of a gender/declensional system based on the distinction between ἔμψυχα ['embzixa] and άψυχα ['apsixa] and use of the accusative of 2nd-declension nouns as a 'definite nominative'. He also drew attention to the shared retention of archaisms like post-verbal positioning of clitic pronouns, ancient possessive adjectives, an aorist passive paradigm without -κα [-ka], and the old contracted passive in -οῦμαι [-'ume] of verbs originally in -όω [-óo:].[8] The fact that these shared characteristics are, or once were, also attested in insular dialects adjacent to the southern coast of Asia Minor is seen as evidence for a wider eastern Koine in the early middle ages. Possibly significant features shared with Cypriot include the continued use of the article as a relative pronoun, the option of postposing clitic pronouns, and a large stock of vocabulary, some of it ancient, that is not in use elsewhere. We should recall, however, that shared retention of archaisms is not a compelling basis for linking dialects genetically (cf. 1.3), and that the innovations linking Cypriot with other south-eastern dialects are in general stronger. This does not, however, automatically invalidate Dawkins' hypothesis, since any links with the Asia Minor dialects must have been early, and Cypriot may well have developed independently once detached from the putative eastern Koine area by the effects of occupation.

14.2.6 The northern dialects

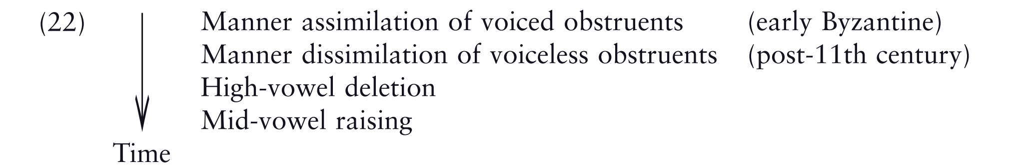
There is a fundamental distinction between the contemporary 'northern' and 'southern' dialects, whereby the former but not the latter exhibit (rather variably instantiated) high-vowel deletion and mid-vowel raising: i.e. unstressed 'standard' /i/ and /u/ > Ø, and unstressed 'standard' /e/ and /o/ > /i/ and /u/.[9] Such varieties are still spoken, subject to the growing impact of the standard, throughout the mainland north of Attica, as well as on Thasos, Lesbos, Lemnos and Imbros (which now belongs to Turkey), and on Samos (in the southern area, but repopulated from the north in the 15th century), cf. Newton (1972: ch. 7), Trudgill (2003)).

A key issue is the dating of the onset of these changes (see Andriótis (1933), and the papers in Sympósio (1977)). Linkage to similar developments in Thessalian dialect in the 3rd century BC is difficult to substantiate while the interpretation of relevant forms remains uncertain. Thus even though there is potential evidence of vowel weakening and syncope associated with the shift from a pitch to a stress accent (see 1.4.4

(b) and cf. Chadwick (1993)), it is far from clear that the set of affected vowels and diphthongs or the range of attested outcomes correlates convincingly with the familiar 'northern' phenomena.

Against this interpretation we may note that consonants palatalized before original /i/ are retained as such after high-vowel deletion, but that there is no corresponding palatization before the secondary /i/ (< /e/) in dialects that did not also palatalize consonants before /e/. This points to a considerable delay in the onset of high-vowel raising vis-à-vis palatalization, since otherwise the latter would have applied equally to the relevant consonants before the new /i/. The relative lateness of high-vowel raising is confirmed when we examine other interacting phenomena. Thus the manner dissimilation of voiceless obstruents (i.e. [stop + stop] or [fricative + fricative] > [fricative + stop], cf. 11.6 (12) for details) is almost unknown in the secondary consonant clusters arising from high-vowel deletion. Similarly, although the originally voiceless plosives that find themselves adjacent to voiced fricatives are voiced, they do not themselves normally become fricatives (contrast 11.2 (5)). Thus κουτί [ku'ti] 'box' typically becomes [kti] rather than [xti], and πηγάδι [pi'ɣaði] 'well' becomes [bɣað] rather than [vɣað]. These differences distinguish the products of high-vowel deletion very clearly from original clusters, and show that deletion must have post-dated the application of the rules of manner assimilation/dissimilation. Since we already know that high-vowel deletion preceded mid-vowel raising (otherwise secondary /i/ and /u/ would also have disappeared), it follows that the manner dissimilation of voiceless obstruents and the manner assimilation of voiced obstruents preceded both of these processes. We have examples of various consonant assimilations and dissimilations in the late antique papyri (cf. Gignac (1976: 86–98, 165–77)), and we know that the obligatory manner assimilation of voiced plosives to voiced fricatives belongs, at the latest, to the early Byzantine period (see 11.2 (5)). But there are no examples of manner dissimilation in voiceless obstruent clusters, inevitably in the case of the fricatives [f, θ, x], given their late development from aspirated plosives (cf. 6.4).[10] The modern treatment of voiceless clusters is therefore a product of the medieval period, and since the developments in the South Italian dialects are aberrant vis-à-vis the standard pattern ([pt], [fθ], [kt], [xθ] and [sθ] all > [st] in Bovézika, for example), it seems the completion of the relevant changes took place after this part of the Greek-speaking world had become detached from the Byzantine mainstream by the Norman conquests. They are therefore conventionally placed in the later middle ages (cf. Browning (1983: 76)).

Putting these various observations together, we obtain the following chronology:



with the diagnostic features of the northern dialects of Modern Greek placed firmly in the period after c. AD 1100. This ties in well with the evidence of the body of unaffected loanwords in the language of Vlach migrants, who settled in Epirus and the Pindus between the 8th and 10th centuries (Andriótis (1933)).

As noted above, similar changes in the realization of vowels also characterized the dialects of Silli, Cappadocia and, at least in part, Pontus. But in the first there was only raising (chiefly in inflectional endings), in Cappadocian raising and deletion occurred overwhelmingly in final syllables, and in Pontic the processes were restricted to immediately post-tonic syllables. These rather varied restrictions strongly suggest that we are dealing with independent developments of relatively recent origin in the Asia Minor Koine rather than with a single process directly linked to the northern developments (cf. Dawkins (1916: 192–3)).

14.3 Popular Culture in the Turkish Period: The Folk Songs

Though the production of vernacular literature soon came to an end in Ottoman Greek lands, the oral tradition of folk song did not. Such poems, however, were not uniquely characteristic of Ottoman lands, and there are important collections from the whole of the Greek-speaking world that bear witness to the vigour and relative homogeneity of popular culture in the centuries before independence.

The earliest accounts of Greek folk songs in the west came from 18th- and 19th-century travellers, who reported the existence of a thriving oral tradition. But the conditions prevailing before and during the war of independence inhibited serious study, while many intellectuals, preoccupied with the 'language question' (see chapter 17), saw little merit in this manifestation of popular culture. Nevertheless, there were those who believed a national language could be built upon the foundations of the spoken language of the people, and for them the folk songs were an important source for the study and development of 'demotic' Greek. The Heptanese in particular had remained a major centre of artistic and intellectual endeavour, and Greece's national poet, Dionýsios Solomós, who was born in Zákynthos (Zante) and later resided in Kérkyra (Corfu), was among the advocates of this solution to the language question. As we shall see (17.2), Solomós made careful use of aspects of the folk-song tradition in his efforts to redefine the spirit of the Greek revival in a modern European way.

Nineteenth-century nationalism and the search for a modern Greek identity provided fresh impetus to the study of folklore by encouraging research into the folk songs as evidence for an unbroken link between the modern Greek world and its Byzantine and classical heritage. Though much of the debate in this and subsequent periods was vitiated by considerations of race (e.g. Fallmerayer's (1830, 1835, 1836) 'demonstration' that modern Greeks were of Slav and Albanian stock), the collection of material that began at this time preserved a great deal of oral poetry from oblivion. N.G. Polítis was the dominant figure in this movement, which in 1909 acquired its own journal *Λαογραφία* [laoɣra'fia] ('Folklore'). Polítis' collection was eventually published in 1914 (with many subsequent reprintings) and this remains the principal source, though the rapid urbanization of Greece and the consequent disappearance of many rural traditions in the period after the Second World War and the Greek civil war (see chapter 15) prompted a further revival of interest, and eventually led to the publication of new collections (e.g. Ioánnou (1986), A. Polítis (1981), Saunier (1983), Papadópoulos (1975)).

Although 20th-century advocates of demotic made much of the linguistic unity of these poems in an effort to defend their position against accusations from linguistic

purists that there was no single spoken language to provide the foundation for a written standard, their assertion of the pre-existence of a common popular style was based on citations from work such as that of Polítis which had standardized the orthography and in part the grammar of the collected material. Much detailed evidence about dialect diversity in the late medieval and early modern periods was therefore lost in the interests of the demotic cause, though the songs still provide a useful supplementary source of information about developmental trends in popular spoken Greek.

There can be no doubt that elements of the folk-song tradition go far back into the Byzantine era, and the existence of an 'akritic cycle', thematically related to, and presumably the inspiration for, the epic of *Digenés Akrítes*, has already been discussed (cf. 8.4.3, 12.2.1). These and a number of other short lays of the Byzantine period (e.g. *The Son(s) of Andrónikos*) have passed, in modified form, into the modern folk tradition. One such poem, however, the lay of *Armoúres*, has come down to us in manuscript (two copies, the earlier dating from 1461), while the Escorial version of *Digenés Akrítes* itself may constitute an adapted compilation of five such lays (Ricks (1990)). Clearly we must be wary of supposing, despite traditional views to the contrary (e.g. Kakridís (1979)), that the folk tradition represents an independent channel of transmission (see Beaton (1980)). Some songs were written down and reworked by literate poets in the middle ages, and these versions then provided fresh inspiration for oral poets. The Cypriot song of *Azgourés*, for example (which preserves much of the plot and style of the written *Armoúres*), and Cretan songs based on Chortátsis' tragedy *Erofíli* show that oral poems could spring from written ones, and that there was a complex interaction between the two forms of poetic production. It is not impossible that some of the akritic songs represent oral developments of poems that once existed in manuscript form, just as many of these may represent literary refinements of earlier oral material. Such interaction is wholly expected given a poetic sensibility shaped by the common use of the political verse form from the 12th century.

The tradition also includes songs dealing with historical events, e.g. the fall of Adrianople in 1361, the last mass in Ayía Sophía in 1453, or with particular periods, e.g. the kleftic ballads of the 18th and early 19th centuries, songs of low life in the towns of Asia Minor brought to Greece by refugees after 1923 (*rebétika*), songs of the Greek resistance during the Second World War (*andártika*), and songs of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) of the period 1955–60 (see chapter 16). The majority, however, are timeless accompaniments to the central events of human life, dealing *inter alia* with work, feasts, customs, emigration, love, marriage, birth, childhood and death. Some longer works are perhaps better described as ballads, with stories of human relationships (*paraloyés*) that exhibit a more elaborate narrative form presupposing a poetic tradition of some maturity. Rhyme is not ordinarily employed, despite its obvious potential usefulness for the oral poet as an aide-mémoire, though there are branches of the tradition that did use it, most notably those of the Cretan *rimadóri* and Cypriot *pyitárides*, under the influence of written poetry exposed to western influences.

The songs share many formal characteristics, including the predictable absence of learned Greek and, despite editorial standardization, the continued presence of dialectal features. The formulaic diction and standard themes/motifs are typical of an oral tradition, as is the 'action-orientated' style which eschews descriptive elaboration.

Enjambement is normally avoided, and lines are typically divided into two (8 syllables + 7 syllables) or three parts (4 syllables + 4 syllables + 7 syllables) with much repetition (or contrasting) of words and parallelism of rhythm. The lullaby in (23) illustrates these features very clearly:

(23) Κοιμήσου αστρί, κοιμήσου αυγή, κοιμήσου νιο φεγγάρι,
κοιμήσου που να σε χαρή ο νιός που θα σε πάρη.

[ci'misu as'tri, || ci'misu av'ji, || ci'misu ɲo feŋ'gari, ||
Sleep little-star, sleep dawn, sleep new moon,
ci'misu pu na se xa'ri || o 'ɲos pu θa se 'pari.]
sleep that may you(acc) enjoy the young-man that will you(acc) take

'Sleep little star, sleep dawn, sleep new moon,
sleep so that the young man who will marry you may delight in you.'

Musically, the songs are monophonic, and many types are traditionally danced to, with the leader dragging the other performers in a line. The rhythms (5/8, 7/8 and 9/8) and scales (making use of intervals greater and smaller than a semitone) give a rather oriental feel to the music, though we should beware of attributing this to Turkish influence; many elements from ancient Greek and early Byzantine secular music were adapted by the Arabs, taken up by the Turks, and then reintroduced into Greek-speaking lands during the Ottoman period.

Despite the often homely themes, the treatment of the subject matter, particularly in the longer ballads, may be decidedly 'other-worldly'. Birds talk and serve as messengers, the dead go not to the Christian heaven or hell but to the grim underworld of antiquity ruled by Cháros (the ancient Charon who ferried souls across the Styx), supernatural intervention is commonplace, and many apparently ordinary objects are endowed with mystic or symbolic significance. All of this has a powerful distancing effect vis-à-vis the real world, and invests the stories with something of the character of the ancient Greek myths by creating a framework that makes possible the treatment of otherwise taboo subjects.

The song in (24) comes from Aráchova near Delphi and is entitled *Cháros and the Shepherd* ([o 'xaros c o tso'panis]). Though first published in 1860, its origins clearly go back into the Ottoman period:

(24) Ο Χάρος και ο τσοπάνης

Το βλέπεις κείνο το βουνό που 'ναι ψηλό και μέγα,
πὄχ' ανταρούλα στην κορφή καὶ καταχνιά στη ρίζα;
Απέκεινα κατέβαινε ένας ντελή λεβέντης,
φέρνει το φέσι του στραβά και τον γαμπά στριμμένο.
Κι ο Χάρος τον εβίγλισεν από ψηλή ραχούλα,
βγήκε και τον απάντησε σ' ένα στενό σοκάκι.
"Καλημέρα σου, Χάρο μου." - "Καλώς τον τον λεβέντη.
Λεβέντη, πούθεν έρχεσαι, λεβέντη, πού παγαίνεις;"
"'γώ 'πό τα πρόβατ' έρχομαι, στο σπίτι μου παγαίνω,
πάγω να πάρω το ψωμί και πίσω να γυρίσω."

"Λεβέντη, μ' έστειλε ο Θιός να πάρω την ψυχή σου."
"Δίχως αρρώστια κι αφορμή ψυχή δεν παραδίδω.
Για έβγα να παλέψουμε σε μαρμαρένι' αλώνι,
κι αν με νικήσεις, Χάρο μου, να πάρεις την ψυχή μου,
κι αν σε νικήσω, Χάρο μου, να πάρω την ψυχή σου."
Πιαστήκαν καὶ παλέψανε δυό νύχτες και τρεις μέρες,
κι αυτού την τρίτη την αυγή κοντά στό γιόμα γιόμα
φέρν' ο λεβέντης μια βολά, τού Χάρου κακοφάνη,
απ' τα μαλλιά τον άδραξε, στη γην τον αβροντάει,
ακούν το νιον και βόγγιζε και βαρυαναστενάζει·
"Άσε με, Χάρο μ', άσε με τρεις μέρες και τρεις νύχτες·
τες δυό να φάγω και να πιω, τη μιά να σεργιανίσω,
να πάω να διω τους φίλους μου, να διω και τους δικούς μου,
πὄχω γυναίκα παρανιά, και χήρα δεν της πρέπει,
πὄχω και δυό μικρούτσικα, κι ορφάνια δεν τους πρέπει,
πὄχω τα πρόβατ' άκουρα και το τυρί στο κάδι."
Κι αὐτού κοντά στό δειλινό τον καταβάν' ο Χάρος.

Passow (1860: no. 426)

[to 'vlepis 'cino to vu'no pu ne psi'lo ce 'meɣa,
It you-see that the mountain that is high and big,
pox anda'rula stiŋ gor'fi ce katax'ɲa sti 'riza.
that-has storm/mist at-the summit and mist/haze at-the root?
a'pecina ka'tevene 'enas de'li le'vendis,
From-there descended a bold young-man,
'ferni to 'fesi tu stra'va ce toŋ ɣam'ba stri'meno.
he-wore the fez of-him crooked and the cloak twisted.
c o 'xaros ton e'viɣlisen apo psi'li ra'xula,
And the Charos him kept-watch-for from high ridge,
'vjice ce ton ap'andise s ena ste'no so'kaci.
came-out and him met at a narrow lane.
kali'mera su, 'xaro mu. ka'los ton ton le'vendi.
'Good-day to-you, Charos of-me.' 'Welcome him the young-man.
le'vendi, 'puθen 'erçese, le'vendi pu pa'jenis.
Young-man, whence you-come, young-man where you-go?'
ɣo po ta 'provat 'erxome, sto 'spiti mu pa'jeno,
'I from the sheep I-come, to-the house of-me I-go,
'paɣo na 'paro to pso'mi ce 'piso na ji'riso.
I-go that I-take the bread and back that I-return.'
le'vendi, m 'estile o θjos na 'paro tim bziçi su.
'Young-man, me sent the God that I-take the soul of-you.'
'ðixos a'rostja c afor'mi psi'çi ðem bara'ðiðo.
'Without illness and reason soul not I-surrender.
ja 'evɣa na pa'lepsume se marma'reɲ a'loni,
Just come-out that we-wrestle on marble threshing-floor,
c am me ni'cisis, 'xaro mu, na 'paris tim bzi'çi mu,
and if me you-beat, Charos of-me, will you-take the soul of-me,
c an se ni'ciso, 'xaro mu, na 'paro tim bxi'çi su.
and if you I-beat, Charos of-me, will I-take the soul of-you.'

pjas'tikan ce pa'lepsane ðjo 'nixtes ce triz 'meres,
They-came-to-blows and wrestled two nights and three days,
c af'tu tin 'driti tin av'ji kon'da sto 'joma 'joma
and then the third the dawn near to-the noon noon
fern o le'vendis mɲa vo'la, tu 'xaru kako'fani,
brings the young-man a blow, to-the Charos it-seemed-bad,
ap ta ma'ʎa ton 'aðrakse, sti 'jin don avron'dai,
by the hair him he-grasped, to-the ground him he-slams,
a'kun do ɲon ce 'voŋgize ce varjanaste'nazi.
they-hear the youth and he-groans and sighs-heavily.
'ase me, 'xaro m, 'ase me triz 'meres ce triz 'nixtes.
'Grant me, Charos of-me, grant me three days and three nights.
tez ðjo na 'faɣo ce na pjo, ti mɲa na serja'niso,
The two that I-eat and that I-drink, the one that I-go-for-a-walk,
na 'pao na ðjo tus 'filuz mu, na ðjo ce tuz ði'kuz mu,
that I-go that I-see the friends of-me, that I-see and the own(people) of-me,
'poxo ji'neka para'ɲa, ce 'çira ðen dis 'prepi,
(I-)who-have wife very-young, and widow(hood) not her suits,
'poxo ce ðjo mi'krutsika, c or'faɲa ðen dus 'prepi,
who-have and two little-children, and orphanhood not them suits,
'poxo ta 'provat 'akura ce to ti'ri sto 'kaði.
who-have the sheep unsheared and the cheese in-the tub.'
c af'tu kon'da sto ðili'no toŋ gata'van o 'xaros]
And then near to-the afternoon him struck-down the Charos.

'Do you see that great high mountain, with a storm-cloud at its summit and heat-haze at its base? From there a bold young man came down; he wore his fez at an angle and his cloak twisted back. But Charos kept watch for him and met him in a narrow lane. "Good day, Charos." "Welcome, young man. Young man, where are you coming from; young man, where are you going?" "I am coming from my sheep, I am going home; I am going to eat my bread and then return." "Young man, God sent me to take your soul." "I will not surrender my soul without illness or good cause. Just come out to wrestle on the marble threshing-floor, and if you beat me, Cháros, you may take my soul, and if I beat you, Cháros, I will take your soul." They came to blows and wrestled for two nights and three days, and then on the third day, quite close to mid-day, the young man landed a blow; Charos grew angry, grabbed him by the hair and slammed him to the ground; and they heard the young man groan and sigh aloud: "Grant me, Charos, grant me three days and three nights; the two that I may eat and drink, the one that I may make a journey, that I may go to see my friends, to see my family. I have a young wife who does not deserve widowhood, I have young children who do not deserve an orphan's lot, I have sheep unshorn and cheese in the tub." And then close to evening Charos cast him down.'

This is a fully fledged modern text but such are the changes between the popular Greek of the past and the standard language of the 20th and 21st centuries (see chapter 17) that certain elements, independently of generic conventions, now contribute to an air of rustic 'old-world charm' that would not have been perceptible in earlier times. Note the regular co-ordination/parataxis (e.g. in line 20 ακούν [a'kun] 'they hear' is followed by και [ce], 'and'), the old-fashioned and often affective vocabulary (including diminu-

tives like ανταρ-ούλα [anda'rula] (l. 2) 'little storm' and μικρ-ούτσικα [mi'krutsika] (l. 25), 'little ones'), and dialectal forms and characteristics such as columnar stress in plural verb paradigms (3pl πιαστήκαν [pja'stikan] (l. 16) for standard πιάστηκαν ['pjastikan]), παγαίνω [pa'jeno] (ll. 8, 9) for standard πηγαίνω [pi'jeno], and διω [ðjo] (l. 23) for 'standard' δω [ðo]. Note too such apparent archaisms as neuter sg μέγα ['meɣa] (l. 1), 'great', instead of μεγάλο [me'ɣalo],[11] which in fact survived as a regional variant into the early 20th century (Thumb (1912: 69)). Similarly, the 3sg aorist passive κακοφάνη [kako'fani] (l. 18) lacks the expected -κε [-ce] formant, but we should note that Makriyánnis (see 14.1) also avoids this extension in 3sg forms, confirming that the short forms remained in use locally (cf. (15e) above for Cretan), and that the final standardization of the long forms, despite their first appearance in medieval vernacular texts, belongs to the late 19th/20th centuries.

There are no Turkish elements in early classics like *The Last Mass in Ayía Sophía* or *The Bridge of Arta*, but no oral tradition can remain creative without periodically absorbing elements from contemporary speech. A striking feature of this song, therefore, is the large number of Turkish loans: τσοπάνης [tso'panis] 'shepherd' < *çoban* [tʃoban]; ντελή(ς) [de'li(s)] 'brave' (to the point of foolhardiness) < *deli* [deʎi] (an early borrowing, as the modern sense in both languages is 'insane'); λεβέντης [le'vendis] 'fine young man' < *levend* [ʎevend] (now obsolete in Turkish, again pointing to an early loan); φέσι ['fesi] 'fez' < *fes* [fes]; and σοκάκι [so'kaci] '(back-)street' < *sokak* [sokak].

In general, however, key characteristics of the 'demotic' foundation of standard Modern Greek are well-represented. The orthography, for example, reflects normal pronunciation in its treatment of elision/crasis, final -ν [-n] and synizesis, clitic pronouns are fixed in position before finite verb forms even in main clauses (ll. 1, 6, 11, etc.), and νά [na] + subjunctive has replaced any lingering complement infinitives (l. 10).[12] In similar vein, the prepositional repertoire has been reduced, with the survivors governing the accusative and subject to adverbial specification, while the complementizer πού [pu] now provides the sole method for introducing a relative clause (ll. 2, 24, 25, 26).

The existence of a literary tradition partly reflecting the development of demotic Greek was an important source of inspiration for those who sought, during the 18th and 19th centuries, to develop a written standard on the basis of contemporary spoken Greek. The fact that the standard language of today, spoken and written, has become quite distanced from this demotic tradition is due to the influence of traditional written forms of Greek and above all of *katharévousa*. The background to the 'language question' in the later years of the Turkish period is therefore considered in chapter 15, and its subsequent development and final resolution are presented in chapter 17, following a brief historical introduction to modern Greece (chapter 16).

Notes

1 Since we are now dealing indisputably with modern Greek, the contemporary monotonic system of accentuation (actually adopted in 1982) will be employed henceforth.

2 The voiceless affricate in Greek is due to the misapprehension that the voicing in phrases like στην τσέπη [stin 'dzepi] 'in-the pocket' was due to the final nasal of the preceding article rather than an inherent property of the original word.

3 In Turkish the normally voiced affricate is devoiced after a voiceless consonant, and borrowings and new formations in Greek reflect this (e.g. μπουζουχτσής [buzux'tsis] 'bouzouki player' etc.).
4 Some of the best evidence for continuity is the small number (c.25) of possible 'Doric' survivals, e.g. *ásamo* 'unmarked', *lanó* 'trough/vat', *nasída* 'island', all with [-a-] where Attic-Ionic had [-ɛː-] (> Koine [-i-]).
5 The scribes of this area were well-known for the quality of their copies of the ancient tragic poets, and it is now generally agreed that the Grottaferrata manuscript of *Digenés Akrítes* was copied in the Terra d'Otranto.
6 Tombaídis' (1977) arguments that the Pontic infinitive is a fiction appear not to apply at least to the speech of this area.
7 The absence of Italian loanwords (apart from those that entered via Turkish or much later through the teaching of standard Greek) confirm the isolation of the region after the 12th century.
8 We should note, however, that the dialects of Pontus and the Phárasa region are sometimes linked together to the exclusion of Cappadocian proper (e.g. only the former pair lack synizesis and use negatives derived from ancient οὐ(κ) [u(k)]).
9 There are also some areas of the northern mainland where the spoken dialects (so-called semi-northern varieties) do not display the full range of unstressed vowel raising and deletion, while the Greek spoken in southern Albania is apparently of southern type in its vocalism.
10 Note in this connection that the widely attested early loss of aspiration in φ, θ, χ [p^h, t^h, k^h] after [s], which partly mimics/anticipates the effects of the more general process of manner dissimilation, is in origin a distinct phenomenon (see 11.6 (12)).
11 Formed by regularization of the ancient paradigm, which lacked the extended root in -λο- [-lo-] in masculine and neuter nom/acc sg.
12 This construction also retains its final function (ll. 11, 22, 23), and its subjunctive and future uses in main clauses (ll. 14, 15). This last is a clear marker of the genre, with its roots in the usage of the middle ages. It has long been superseded by θα [θa] in the modern standard.

15

Written Greek in the Turkish Period

15.1 Continuity

As we have seen, the use of the developing local dialects for writing became routine in areas that remained for a time under western control. Though the use of vernacular-based and more traditional varieties of written Greek usually continued side by side, the latter became restricted to learned debate and ecclesiastical administration as the prestige and range of the vernacular increased.

Within the devastated Greek-speaking communities of the Ottoman empire, however, there was little room for the kind of satirical and romantic vernacular literature produced in the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods, and the surviving forms of writing continued to employ archaizing styles as before, a situation reinforced by the belief of the intelligentsia and the clergy that fate had cast them in the role of guardians of the national heritage.

None the less, the more privileged Greek speakers both inside and outside the empire continued to travel, at first mainly for educational purposes (to the west to study and to Ottoman lands to teach) but later also on business, as the empire began to trade with the expanding economies of Russia and western Europe. As noted in chapter 14, semi-normalized educated varieties of both spoken and written Greek continued to be used, and the tendency towards greater regional differentiation did not greatly affect the higher forms of the language in at least the core Greek-speaking regions.

Day-to-day administration generally employed middle rather than strictly classicizing styles, continuing the Byzantine practice of blending a restricted set of ancient morphological characteristics into a comparatively simple syntactic structure reflecting the contemporary norms of word order and incorporating many contemporary constructional realizations (cf. 10.8). This form of the written language continued to serve as a standard for most practical purposes, and it was sometimes convenient even for the Ottoman sultan (as for the Venetians) to employ it as a diplomatic language. The following early example is an extract from a treaty of 1450 between Mehmet II (the Conqueror to be) and the Grand Master of the Knights of St John on Rhodes:

(1) Εγώ ο μέγας αυθέντης και μέγας αμηράς σουλτάνος ο Μεχεμέτ-πεϊς ... ομνύω εις τον θεόν του ουρανού και της γης και εις τον μέγαν ημών προφήτην τον Μουάμεθ και εις τα επτά μουσάφια, τα έχομεν και ομολογούμεν ημείς οι μουσουλμάνοι, και εις τους εκατόν ηκοσυτέσσαρεις χιλιάδας προφήτας του θεού και εις την ζωήν μου και εις την ζωήν των παιδίων μου ... καὶ ομνύω εις τους άνωθεν γεγραμμένους όρκους, ότι να έχω αγάπην μετά του πατρός της αφεντείας μου, του μεγάλου μαΐστορος Ρόδου, και ποτέ κανμίαν ζημίαν να μηδέν τον ποιήσω ... (Miklosich and Müller (1860–90: III, 286))

[e'ɣo o 'meɣas af'θendis ce 'meɣas ami'ras sul'tanos o mexe'met-beis ...
I the great lord and great emir Sultan the Mehmet-Bey ...
om'nio is ton θe'on tu ura'nu ce tiz jis ce is tom 'meɣan imon pro'fitin
I-swear by the god of-the heaven and the earth and by the great of-us prophet
ton mu'ameθ ce is ta e'pta mu'safja, ta 'exomen ce omolo'ɣumen
the Mohammed and by the seven musafia, which we-have and confess
i'mis i musul'mani, ce is tus eka'ton ikosi'tesaris çi'ʎaðas pro'fitas
we the Muslims, and by the hundred twenty-four thousands prophets
tu θe'u ce is tin zo'in mu ce is tin zo'in tom be'ðiom mu ... ce om'nio
of-the god and by the life of-me and by the life of-the children of-me ... and I-swear
is tus 'anoθen jeɣgra'menus 'orkus, oti na 'exo a'ɣapin meta tu
by the above written oaths that will I-have affection with the
pa'tros tis afen'diaz mu, tu me'ɣalu ma'istoros 'roðu, ce po'te
father of-the honour of-me, the Grand Master of-Rhodes, and never
ka(m)'mian zi'mian na mi'ðen dom bi'iso ...]
no harm will not(hing) him I-do ...

'I the great lord and great emir Sultan Mehmet Bey … swear by the God of heaven and earth, and by our great prophet Mohammed, and by the seven musafia (*copies of the Koran*) that we Muslims hold and profess our faith on, and by the hundred and twenty-four thousand prophets of God, and by my life, and by the life of my children, … and I swear by the oaths written above that I shall have affectionate relations with my (majesty's) father, the Grand Master of Rhodes, and that I shall never do him any harm …'

The syntax is basically that of Modern Greek, and distinct in its simplicity from the elaborate patterns of belletristic writing, replete with archaic categories and constructions. Note in particular the two να [na]-futures (regular then, though now chiefly a marker of the demotic/folk tradition), the negative polarity items, and the fully developed character of the verbal complex (modality + negation + clitic + verb), alongside the use of contemporary vocabulary, including Romance and Turkish loans.

None the less, the orthography and morphology of words with an ancient pedigree still reflect the conventions of the written Koine: final -ν [-n] is consistently noted and synizesis is not represented (though conservative pronunciations may still have been current in the educated spoken language), while the genitive of 1st-declension masculines is in -ου [-u] not -η [-i] (αυθέντου [af'θendu]), and 3rd-declension consonant-stems have genitives in -ος [-os] (πατρός [pa'tros], though see below). Note too ομνύω [om'nio] rather than popular ομώνω [o'mono], gen ημών [i'mon] rather than εμών [e'mon] (or acc εμάς [e'mas]), the relative pronoun τα [ta] rather than όπου/(ο)πού ['opu/(o)pu], μετά [me'ta] + gen rather than με [me] + acc, and the formulaic/learned

expression τους άνωθεν γεγραμμένους όρκους [tus 'anoθen jeγgra'menus 'orkus], complete with its archaic adverb in -θεν [-θen] and reduplicated perfect passive participle (at the end of the document there is a similarly formulaic use of εν ετει [en 'eti] 'in the year', with archaic εν [en] + obsolete dat).

The bilingual writer is, however, prone to occasional lapses; e.g. ηκοσυτέσσαρεις for εικοσιτέσσαρεις [ikosi'tesaris], a form which also shows modern -εις [-is] for classical -ες [-es] under the influence of τρεῖς [tris] 'three'. The appearance in a later part of the text of innovative 1st-declension nominatives (πατέρας [pa'teras] 'father', μαΐστορας [ma'istoras] 'master') is a similar concession to the spoken language, and this may well indicate that the genitive in -ος [-os] (πατρρός [pa'tros], locally preserved in some modern dialects) was still a feature of the dialect of the writer; it is significant that such forms are the only ones given in Sofianós' grammar (see 14.2.2). Items such as πολεμῶ [pole'mo] 'do' (rather than 'fight', cf. Machairás' chronicle, 12.4.2), δίδω ['ðiðo] 'give' (cf. 11.8.5 (a)), and the extended demonstrative αὐτονῶν [afto'non] 'of these' (cf. 11.7.8 (d)) also appear in later parts of the document.

The admixture of vernacular morphology perhaps reflects the educational level of the writer as much as the practical character of the document, but from examples of this kind we can observe the way in which the written Koine evolved through a process of retarded compromise with the spoken language. Once a given grammatical or lexical innovation had entered educated speech, it also began to infiltrate the more basic written styles, and if it then became fully established in the higher spoken registers, it might eventually compete with, and replace, its conservative equivalent in all but the highest official and literary styles.

A related middle style continued to be used for official purposes throughout the Ottoman period. Consider, for example, the following piece of legislation from Moldavia, dated 1788. In the interests of communicative efficiency, the dative is avoided and inflected participles are used only adjectivally (and then rarely), while established and familiar loanwords (from Turkish, Italian and Romanian) again appear freely:

(2) Περί του αυθεντικού Διβανίου (*divan*).
Το Αυθεντικόν Διβάνι να γίνεται τρεις φορές την εβδομάδα, δευτέραν δηλ. τετράδην καὶ σάββατον· καὶ εις μεν την δευτέραν και τετράδην να θεωρούνται αι διαφοραί εκείνων, οπού εκρίθησαν εις τα δεπαρταμέντα (*dipartimento*) ή εις τους Βελιτζήδες (*veli(ci)*), και δεν ευχαριστήθησαν εις την απόφασιν εκείνων και εζήτησαν με απελατζιόνε (*appelazione*) να έβγουν εις το Διβάνι, ή αι διαφοραί οπού ηθέλαμεν προστάξει να θεωρηθώσιν επί Διβανίου μας χωρίς να προσδιορισθώσιν εις άλλο κριτήριον, το δε σάββατον να θεωρώνται αι εγκληματικαί υποθέσεις και καταδίκαι και αποφάσεις τούτων. (Article 1 of the City Code (Triandafyllídis (1938: 359–60)))

[peri tu afθendi'ku ðiva'niu. to afθendi'kon ði'vani na 'jinete tris
Concerning the Ruling Council. The Ruling Council shall take-place three
fo'res tin evðo'maða, ðef'teran ðil(a'ði), te'traðin ce 'savaton; ce is
times the week, Monday that-is, Wednesday and Saturday; and on
men tin ðef'teran ce te'traðin na θeo'runde e ðiafo're e'cinon,
on-the-one-hand the Monday and Wednesday shall be-considered the differences of-those,
opu e'kriθisan is ta ðeparta'menda i is tus veli'dziðes, ce ðen
who were-judged in the departments or at the Guardians, and not

efxaris'tiθisan is tin a'pofasin e'cinon ce e'zitisan me apeladzi'one na
were-satisfied at the decision of-them and sought with appeal that
'evɣun is to ði'vani, i e ðiafo're opu i'θelamen pros'taksi na
they-appear at the Council, or the differences which we-would order that
θeori'θosin epi ðiva'niu mas xo'ris na prozðioris'θosin is 'alo kri'tirion,
be-considered before Council of-us without that they-be-settled in other court,
to ðe 'savaton na θeo'runde e eŋglimati'ce ipo'θesis
the on-the-other-hand Saturday shall be-considered the criminal cases
ce kata'ðice ce apo'fasis 'tuton.]
and sentences and decisions of-these.

'Concerning the Ruling Council. The Ruling Council shall take place three times per week, that is on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays; on Mondays and Wednesdays the disputes will be considered of those who were judged in their regional courts or before the Guardians, and were not satisfied with decisions of these bodies and sought by means of appeal to appear before the Council, or the disputes which we would order to be considered before our Council without their being settled in another court, while on Saturdays criminal cases will be considered, together with the sentences and decisions concerning these.'

Traditional endings are generally retained, as expected, though note that 3pl -ουν [-un] is preferred except in contract verbs and the aorist passive subjunctive (a tendency also apparent in Byzantine middle-low-style writing). Similarly, where lexical items have a modern meaning, the modern endings are also used, as with φορά [fo'ra], plural φορές [fo'res], in the sense of 'time/occasion' rather than 'a bringing forth/product/burden', a development from the phrase κατά φοράν [kata fo'ran] 'in a movement/in one go'.

But uncompromisingly classical forms of Greek also continued to be used for higher scholarship and learned correspondence, particularly by the ecclesiastical elite of Constantinople. Thus when Martin Crusius, professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Tübingen in the late 16th century, wrote to the patriarchate for information about modern Greek, he received the following reply from Simeón Kavásilas, composed in (a fair imitation of) the classical language:[1]

(3) Περί δε των διαλέκτων τί αν και είποιμι, πολλών ουσών και διαφόρων υπέρ τας εβδομήκοντα; Τούτων δε απασών η των Αθηναίων χειρίστη. ... έτι των ημετέρων ιδιωτών τους μεν Δωρικώς, τους δε Αττικώς, άλλους Αιολικώς, ετέρους Ιωνικώς, προς δε τούτοις κοινώς φθεγγομένους ευρήσει τις. ... Αυτός δε μίαν και μόνην (διάλεκτον) μαθών, ην και ημείς, απάσας καλώς είση. (Crusius (1584: 561–2))

[peri ðe ton ðia'lekton ti an ce 'ipimi, po'lon u'son ce ðia'foron
about and the dialects what POTENTIAL actually I-say-OPT, many being and different
iper tas evðo'mikonda. 'tuton ðe apa'son i ton aθi'neon çi'risti. ...'eti
more-than the seventy. Of-these and all the of-the Athenians worst. ... still
ton ime'teron iðio'ton tuz-men ðori'kos, tuz-ðe ati'kos, 'alus
of-the our uneducated some in-Doric-style, others in-Attic-style, others
eoli'kos, e'terus ioni'kos, proz ðe 'tutis ci'nos fθeŋgo'menus
in-Aeolic-style, others in-Ionic-style, in-addition and to-these in-Koine-style speaking

ev'risi tis. ... af'tos ðe 'mian ce 'monin (ði'alekton) ma'θon, in
will-find someone. ... He but one and only (dialect) having-learned, which
ce i'mis, a'pasas ka'los 'isi]
also we, all well he-will-know.

'Concerning the dialects, what can I say, given that they are so many and diverse, over seventy in number? And the worst of them all is that of the Athenians. ... besides, among our uneducated people one will find some speaking Doric, others Attic, others Aeolic, others Ionic, and in addition to these, people speaking the Koine. ... But he who has learned only one dialect, the one that we have learned, will know all dialects well.'

The belief that the contemporary dialects somehow continued those of Ancient Greek (with the Koine treated in the traditional fashion as an addition to the classical array) is of course false, but it is indicative of Kavásilas' indifference. Many other educated people of the time also dismissed regional varieties as uninteresting, taking their heterogeneity vis-à-vis the language of the elite as evidence of decay. The 16th-century monk and scholar Pachómios Rousános, for example, pointing to the local retention of archaisms as evidence of former unity, argued that all Greeks must learn the 'common language' of the educated to prevent the loss of the true word of God as embodied in the gospels (Vasilikós (1908: 55ff)).

A similar linguistic conservatism was characteristic of the social milieu of the Phanariots, who also employed classicizing styles for scholarly and literary work (see, for example, Triandafyllídis (1938: 319–22) for extracts from the 17th/18th-century writings of Theófilos Korydaléfs, director of the Patriarchal Academy, or the intellectual churchman Evyénios Voúlgaris). Aléxandros Mavrokordátos (1636–1708), progenitor of the greatest of the Phanariot families, was involved not only in diplomacy but also in running the Academy in Constantinople, while his son Nikólaos was the first Greek *hospodar* in the Danubian principalities. The extract below from a letter of Aléxandros to his son illustrates the high style of the political/intellectual establishment, though the views expressed show a refreshingly realistic grasp of the problems involved in using such language 'naturally':

(4) Ἐστω δέ σοι κατά νουν αεί τα εμά παραγγέλματα, όσα μοι τῃ προειρημένῃ επιστολῄ διεσαφήθη. Τας δε ποιητικάς και τας αήθεις λέξεις ίσθι μέν, αλλά μη χρω παντελώς αυταίς, μηδέ μοι τους πάλαι λογογράφους μάρτυρας προΐστασο· οις γαρ εκείνοι, πάμπολλα συγγράψαντες, άπαξ ή δις εχρήσαντο, ταύτα πώς ημάς εκμιμείσθαι δει, τους πολύ κατόπιν υστερίζοντας. (Triandafyllídis (1938: 319))

['esto ðe si kata nun a'i ta ema paran'ɟelmata, 'osa mi
Let-be and for-you in mind always the my instructions, as-many-as by-me
ti proiri'meni episto'li ðiesa'fiθi. taz ðe piiti'kas ce tas a'iθis 'leksis
in-the forementioned letter were-made clear. The and poetic and the unusual words,
'isθi men, ala mi xro pande'los aftes, miðe mi tus 'pale
know on-the one-hand, but not use at-all them, nor to-me the of-old
loɣo'ɣrafus 'martiras pro'istaso; iz ɣar e'cini, 'pambola
writers (as-)witnesses put-before; which-things for they, very-much
siŋ'grapsandes, 'apaks i ðis e'xrisando, 'tafta 'pos i'mas ekmi'misθe
having-written, once or twice used, these-things how for-us to-imitate
ði, tus po'li ka'topin iste'rizondas?]
is-it-necessary, the-ones much after coming-later?

'And be sure always to keep in mind those instructions of mine that I explained in the letter I mentioned before. As for poetic and unusual words, by all means know them, but avoid their use completely, and do not present me with the testimony of writers of old; for how should we, who come so long after them, imitate what they, who wrote so very much, used only once or twice?'

This 'living' use of a learned language continues the highest Byzantine tradition, and its artificiality is perhaps best appreciated by comparing the word order of the original with that of the English translation; whereas Modern Greek and English generally show a very similar sequencing of phrases and clauses, the major differences here, though natural enough in the classical language, present the translator with something of a challenge.

Nevertheless, in his *Memoirs* of 1682, Mavrokordátos felt free to use a more relaxed, semi-vernacular style, full of Turkish loans reflecting the Ottoman institutional context in which he worked. The curious blend of contemporary and conservative forms (the latter including inflected active participles, full-form pronouns instead of clitics, datives, and perfect passive participles with reduplication) must reflect a deliberate choice of style on his part, one ultimately based upon the everyday speech of the aristocracy:

(5) Μετά το τραπέζι και τον καϊφέ επήρεν ο κεχαγιάς (*kâhya*) τον Νουραδίνον και επήγεν εις την τζέργαν (*çerge*), όπου εκουρδίσθηκε πλησίον του οτακίου (*otağ*) του επιτρόπου δια τον χάνην (*han*), και καθίσαντες μόνοι, ο επίτροπος και ο χάνης, εσυνωμίλησαν πάλιν ικανώς. Είτα απήλθεν ο χάνης εις την προητοιμασμένην τζέργαν και έμεινεν ο επίτροπος· επήρεν απτέσι (*aptes*), εκίλδισε (*kılmak*) ναμάζι (*namaz*) του μεσημερίου. Επήγεν ο κεχαγιάς και ο ρεΐζ-εφέντης (*reis-efendi*) και έφεραν τον χάνην πάλιν εις τον επίτροπον, ος προϋπήντησεν αυτῴ εφ' ικανῴ διαστήματι. (Chatzidákis (1915: 143))

[meta to tra'pezi ce toŋ gai'fe e'piren o cexa'jas ton
After the table and the coffee took the steward the
nura'ðinon ce e'pijen is tin 'dzerɣan, opu ekur'ðisθice pli'sion tu
Nureddin, and went to the tent, which had-been-pitched beside the
ota'ciu tu epi'tropu ðja toŋ 'xanin, ce ka'θisandes 'moni,
pavilion of-the ambassador for the sovereign, and sitting alone,
o e'pitropos ce o 'xanis, esino'milisan 'palin ika'nos.
the ambassador and the sovereign, they-talked-together again sufficiently.
'ita a'pilθen o 'xanis is tin proitimaz'menin 'dzerɣan ce 'eminen o
Then went-away the sovereign to the previously-prepared tent and stayed the
e'pitropos; e'piren ap'tesi, e'cilðise na'mazi tu mesime'riu. e'pijen
ambassador; he-took ablution, he-performed prayer of-the mid-day. Went
o cexa'jas ce o re'iz-e'fendis ce 'eferan toŋ 'xanin palin is ton
the steward and the chief-master and they-brought the sovereign back to the
e'pitropon, os proi'pindisen afto ef ika'no ðia'stimati.]
ambassador, who came-to-meet him at sufficient distance.

> ‘After the meal and the coffee the steward took Nureddin (*the foreign minister*) and went to the tent which had been pitched beside the pavilion of the ambassador for the sovereign, and the ambassador and the sovereign, sitting alone, spoke together again at some length. Then the sovereign went to the previously prepared tent and the ambassador remained behind; he undertook his ablutions and performed the mid-day prayer. Then the steward and the foreign minister went and brought the sovereign back to the ambassador, who came to meet him at an appropriate distance.’

The word order and syntactic structure of this piece are natural to the modern idiom, and (with the exceptions already mentioned) the morphology too is broadly ‘demotic’ if we ignore the systematic use of final -*ν* [-n] and the absence of synizesis (both perhaps purely orthographic, though elite usage must have been conservative). In so far as such a ‘vernacular’ prose style was already in use in even the highest society, the objections that were soon to be raised against the use of spoken Greek as the basis for a national language were clearly more ideological than practical (cf. chapter 17).

15.2 The Impact of the Enlightenment

A great many writers came to use a similarly demoticizing style during the 17th and 18th centuries in recognition of the growing readership and increasingly diverse needs of a more enlightened and prosperous era. Typical text-types include Bible anthologies and religious tracts (including a ‘translation’ of the New Testament in 1638, quickly suppressed in the face of ecclesiastical opposition), histories, chronicles, and technical treatises on a wide variety of modern subjects. The growing body of western-educated intellectuals had now begun to appreciate the value of a modernized language for educational purposes, and the publication in Venice and elsewhere of such texts bears witness to a more progressive outlook based on the conviction, adumbrated in the work of Sofianós, that an extension of education was the key to the revival of the Greek nation.

Many of these works make explicit reference to ‘the common dialect (of the Greeks)’[2] in their titles or prefaces. For example, the *Salvation of Sinners* (published in Venice in 1664) by the Cretan monk Agápios contains the following preface:

(6) Βιβλίον ωραιότατον καλούμενον Αρματωλών Σωτηρία, μετά πλείστης επιμελείας συντεθέν εις κοινήν των Γραικών διάλεκτον παρ' Λγαπίου μοναχού του Κρητός, του εν τῳ Αγίῳ Όρει του Άθω ασκήσαντος, και νυν νεωστί διορθωθέν επιμελώς. (Agápios (1664: 1))

[vi'vlion ore'otaton ka'lumenon armato'lon soti'ria, meta 'plistis epime'lias
Book finest called ‘of-Sinners Salvation’, with most care
sinde'θen is ci'nin ton ɣre'kon ði'alekton par aɣa'piu mona'xu tu kri'tos
composed in common of-the Greeks dialect by Agapios monk the Cretan
tu en a'jio 'ori tu 'aθo as'cisantos, ce nin neos'ti ðiorθo'θen epime'los]
the(-one) in Holy Mountain of-the Athos having-practised and now newly corrected carefully.

‘An excellent book called “the Salvation of Sinners”, composed with the greatest care in the common dialect of the Greeks by the Cretan monk Agapios (who practised the ascetic life on the Holy Mountain of Athos) and now recently corrected with care.’

Though this preface is composed in Ancient Greek according to tradition, the language of the text itself is very clearly distanced from that of learned literature. But it is not written in Cretan vernacular either, despite its author's origins. The 'common language' referred to is a basic written style familiar even to the moderately educated throughout the Greek-speaking areas, a variety that reflected many of the changes in spoken Greek in a dialectally neutral way by avoiding regionalisms, and retaining a conservative orthographic aspect:

(7) Δεν ζημιώνεσαι καιρόν τον πολύτιμον οπού σου εχάρισεν ο Θεός να τον εξοδιάσης εις αγαθά έργα, διά να λάβης την ουράνιαν βασιλείαν. Η οποία ζημία είναι τρανύτερη (του καιρού λέγω) παρά του πράγματος, διατί πράγμα όσον θέλεις ευρίσκεις αμή καιρόν όχι. (Agápios (1664: 21))

[ðe(n) zimi'onese ce'ro(n) tom bo'litimo(n) opu su e'xarisen o θe'os
Not waste time the precious that to-you has-granted the God
na ton exoði'asis is aɣa'θa 'erɣa, ðja na 'lavis tin u'rania(n)
that it you-spend on good deeds, for that you-obtain the heavenly
vasi'lia(n). i oˌpia zi'mia ine tra'niteri (tu ce'ru 'leɣo) para
kingdom. The which waste is greater (of-the time I-mean) than
tu 'praɣmatos, ðia'ti 'praɣma oso(n) 'θelis e'vriscis a'mi ce'ron 'oçi]
of-the matter, because matter as-much-as you-want you-find but time not.

'Do not waste the precious time that God has given you to spend on good deeds in order for you to gain the kingdom of heaven. Such a waste (of time, I mean) is more serious than that of material things, because you will find all the material things you want, but not the time.'

The publication of such work reveals a growing appreciation within the generally conservative Orthodox church of the need for accessible religious literature, not only to edify but also to 'protect' the faithful against conversion, whether to Islam, Catholicism or Protestantism. Once again, it is clear that the foundations for a national written language, reflecting the norms of educated speech if not the popular vernaculars, were already in place long before the language question entered its acute phase in the period after independence. Writers such as Ilías Miniátis (1669–1714), who came from Kefaloniá, but worked at different times in the Ionian islands, Venice, Constantinople and the Peloponnese, were able to develop a highly sophisticated religious-educational programme in just such a popularized form of Greek, by skilfully redeploying rhetorical techniques adopted from Italian models by the Catholic Frangískos Skoúfos (1644–97, a refugee from Chaniá in Crete, who studied in Rome and then worked in Italy and the Ionian islands). The piece in (8) provides a typical sample:

(8) Εγώ ακολουθώ το παράδειγμα του μεγάλου διδασκάλου των Εθνών του μακαρίου Παύλου, οπού λέγει· Σοφοίς τε και αγραμμάτοις οφειλέτης ειμί. Όσον δύναμαι διδάσκω απλά, διά να με καταλαμβάνωσιν όλοι· αλλά σήμερον μάλιστα θέλω ομιλήσει από όλαις ταις άλλαις φοραίς απλούστερα, διατί θέλω να καταλάβωσι τα λόγια μου και άνδρες και γυναίκες, και σπουδαίοι καὶ ιδιώται, και μεγάλοι καὶ μικροί, επειδή και η υπόθεσις της Εξομολογήσεως εγγίζει όλους. (Miniátis, *Sermons* (1870: 96))

[e'ɣo akolu'θo to pa'raðiɣma tu me'ɣalu ðiðas'kalu ton eθ'non tu maka'riu
I follow the example of-the great teacher of-the pagans the blessed
'pavlu, opu 'leji, so'fis te ce aɣra'matis ofi'letis imi. oson 'ðiname
Paul, who says: 'to-learned both and to-unlettered debtor I-am.' As-far-as I-can
ði'ðasko a'pla, 'ðja na me katalam'vanosin 'oli. ala 'simeron 'malista 'θelo
I teach simply, so that me understand all. But today especially I-will
omi'lisi apo 'oles tes 'ales fo'res a'plustera, ðja'ti 'θelo na kata'lavosi
speak than all the other times more-simply, because I-wish that understand(3pl)
ta 'loja mu ce 'andres ce ji'neces, ce spu'ðei ce iði'ote, ce me'ɣali
the words of-me both men and women, both important and ordinary , both big
ce mi'kri, epi'ði ce i i'poθesis tis eksomolo'jiseos en'ɟizi 'olus.]
and small, since also the matter of-the Confession touches all.

'I follow the example of the great teacher of the pagans, the blessed Paul, who says: "I am debtor both to the wise and to the unwise (*Romans 1. 14*)." As far as I am able I teach simply, so that all may understand me. But today especially I shall speak more simply than on all other occasions because I want both men and women, both the important and the ordinary, both old and young to understand my words, since the matter of the Confession also touches us all.'

The advance of intellectual curiosity and economic development during the 18th century also led to the appearance of secular writing in fields as diverse as geography, politics and science, subjects that necessitated a considerable expansion of the lexicon. This was achieved principally through calques and loan translations from French and English, which themselves had often used classical Greek elements for the same purpose. Many such works were written in the 'demoticizing' language related to the spoken standard of the upper classes, and these were published not only in western Europe, but also in the Ottoman principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, where a number of linguistically progressive figures had begun to speak out (see Henderson (1971), Kondosópoulos (1978)). Prominent among these were Iosípos Moisiódax (c.1730–90), sometime principal of both the Jassy and Bucharest academies, and Dimítrios Katartzís (c.1720–1807), a high court judge in Bucharest of Constantinopolitan birth, who urged the general use of a 'modern' written language for education, and composed a grammar to provide a basis for his programme (unpublished until 1970). Katartzís also advocated a written standard based upon 'the domestic style of Constantinople' (i.e. the domestic style of his class), and on this platform entered into a vigorous and polemical correspondence with Lámbros Photiádis, the arch-archaist headmaster of the Bucharest academy (see Triandafyllídis (1938: 435–8) for extracts). He was followed by Daniíl Philippídis and Dimítrios Konstandás, whose *Geography* of 1791 is often taken to provide a good reflection of contemporary educated speech (cf. Beaton (1994: 331)). If so, this apparently still employed, *inter alia*, 3rd-declension genitives in -ος [-os], accusative plurals in -ας [-as], and present passive participles. Moisiódax, however, though approving the view that a simple style was adequate for the expression of scientific subject matter, conceived of this as requiring the 'correction' of common usage through the introduction of appropriate elements from the ancient language, a programme that anticipated the later development of *katharévousa* (cf. (9) below, and see chapter 17).

It is important to note, however, that almost all the contributors to the language debate at this time, whatever the thrust of their proposals, instinctively employed the written norms of academic debate for putting forward and defending their views, since even those who sought to establish a more vernacular medium in the longer term felt obliged to engage with the opposition within the established framework if they wished to be taken seriously. Take, for example, the following extract from the preface of Moisiódax's *Theory of Geography* (1781). The writer has justified his use of the 'simple style' in the main body of the work, and now explains the basis on which he has 'improved' it:

(9) Εγώ διά λόγους, τους οποίους επιφέρω, έκρινα να εξυφάνω την παρούσαν συγγραφήν εν τω απλώ ύφει, σώζων όμως αεί τους ωρισμένους όρους των πραγμάτων, οίτινες ήσαν εν χρήσει παρά τοις αρχαίοις, και μεθαρμόζων αεί το απλούν ύφος επί το σεμνότερον, ή το ελάχιστον επί το πρεπωδέστερον τη ανά χείρας πραγματευομένη ύλη. (Sáthas (1870: 150))

[e'ɣo ðja 'loɣus, tus opius epi'fero, 'ekrina na eksi'fano tim ba'rusan
I for reasons, the which I-adduce, I-judged that I-weave the present
siŋgra'fin en do a'plo 'ifi, 'sozon 'omos a'i tus oriz'menus 'orus tom
work in the simple style, keeping however always the settled terms of-the
braɣ'maton, itines 'isan eŋ 'xrisi para tis ar'çeis, ce meθar'mozon a'i to
things, (terms-)which were in use among the ancients, and adapting always the
a'plun 'ifos epi to sem'noteron, i to e'laçiston epi to prepo'ðesteron
simple style towards the more-dignified, or the least towards the more-fitting
ti ana 'çiras praɣmatevo'meni 'ili.]
for-the in hands being-worked material.

'For the reasons I adduce, I judged it right to compose the present work in the simple style, while always retaining the established terminology that was in use among the ancients and always adapting the simple style in a more dignified direction or at least in a direction more fitting for the subject matter in hand.'

The following archaisms are typical of the common rhetorical style employed by the 18th-century intelligentsia:

(10) (a) The systematic retention of ancient nominal and verbal morphology, including:
- (i) 'contracted' 2nd-declension and traditional 3rd-declension forms (cf. απλούν [a'plun] < απλό-ον [a'ploon] for modern απλό [a'plo], and the ancient 3rd-declension accusative plural χείρ-ας ['çiras]).
- (ii) monolectic comparatives rather than πιο [pjo] 'more' + simple adjective (e.g. πρεπωδέστερον [prepo'ðesteron]).
- (iii) the dative case (e.g. τη πραγματευομένη ύλη [ti ...praɣmatevo 'meni 'ili]).
- (iv) the use of fully inflected participles, both active and present/aorist passive (e.g. σώζων ['sozon], πραγματευομένη [praɣmatevo'meni]).

(v) reduplication in perfects (cf. ωρισμένους [oriz'menus]).
(vi) retention of the syllabic augment, including internal augments in compounds (no example in the extract, but cf. μετ-ερρύθμισα [mete'riθmisa] 'I reformed', used later in the preface).

(b) The use of ancient prepositions (e.g. ανά [a'na], εν [en], επί [e'pi], παρά [pa'ra] plus their ancient case requirements, including the dative (e.g. εν τῳ απλώ ύφει [en do a'plo 'ifi]).

(c) The use of vocabulary items (and sometimes paradigms) alien to popular spoken registers (e.g. feminine χείρ [çir]) for neuter χέρι['çeri], αεί [a'i] for πάντα ['panda], οίτινες ['itines] and τους οποίους [tus o'pius] instead of (ο)πού [(o)pu], etc.

Most of the syntactic constructions, however, correspond to those of the contemporary language: e.g. νά [na]-clauses (έκρινα να εξυφάνω ['ekrina na eksi'fano]) replace ancient infinitives, and genitives follow the items on which they depend (τους ωρισμένους όρους των πραγμάτων [tus oriz'menus 'orus tom braɣ'maton]) rather than being inserted between article and noun, or requiring a repeated article (i.e. [article + noun] + [article + [genitive phrase]]). The fundamentally contemporary quality of the language is particularly apparent in the word order; heads precede their complements throughout, and the sequence of phrases within clauses, and of clauses with respect to one another, presents the content of propositions in a straightforward way quite alien to the classically inspired high style. In other words, the 'archaic' elements have in general been inserted into structural slots determined by contemporary rules of syntax in the time-honoured fashion inherited from Byzantium (always allowing for knock-on effects in terms of complement selection and case assignment; for example, archaizing πρεπωδέστερον [prepo'ðesteron] 'more fitting' + dative in place of e.g. πιο πρόσφορον [pjo 'prosforo(n)] + prepositional phrase etc.).

15.3 Contemporary 'Demotic'

All of the written styles discussed so far contrast more or less sharply with the 'language of the people', which we know only through documents dictated to others in ignorance of written norms by people with only rudimentary education. A typical example is provided by the passage in (11), taken from the will of Dimítrios Charítis, dated 1708. Charítis' family originally lived in Roúmeli but had fled to Zákynthos when a Turkish force arrived in the region to drive out a Venetian raiding party:

(11) Αφίνω το τίποτές μου εις το αδέρφι μου το Γηώργη και θέλω να με θάψη χωρίς καμμία εξόδευσι και κοσμοπομπή. Να μου αφήση μονάχα το βρακί και το μαύρο ποκάμισο και τίποτας άλλο, και να με ρίξη 'σ ένα ταφί. Και αν δώση ο πανάγαθος και πανοικτίρμονας Θεός και καπιτάρη να ελευθερωθή το δυστυχισμένο Γένος μας από τον τρομερό και αντίχριστο και ανελεήμονα Αγαρηνόν, να ξεθάψη τα κόκκαλά μου, και τα κόκκαλα του μακαρίτου αδερφού μου Φιλόθεου, που τα εχω κρυμμένα σε μιάν σακκούλα στην σπηλιάν που εγνωρίζει, και να το θάψη μαζί και κοντά 'ς τα κόκκαλα των γονηών μας εις την εκκλησιά της πατρίδος μας. (Valaorítis (1907: 278))

[a'fino to 'tipo'tez mu is to a'ðerfi mu to 'jorji ce 'θelo na me 'θapsi xo'ris
I-leave the nothing of-me to the brother of-me the Yoryis and I-wish that me he-bury without
ka'mia e'ksoðefsi ce kozmopom'bi. na mu a'fisi mo'naxa to 'vraci ce to
any expense and grand-procession Let to-me he-leave only the trousers and the
'mavro po'kamiso ce 'tipotas 'alo, ce na me 'riksi s 'ena ta'fi. ce an 'ðosi
black shirt and nothing else, and may me he-throw into a grave. And if grants
o pan'aɣaθos ce panik'tirmonas θe'os ce kapi'tari na elefθero'θi to
the all-good and all-pitying God and it-happens that be-freed the
ðistiçiz'meno 'jenoz mas apo ton drome'ro ce an'dixristo ce anele'imona
unhappy race of-us from the terrible and anti-Christ and pitiless
aɣari'non, na kse'θapsi ta 'koka'la mu, ce ta 'kokala tu maka'ritu aðer'fu
Muslim, may he-dig-up the bones of-me, and the bones of-the late brother
mu fi'loθeu, pu ta 'exo kri'mena se mɲa(n) sa'kula sti(n) spi'ʎa(n) pu
of-me Filótheos, that them I-have hidden in a bag in-the cave that
eɣno'rizi, ce na ta 'θapsi ma'zi ce kon'da s ta 'kokala ton ɣo'ɲon mas is
he-knows, and let them he-bury together and near to the bones of-the parents of-us in
tin ekli'sja tis pa'triðoz mas]
the church of-the country of-us

'I leave the very little I have to my brother Yóryis, and I want him to bury me without expense or a funeral procession. Let him leave me only my trousers and my black shirt and nothing else, and let him throw me in a grave. And if all-merciful and all-pitying God grants this, and it turns out that our unhappy race is freed from the terrible and merciless anti-Christ the Muslim, let him disinter my bones and the bones of my late brother Filótheos, which I have hidden in a sack in the cave which he knows, and let him bury them together next to the bones of our parents in the church of our homeland.'

Features of demotic phonology represented here include:

(12) (a) Final -ν [-n] of accusative singulars is regularly found only in the article and in pronouns, and in contexts where the contemporary language would also retain it. Note, however:

(i) where morphologically significant, as in genitive plurals and especially in 3pl verb forms, it is often protected by the addition of final -ϵ [e] (e.g. in gen pl χρόνωνϵ ['xronone] 'of years', 3pl aorist subjunctive πάρουνϵ ['parune] 'they-take', used elsewhere in the document).

(ii) its occasional appearance where the popular spoken language would almost certainly have excluded it (e.g. in the article before fricatives, or in nouns, cf. στην σπηλιάν [sti(n) spi'ʎa(n)]) may perhaps be attributed to the minimal schooling the author had received.

(b) Synizesis is represented graphically (e.g. σπηλιάν [spi'ʎa(n)], γονιῶν [ɣo'ɲon]), though we do find both μιάν [mɲa(n)] and καμμία [ka'mia]/[kam'mia], where the form of the latter is presumably due to its emphatic character in this context. While the assumption of such pronunciations seems entirely plausible, the associated positioning of written accents may well reflect editorial ideology more than the original manuscript (caution is appropriate also in the case of (c)).

(c) The accent is retained on the antepenultimate syllable of 2nd-declension genitives such as Φιλόθεου [fi'loθeu] (cf. nominative Φιλόθεος [fi'loθeos]), where learned styles would require a shift to the penultimate.
(d) The preposition εις [is] is often reduced to 'ς [s] before both definite articles (with the two elements then sometimes graphically combined, as in στην σπηλήάν [sti(n) spi'ʎa(n)]) and items beginning with a vowel, while its variant σε [se] appears before many items beginning with a consonant (e.g. σε μιαν σακκούλα [se mɲa(n) sa'kula]).
(e) The relative που [pu] and the causal conjunction γιατί [ja'ti] (used elsewhere in the text) have lost their original initial elements, ὁ- [o] and δ- [ð] respectively.

The morphological picture is also consistently demotic. Note, for example:

(13) (a) The noun εξόδευσι [e'ksodefsi] and other 3rd-declension i-stem forms have lost their original final -ς [-s] in the nominative singular (as well as the -ν [-n] of the accusative, as here), suggesting that this paradigm, despite the conservative spelling, has gone some way to merging with the 1st-declension type in -η [-i].
(b) Although 3rd-declension consonant-stems seem to have been assimilated to the 1st-declension types in -α [-a] (feminine) or -ας [-as] (masculine) in the nominative and accusative, the genitive is still in -ος [-os] (cf. της πατρίδ-ος [tis pa'triðos), with the old termination intact. Such forms are also given in Sofianós' grammar and remained in use in the Ionian islands.
(c) Large numbers of neuters in -ί [-'i] are used where the learned language would employ 3rd-declension masculines and feminines.
(d) The verbal prefix ξε- [kse-] appears regularly in the sense of 'undo X'; this arose through misanalysis of augmented verb forms (e.g. (ε)ξ-έφυγα [(e)ks-'efiɣa] > ξέ-φυγα ['kse-fiɣa, leading to new present ξε-φεύγω [kse-'fevɣo] etc.).
(e) Only indeclinable participles are employed (e.g. κάνοντας ['kanondas] 'doing', elsewhere in the text).
(f) Subjunctive endings homophonous with their indicative counterparts are spelled with the traditional 'long' vowels (e.g. 3sg aorist subjunctive δώσ-η ['ðosi]), but where the classical ending differs phonetically from the corresponding indicative the spelling is that of the latter (e.g. 3pl aorist subjunctive πάρ-ουνε ['parune] cited earlier).
(g) Aorist passives with the -κ- [k] suffix (e.g. λαβώθη-κε [la'voθice] 'he was taken', not in the extract) appear alongside forms without (e.g. σκοτώθη [sko'toθi] 'he was killed', also elsewhere); this fluctuation reflects the still developing character of the paradigm (cf. the observations about Makriyánnis' usage in 14.3, discussion of example (24)).
(h) The perfect active is formed with έχω ['exo] 'have' + perfect passive participle (τα έχω κρυμμένα [ta 'exo kri'mena]); the standard modern periphrasis with ἔχω ['exo] plus (fossilized) aorist infinitive is still a thing of the future.

(i) The syllabic augment is routine in past indicatives, even when unmotivated by the need to provide a stress-bearing syllable (a conservative dialectal feature).

(j) Much of the vocabulary is of everyday origin. Apart from items already mentioned, note in particular the Italian and Turkish loanwords reflecting Charítis' background in Turkish-occupied Roúmeli and Italian-dominated Zákynthos:

  (i) 3sg subjunctive καπιτάρη [kapi'tari] from *capitare* 'to happen', plus other Italian examples from elsewhere in the will, including στίμα ['stima] (*stima* 'esteem'), and οσπιτάλε [ospi'tale] (*ospedale* 'hospital').

  (ii) Turkish loans used elsewhere in the text include κολάγι [ko'laji] 'ease' derived from *kolay* 'easy', and ορδί [orð'i] 'horde' from *ordu* 'army'.

(k) Learned prepositions are wholly absent.

It is undeniable that Charítis expresses himself effectively and that the simple everyday language is well suited to the contents of his will, but this was a register that had never been used for 'higher' purposes. Conservative intellectuals, by focusing on the heterogeneity and limited range of such popular spoken varieties while disingenuously ignoring the developing written styles based on the vernacular of the upper and middle classes, contemptuously dismissed the whole idea that 'the vernacular' might, without ludicrous incongruity, incorporate the sort of lexical, structural and rhetorical resources required for the expression of complex, abstract and technical ideas. For them only the long-established forms of written Greek could ever have the necessary wherewithal to meet such needs.

15.4 The Roots of the 'Language Question'

If we leave aside both virtuoso Atticizing and the vernacular-based language of private memoirs and educational texts, it was still the contemporary middle-range styles of administration and learned debate that defined the range of normal prose writing among the intelligentsia in the decades before independence, and even those who sought to bring spoken and written usage more closely into line were obliged to resort to conventional written Greek in order to debate the issue. But though actual practice remained largely constant, the advent of a belief in progressive circles that a demoticized written language was essential for the future marks the beginning of the breakdown of the tacit consensus, originating in Roman imperial times, that it was both natural and acceptable to have distinct spoken and written languages.

The diglossia of the period before the war of independence was a consequence of political and cultural circumstances that had consistently inhibited the evolution of a standard modern language along western European lines. Initially, the coherence of the Roman empire in the east prevented the diversification that had led to the emergence of the Romance languages in the Latin-speaking provinces and to their eventual acceptance as a vehicle for higher written functions. The continuity of written Greek

and its relatively close relationship to the elite vernacular meant there was little pressure for change in a society where literacy was restricted and cultural perceptions dominated by the past. Then, as the empire crumbled and Ottoman rule was established, the centrality of the Orthodox church, as the only major institution to survive from the past, entrenched conservative thinking and practice. Only in Cyprus Venetian Crete and the Ionian islands were conditions favourable to the kind of innovative developments seen in the west, but none of these outposts was in a position to determine the future course of language development for an emergent Greek nation as a whole.

When Greek intellectuals began to be exposed to modern European thought and sought to revitalize Greek education and science, they were therefore faced with a dilemma. Should a Greek revival belatedly follow the model of other European states, with a national language based on a spoken variety that had been elaborated, codified and officially promoted, or should a future national standard be based on the existing written language with its continuous tradition and inherent prestige? Opinion among the westernized Greeks was generally 'progressive', while the majority of 'conservatives', some of whom were sufficiently encouraged by the revival of classical learning in Europe to plan the reintroduction of Ancient Greek, were concentrated in the Ottoman capital and its Danubian satellites (though there were naturally some conservatives in the diaspora and some progressives within the empire).

But the development of a written standard based on a contemporary spoken variety presupposes widespread acceptance of the limitations of real or potential rivals, as eventually happened with Latin in the west. It also requires the adoption by the political and intellectual elite of a variety with sufficient prestige, of the kind derived from use in literary classics etc., to transcend local loyalties and overcome residual prejudices. In the period before independence there were no acknowledged vernacular classics, practical writing based on educated speech was in its infancy (and still controversial), and the elite as a whole, though sharply divided on questions of educational policy and language planning, still employed a written language that enjoyed the inestimable advantage of being linked, however indirectly, to the classical and Byzantine past. The eventual assumption of power by this same elite therefore dictated the immediate way forward. Despite protests from areas outside the new kingdom, especially the Ionian islands, it was inevitably the current form of the written standard that prevailed, *faute de mieux*, as the official language of independent Greece (see chapter 17).

Notes

1 See Toufexís (2005) for a study of Crusius and his interest in Modern Greek.

2 The frequent use of the term Γραικοί [ɣre'ci] 'Greeks' in such works is a clear indication of the growth of national consciousness at this time. Cf. also the reference to 'our race' in the will of the near-illiterate Dimítrios Charítis quoted in (11) below.

16

The History of the Modern Greek State

16.1 Irredentism: Triumph and Disaster

The Bavarian-led administration of newly independent Greece quickly moved to Athens, and a new city was constructed in neo-classical style as part of its programme for giving the infant nation a distinctive identity through reconnection with the classical past. At the same time, great emphasis was placed on the teaching of classical Greek in schools and universities, while the traditional written language in its contemporary form became *de facto* the official language of the state.

But the economic measures imposed by the great powers in their efforts to restore financial order caused widespread hardship, and King Otto, following the classic strategy of leaders in domestic difficulty, embraced the 'Great Idea', a vision of an extended Greece incorporating all the lands traditionally associated with Greek history and culture. The first manifestation of this new policy was an educational programme designed to re-Hellenize the Orthodox peasant populations still under Ottoman rule, many of whom spoke Turkish and had little awareness of their 'Greek' nationality. Though the Ottoman authorities, with typical indifference, did little to oppose this initiative, it proved less successful than it might have been because of the centrality within its provisions of the official written language, which was quite alien to the target audience.

Such efforts were scarcely needed in the great cities, however, where national consciousness was already running high. But many of the Ottoman Greeks felt the empire could be successfully Hellenized from within, and pointed to the extent to which the Greek upper and middle classes had by then come to dominate its political and economic life. The conflict between those who hoped for an aggressive expansionist policy from the Greek kingdom and those who felt that such a strategy could only do long-term damage was never resolved. But in Greece itself, the irredentists triumphed over those who, deeply conscious of Greece's parlous economic and military situation, advocated a more cautious policy. Thus despite the acquisition of the Ionian islands in 1864, handed over by Britain in the hope that Greece might then moderate its demands, the government resolved to take advantage of Russia's declaration of war

on the Ottoman empire in 1877, and moved troops to the northern frontier. Subsequent pressure from the great powers then led to the Turks' ceding of Thessaly and the Arta region of southern Epirus to Greece in 1881, an apparent confirmation of the need for an irredentist foreign policy.

Over the next few years the Greek economy began to improve, but the reforms again entailed unpopular taxes, and great damage was done when a government came to power on a populist platform of reducing taxation and resuming the pursuit of 'occupied' territory. A force was sent to help Cretan insurgents in 1897, but when hostilities also broke out in Thessaly, the Greek army was roundly defeated. Though a lenient peace settlement was secured, Greece had to agree to the external supervision of interest payments on its vast foreign debt, and the resultant economic difficulties led to the first round of large-scale migration, especially to the USA.

By this time the political situation in Macedonia had deteriorated badly. The Greek National Society had for some time been working hard to Hellenize Macedonia and Epirus in the face of Bulgarian, Serbian and Romanian rivalry, and a vicious guerilla war soon broke out between Greek and Slavic groups. In the face of territorial and economic crisis, the government, under threat of military intervention, instigated the so-called 'bourgeois revolution' by turning in 1910 to the Liberal Cretan statesman Elefthérios Venizélos. When revolt broke out among the Albanians, and the Slavic states of the Balkans sought to exploit Turkish weakness, Venizélos determined to protect Greek interests in the north despite the very real risk of reprisals against the Asia Minor Greeks, who then still numbered nearly a million and a half. Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria together declared war on the Ottoman empire on 18 October 1912. Thessaloniki was taken by the Greek army on 9 November, just ahead of a Bulgarian force, while the Greek navy seized the islands of Chios, Lesbos and Samos. Early in 1913 the Greeks also moved in the north-west, taking Ioannina and advancing into northern Epirus.

Though the Turks agreed to these territorial gains, a fresh dispute over Macedonia broke out almost immediately among the victors, and the Greek army now advanced further east, taking the towns of Drama, Serres and Kavala in a bloody campaign in which the Slavic population suffered greatly. As a result, the Bulgarians were obliged to agree to the division of most of Macedonia between Greece and Serbia, and there were consequent population exchanges between the three countries. (The independence of Slavic Macedonia, following the break-up of Yugoslavia, is therefore seen by both parties as constituting a major destabilization of the region.) At the same time, Greek sovereignty over Crete and the Aegean islands was recognized by the great powers, and only in northern Epirus were the government's ambitions thwarted by the creation of an independent Albania (the treatment of the Greek minority there, together with the massive influx of illegal Albanian immigrants into Greece, remains a source of friction at the present time).

Greek territory had now been increased by nearly 70 per cent since independence, and the prevailing euphoria even prompted talk of recovering Constantinople, but such hopes were quickly shattered by the First World War and its catastrophic aftermath. The king at this time, Konstandínos I, aimed for a policy of neutrality, but Venizélos supported Greece's traditional allies (Britain, France and Russia), and when Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary),

his arguments inevitably prevailed. Troops were at once committed to the ill-fated Dardanelles campaign in the hope that Greece might obtain a share of the spoils, but the king quickly reconsidered his cautious conversion to the allied cause in the light of warnings from his chief of staff about the difficulties of retaining territory in Asia Minor, and Venizélos was forced to resign. This initiated the National Schism, which came to dominate Greek politics until the Second World War.

A pro-Venizélos coup was staged in Thessaloniki on 30 August 1916, and a provisional government was set up. When British and French troops despatched to Athens to pressurize the royalist government were forced to retreat and reprisals against Venizelists ensued, the allied powers recognized the provisional government and blockaded areas loyal to the king, forcing Konstandínos into exile. Venizélos then returned as prime minister and counter-reprisals against royalists promptly followed, thereby establishing the disastrous practice of tit-for-tat purges at each change of administration.

Venizélos immediately committed the army to the Macedonian front to support the allied campaign in the Balkans, and following the armistice of November 1918, he attended the peace conference in Paris in the expectation that Greece would be rewarded for its loyalty. His immediate objective was the annexation of Smyrna (Izmir) and its hinterland, where the military situation was becoming critical. The Italians, in their belated search for a colonial empire, had already taken advantage of Ottoman weakness by seizing the Dodecanese in 1912. Now they had landed troops in Antalya, having been promised the region in return for supporting the allies, and it was reported that this force was moving westward. In the absence of any formal agreement about the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire, the allies agreed to the landing of Greek troops for 'the protection of the local population'. Fighting between Greek and Turkish irregulars immediately followed, while in Ankara the circle around Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk), the victor in the fighting at Gallipoli, declared independence from the government in Constantinople, making it clear they would not tolerate foreign occupation of the Turkish heartland.

It was eventually agreed that Smyrna should be administered by Greece for five years, followed by a plebiscite on the issue of union. But Venizélos had underestimated domestic resentment caused by the over-zealousness of his supporters and the persistence of Anglo-French interference in Greek affairs. He lost the elections of 1920, and the incoming royalist government arranged for Konstandínos' return amid fresh purges of leading Venizelists and the tacit withdrawal of British support. Though the French and Italians now came to terms with Mustafa Kemal, the Greeks, under the impression that they retained British backing, launched an offensive in Asia Minor in March 1921. The campaign, against a background of centuries of Turkish domination, was motivated for many, particularly among the Asia Minor Greeks, by a desire for revenge. Though the Greek advance was halted only some 50 km from Ankara, the Turks, believing the Greek military position had become untenable, insisted on unconditional evacuation. When this was refused, a crushing counter-offensive was launched on 26 August 1922. The Greek army retreated in disarray, pursuing a scorched earth strategy, and was evacuated on 8 September. In the ensuing chaos, while western warships stood by, the Christian (mainly Greek and Armenian) population of Smyrna was massacred, and large areas of the city were devastated by fire.

The king immediately abdicated, to be succeeded by his son Yeóryios, and a revolutionary committee formed from the survivors of the Asia Minor army took charge. By the terms of the treaty of Lausanne (July 1923) Greece forfeited the Smyrna enclave, eastern Thrace and the islands of Imvros and Tenedos (strategically placed at the entrance to the Dardanelles), and though already under pressure as a result of repatriation from Russia in the aftermath of the revolution, the government was further obliged to agree to an exchange of populations with Turkey (excluding the Turks of western Thrace and the Greeks of Constantinople), with religion, not language, applied as the criterion of nationality. Nearly 400,000 Muslims and well over a million Christians were affected. Although land reform and the departure of Turkish communities allowed some of the refugees to be resettled in country areas, many of those with an urban background resorted to setting up shanty towns around Athens and Thessaloniki.

16.2 Dictatorship and War

The arrival of a sophisticated cosmopolitan bourgeoisie and the massive expansion of the urban working class had immediate political consequences, including in 1924 a vote for the abolition of the monarchy. A series of weak republican governments soon gave way, however, to military dictatorship under General Pángalos in 1925, and though the return of Venizélos in 1928 ushered in a period of relative stability, including foreign policy successes in repairing relations with Bulgaria and Turkey, his position was quickly undermined by the onset of the Great Depression. At this juncture, the election of a new royalist government and the king's return produced only fresh instability, and bungled attempts at a military takeover by republican sympathizers led to renewed purges of Venizelists. Venizélos himself died in exile in 1936.

In the elections of that year the vote was equally split between the Liberals (Venizélos' old party) and the Populists (most of whom supported the monarchy), and both parties began secret negotiations with the communists, who held the balance of power. This provoked a warning from the army, and finally, amid massive unrest at the continued hardships of the Depression and growing disillusionment with the antics of the politicians, General Ioánnis Metaxás, having secured the king's agreement to a 'temporary' suspension of parliament, took control and set about creating a 'strong Greece' in conscious imitation of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy.

With the partial exception of the communists, Metaxás was soon able to suppress political opposition. He then established a 'third Hellenic civilization', which was supposed to herald a modern state that incorporated the best of ancient Greece and Byzantium. Though temperamentally attracted to fascism, Metaxás nevertheless maintained a policy of strict neutrality until Mussolini delivered an ultimatum on 28 October 1940 which directly challenged Greek sovereignty. This was immediately rejected, and the Italians launched their threatened invasion. Within days, however, the reorganized Greek army under General Papágos had not only pushed the invaders back to the Albanian border but counter-attacked across it, capturing the principal towns of the region, many with large Greek populations, by the end of December.

Metaxás died in January 1941, amid growing evidence that Hitler intended to secure his Balkan flank before attacking the Soviet Union. British troops were now despatched

to Greece, but due to a disastrous misunderstanding, the defensive action against the German invasion was unco-ordinated, and resistance quickly crumbled. The Greek and British armies were evacuated first to Crete, and then, following a successful German airborne attack, to Egypt, while the king and the Greek government established themselves in London.

Though the government in exile discouraged acts of resistance out of a justified fear of reprisals (many villages were destroyed and their inhabitants summarily killed), resistance organizations quickly emerged, with the Communist Party (the KKE [ku ku 'ɛ]) playing a major role out of all proportion to its limited pre-war influence. The National Liberation Front (EAM), dominated by the KKE, was formed in September 1941, and began to organize strikes and relief work, most notably during the catastrophic famine of 1941–2 caused by German food requisitioning. EAM then founded a military wing, the National Popular Liberation Army (ELAS, an acronym non-coincidentally homophonous with the name of Greece), and other, non-communist, resistance organizations also emerged, most importantly the National Republican Greek League (EDES).

Throughout this period, Britain remained involved in Greece through the activities of the Special Operations Executive (SOE), which infiltrated sabotage teams and liaised with the resistance. Such contacts quickly revealed that, despite British support for the king, the feelings of the Greek people were overwhelmingly republican. By mid-1943 ELAS/EAM controlled large areas of the mainland, bringing much-needed educational and health facilities and attracting widespread support from a population exhausted by the occupation, and convinced of the inability of the old political class to address their needs. The failure of a conference in Cairo called to resolve the question of the country's post-war future only reinforced EAM's claims that the British were determined to re-establish the discredited pre-war constitutional arrangements, and fighting soon broke out between ELAS and EDES, with EAM announcing the formation of the Political Committee of National Liberation (PEEA), a direct challenge to the government in exile.

The immediate crisis was partly defused by the appointment as prime minister of the anti-communist, but also anti-royalist, Yeóryios Papandréou, who called a conference in Lebanon at which the communist representatives agreed to the placing of all guerilla forces under a future government of national unity. EAM/ELAS initially repudiated the agreement and was ready to take over in the wake of the German withdrawal, but eventually accepted the terms of the agreement, almost certainly under orders from Stalin, who had agreed with Churchill to give the British a free hand.

When the Papandréou government arrived in Greece in October 1944, ELAS and EDES were supposed to disband apart from the small contributions they were to make to a new national army, but relations between the communists and Papandréou collapsed after the suppression of an EAM demonstration, and ELAS responded by attacking the capital's police stations. The archbishop of Athens was then appointed regent pending a plebiscite on the monarchy, and the replacement of Papandréou, accompanied by the arrival of British reinforcements, led to a ceasefire in January 1945. ELAS again agreed to disband, and the government committed itself both to an amnesty for 'political crimes' and to the purging of collaborators. But the government was unable to prevent a right-wing backlash after the discovery that a number of

hostages taken by ELAS had been killed, and the left abstained in protest from the elections of March 1946. Subsequently, the restoration of the monarchy was approved in the plebiscite through a combination of ballot-rigging and the defection of former anti-monarchists who now saw the king as a bulwark against communism. Leftists were again persecuted, and attacks by communist forces, soon to form the Democratic Army, led on to full-scale civil war in the winter of 1946. Britain, no longer able to finance the maintenance of government, passed the responsibility on to the Americans.

The aid supplied through Greece's communist neighbours to the Democratic Army was soon surpassed by American support for the government so that, despite early successes, the odds gradually turned against the communists. By the summer of 1949 the National Army had achieved military superiority and, after a series of fiercely fought battles, the Democratic Army, together with the communist leadership, retreated into Albania and exile. During the civil war 700,000 Greeks had been made homeless and 80,000 had been killed, with dreadful atrocities on both sides. In its aftermath, 20,000 more were convicted of offences against the state, many being sentenced to death. Unsurprisingly, the resulting hatred and bitterness dominated the post-war political scene for decades to come.

16.3 Recovery, the Colonels and the Restoration of Democracy

Martial law finally ended in February 1950, but subsequent elections produced a political stalemate and a climate dominated by legislation which banned the Communist Party and generally harassed the left. The Americans, increasingly concerned, reduced their financial contribution pending changes in the electoral system, but the elections of 1952 at last produced a period of stability, under a right-wing government, that lasted until 1963. Despite the arrival of fresh refugees from Nasser's revolution in Egypt, much desperately needed reconstruction work was now undertaken, and a return to financial orthodoxy helped to curb inflation just as tourism and migrants' remittances, especially from Germany, began to redress the chronic balance-of-payments problem. This was the period when the lure of well-paid employment in the cities and an understandable tendency to invest in the relative security of property combined to produce the first explosion of concrete flats in the suburbs of the major cities.

Greece now became a member of NATO, though relations with its new 'ally' Turkey were quickly soured by problems in British-ruled Cyprus, where violence had broken out in 1955 at the instigation of the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA), who sought to exploit the growing desire of the Greek majority on the island (80 per cent of the total) to achieve union with Greece. With the tacit acquiescence of the British government (which had been angered by developments in its colony), tit-for-tat riots were organized in Istanbul (the official name of Constantinople after 1930) against the 100,000 Greeks who still remained in the city. Many of those who survived now decided to cut their losses in the face of near-continuous persecution and emigrated to Greece. In the short term, however, Greece withdrew from NATO headquarters in Izmir (Smyrna) in protest. Disenchantment with NATO and support for the left grew hand in hand, so that the new prime minister, Konstandínos Karamanlís, became

increasingly anxious for a settlement, not only to secure his vote but to appease the Americans, who were dismayed by the disarray on NATO's southern flank. The deal that emerged, however, involving Cypriot independence, was widely seen as a betrayal of Greek interests in favour of NATO and the Americans. To bind Greece further to its allies, Karamanlís therefore began negotiations for associate status within the European Economic Community (EEC), as a result of which an agreement came into force in 1962, with full membership anticipated in 1984.

The conduct of the elections held in the previous year, however, involving fresh ballot-rigging and intimidation, had led to a growing resentment of the institutionalized repression of the left. Matters came to a head with the murder of the left-wing deputy Grigóris Lambrákis in Thessaloniki in 1963. Karamanlís resigned and departed for self-imposed exile in Paris, while new elections were called in which the centre parties, led by Papandréou, were victorious. Important educational reforms were now introduced, including for the first time the establishment of equal rights for 'demotic' Greek, while reconciliation was sought through the relaxation of fiscal policy, the release of political prisoners, and increased trade with the Eastern Bloc.

These moves, however, provoked alarm in business and military circles, and the new king, Konstandínos II, secured Papandréou's resignation by refusing to accede to the dismissal of army and intelligence officers manifestly working against the government. Papandréou's supporters now demanded new elections, while the army drew up secret contingency plans for intervention should Papandréou be successful. But to everyone's surprise a triumvirate of junior army officers struck first. On 21 April 1967 a successful *coup d'état* was mounted. Martial law was immediately declared, political parties dissolved, and civil rights suspended. Left-wingers were then rounded up into camps, and a puppet civilian government established.

Despite claims that a communist takeover was imminent, it is clear that the coup was primarily motivated by fear of a purge of the far right in the event of a Papandréou victory. The king acquiesced in the dictatorship, and even accepted the 'retirement' of royalist officers, but when surviving loyalists attempted an unsuccessful counter-coup, he went into exile in Rome and all pretence of civilian government was abandoned. Yeóryios Papadópoulos, the regime's strong man, now became prime minister, gradually assuming control of all areas of policy, and dismissing anyone whose loyalty was in doubt. Papandréou's educational reforms were also reversed, and the regime firmly re-established the teaching and use of *katharévousa*. Glaring inequalities of income soon opened up, and in order to keep Greece's foreign investors and overmighty shipowners sweet, the Colonels agreed to a series of economically disastrous arrangements.

Resentment grew rapidly in response to the Colonels' manifest incompetence, though the secret police ruthlessly and successfully suppressed any efforts at organized resistance. But despite mounting allegations of torture and Greece's enforced withdrawal from the Council of Europe, the regime's commitment to NATO ensured continued American military and financial support. The Colonels' prestige, however, suffered a mortal blow when some 10,000 troops, secretly infiltrated into Cyprus, had to be withdrawn under American pressure after a series of guerilla raids against Turkish villages. By 1973 the price was also being paid for the junta's economic failings, with inflation running at 30 per cent and rising. Student protests, naval mutinies

and other manifestations of discontent followed, to which Papadópoulos responded by blaming the exiled king for rabble-rousing and appointing himself the president of a 'parliamentary republic'. Despite the promise of fair elections in the future, there were increasingly violent clashes between students and the police, and university buildings were occupied in Athens and other major cities. Papadópoulos replied by sending in the tanks, only to find himself deposed almost at once by a fresh coup mounted by officers fearful of his planned 'electoral adventure'. Power now passed into the hands of Dimítrios Ioannídis, the sinister commander of the military police.

Predictably, the new regime proved to be even more incompetent than its predecessor, and its demise was assured after a further Cyprus fiasco. The Cypriot president, Archbishop Makários, had accused the Greek government of seeking to destroy the state by supporting the activities of the recently revived EOKA. The Cyprus National Guard, led by officers from the mainland and clearly operating under orders from Athens, immediately launched a coup, abetted by the Greek army contingent on the island. Makários escaped, and an EOKA thug was installed as president. Turkey responded by unilaterally exercising its right of intervention as one of the guarantors of the Cypriot state, and landed troops at Kyrenia. Ioannídis ordered a Greek mobilization, but the army refused to obey, and the dictatorship collapsed when a powerful section of the army issued an ultimatum demanding a return to civilian government. Karamanlís was then invited to return from exile to supervise the return to democracy.

He was at once plunged into a fresh crisis in Cyprus, where the breakdown of peace talks led to a Turkish advance and the seizing of some 40 per cent of the island. Many thousands of Greeks were forced to flee south and anti-NATO feelings ran high, since the Americans, already widely seen as the prime backers of the junta, were now suspected of favouring Turkey. Karamanlís responded by withdrawing from the NATO command structure and threatening the future of the American bases in Greece. Though the resulting tension made it impossible to purge the army or deal decisively with those responsible for the coup, the ringleaders were at least banished to a remote island and their appointees sacked, while growing demands for 'dejuntification' led to the release of political prisoners and the reinstatement of those unfairly dismissed from their jobs.

Karamanlís now argued that the country's economic, political and foreign-policy problems could only be tackled by a properly elected government, though his haste in calling elections was widely criticized, not least because it gave no time for opposition parties to reorganize and allowed him to capitalize on his own prestige as the restorer of democracy. At this time, the left favoured a non-aligned foreign policy and opposed the restoration of the monarchy, while the centre and right wanted stronger ties with Europe within the EEC and NATO; only the far right espoused the king's return. The result was a massive victory for Karamanlís, and in a subsequent referendum, a decisive 69 per cent of the electorate opposed the king's return.

Despite his achievements, no fewer than four attempted coups were foiled within the first six months of Karamanlís' return, but he eventually succeeded in establishing his authority over the military. Trials of the leaders of the 1967 coup and of their army of torturers now began in earnest. Papadópoulos and his co-conspirators were sentenced to death, though the sentences were commuted to life imprisonment, while Ioannídis and others also received life sentences.

Constitutional changes also followed, designed to produce a stronger decision-making process that would reduce the likelihood of any repetition of the circumstances that had led to the 1967 coup. A return to fiscal orthodoxy also did something to restore the country's financial position, though the world-wide energy crisis of the early 1970s and rising unemployment in Germany led to falls in both gross domestic product and overseas remittances. Greece's shipowners were none the less constrained to make a more realistic contribution to the treasury, and some of the Colonels' more disastrous foreign investment schemes were renegotiated.

Though significant welfare reforms were also introduced, especially in education where state provision had long been perceived as inadequate, the country's massive commitment to defence remained a major brake on government spending. This was justified not only by the festering Cyprus problem but also by other manifestations of Turkish hostility. By this time, for example, a further row had broken out over the question of whether the Greek islands off the Turkish coast fell within the continental shelf of the mainland, with the Turks accusing Greece of breaking the treaties under which its sovereignty had been granted by building up a military presence there, and Greece replying that it was merely responding to the Turkish formation of an Aegean army whose sole purpose was to threaten that sovereignty. Additional arguments flared up over air-traffic control in the Aegean and the treatment of minorities (the Turks in Thrace, and the few Greeks who still remained in Istanbul), and suspicions about America's role in these events were greatly reinforced when a defence co-operation agreement with Ankara was signed.

Karamanlís' initial response to these difficulties was to seek better relations with his Balkan neighbours, partly to build up support against Turkey but also (prophetically) out of concern about the future of Yugoslavia when the aged President Tito eventually died. But still more importantly, Karamanlís sought to accelerate Greece's accession to full membership of the European Community (EC). In the long term, this offered the prospect of a significant improvement in Greece's economic fortunes, but in the shorter term it was hoped that membership would help to compensate for poor relations with the USA and difficulties within NATO, while simultaneously cementing democracy in place by offering protection against fresh military intervention and the threat of Turkish attack.

Arguing once more that the issues facing the country required a fresh mandate, Karamanlís called elections for November 1977. His conservative New Democracy party reiterated its commitment to the EC and NATO, and pointed to the success of its free enterprise policies and educational reforms, in particular the raising of the school leaving age and the final abandonment of *katharévousa* as the official language of the Greek state, a move that terminated the institutionalization of diglossia and opened the way for a final resolution of the language question that had bedevilled the cultural, political and educational development of the nation. By contrast Andréas Papandréou's socialist PASOK party advocated the decentralization of power, withdrawal from NATO and rejection of the government's drive for membership of the EC, organizations which PASOK saw as forcing Greece into the role of capitalist pawn. In the event, Karamanlís retained a majority despite an impressive PASOK performance.

In 1980 Karamanlís resigned as prime minister to become president, and the following year Greece became a full member of the EC (and subsequently of the EU), an

event ironically followed immediately by the election of Papandréou as Greece's first socialist prime minister. Happily, the army stayed in its bases, and Papandréou's aggressive election rhetoric was quickly tempered by the realities of office. In 1983 a five-year defence and economic co-operation agreement was signed with the United States, and EC membership brought significant benefits for Greek agriculture and considerable investment in the country's infrastructure, both of which did much to allay earlier fears and suspicions. Papandréou was accordingly re-elected in 1985, and steps were then taken to improve relations with Turkey, though these remained delicate.

But the initial optimism of the left that a PASOK government would bring integrity and reform was eventually superseded by a weary recognition that the power of governments is limited (especially in a country where state institutions remain weak and a 'black' economy flourishes) and that the behaviour of even socialist ministers is subject to the frailties of human nature. The abandonment of tight financial policies had already led to renewed economic difficulties, and accusations of bribery, corruption and illegal wiretapping proliferated. Growing disgust and disappointment led to Papandréou's defeat in the elections of 1989, and various criminal charges followed. After a series of indecisive elections, New Democracy was returned to power under the veteran right-winger Konstandínos Mitsotákis, with a mandate to restore financial order and curb inflation. But the hardship created by New Democracy's economic measures, together with disillusionment at the handling of the crisis following the break-up of Yugoslavia, led to the fall of Mitsotákis' administration and the election in 1993 of a new PASOK government under the ageing Papandréou.

In January 1996, following a protracted illness, Papandréou finally resigned and was replaced as prime minister by the former minister of trade and industry, Kóstas Simítis, who won elections in 1996 and 2000. When Simítis retired in 2004, he was succeeded by George Andréas Papandréou, son of Andréas, who lost the election of that year to New Democracy, led by Kóstas Karamanlís, nephew of the former president. The conservative government called early elections in September 2007 and New Democracy emerged once again as the majority party in Parliament, but with its authority increasingly questioned, following catastrophic summer wildfires, assorted scandals, and growing social, economic and political unrest in the context of the global financial crisis of 2008–9. The party was duly defeated in snap elections called in October 2009, and Papandréou became the new prime minster with a host of serious domestic issues to face, not least the parlous state of the public finances. The Cyprus question remains unresolved, dealings with (the Former Yugoslav Republic of) Macedonia are difficult and tetchy, and problems with Turkey continue in the Aegean despite some improvement in relations overall. (See Clogg (2002) for a full account of the key issues in modern Greek history.)

17

The 'Language Question' and its Resolution

17.1 Koraís

A key issue in the early 19th century was whether spoken Greek could in principle provide the basis for a written language of law, administration and education if and when power passed into Greek hands. As noted earlier, many who approached the problem from the perspective of the Ionian islands and the diaspora were optimistic; a demoticizing style reflecting educated speech was already in limited use, and this could readily be extended, while the popular spoken dialects, including the more autonomous varieties of outlying regions, would gradually be assimilated to the developing standard as the state expanded and education took its course. But for the more traditionally minded, who instead emphasized what they perceived to be the expressive limitations and fundamental disunity of the spoken dialects, it was unthinkable that a national language should fail to continue the tradition inherited from ancient Greece and Byzantium. See Mackridge (2009) for a detailed treatment of the language question and the role language issues have played in the construction of Greek national identity since the 18th century.

Both linguistic parties were amusingly satirized by D. K. Vyzándios in his play *Babel*, published in 1836. The cast comprises an archaizing pedant, an Albanian with a limited command of Greek, and speakers of five different dialects (a Peloponnesian, a Chian, a Cretan, a Cypriot and a Greek from Asia Minor). This group, having met in Náfplio on the day when news arrives of the Turkish defeat at Navaríno (1827), attempts to celebrate the success of the Greek revolution, but mutual misunderstanding (including a series of largely unsuccessful attempts to order food, and an accusation of sheep stealing wrongly interpreted as an insult involving coprophagia) leads to a fight, incarceration, and still further mishaps when the arrested parties are released. It is, of course, significant that the dialect speakers are barely literate, and come with only one exception from regions outside the kingdom, while the pedant is wholly uncompromising, and uses datives and infinitives in the best classical manner. Though often funny, the play, rather like the archaizers, exaggerates the difficulties; the local dialects of the Peloponnese were not radically different from educated speech in phonology and morphology, and normal written Greek was as yet very far from being an attempt to replicate the ancient language.

The key figure in the development of the language debate in the early 19th century was the expatriate doctor-cum-classicist Adamándios Koraís (1748–1833), who was born in Smyrna, but spent much of his life in Paris, where he wrote extensively about education, language and nationhood. Despite discrepancies between statements made at different times in different contexts, Beaton (1994: 301ff) has identified three key principles underlying Koraís' thinking on the language issue:

(1) (a) That national self-determination depended on successfully reaccessing the treasures of the ancient language.
(b) That a modern written language must comply in general terms with the grammar of the contemporary spoken language, which he regarded as an inalienable possession.
(c) That these two proposals could be reconciled through a pragmatic programme of 'correcting' those elements in the spoken language which separated it most conspicuously from its ancient source.

A major part of this process of correction was to involve the restoration of the orthography and the replacement of foreign loans with Greek equivalents, but Koraís also saw the need for enrichment of the lexicon, and advocated the reintroduction of ancient words, either by direct borrowing or through calquing, usually (given Koraís' base in Paris) on the model of French.

Thus, unlike certain members of the learned elite in the Ottoman territories, such as Neófytos Doúkas (c.1760–1845) and Konstandínos Oikonómos (1780–1857), Koraís was not an out-and-out archaizer. He had no doubt that their ultra-conservative programme for a return to the 'true' (i.e. ancient) Greek language, based on a view of the 'corrupted' modern language as a symbol of national servitude and degradation, was hopelessly out of touch with reality. It is therefore deeply ironic that his essentially pragmatic proposals should have been overtaken by the zeal of later generations of archaizers, and that he himself came to be thought of as the founding father of *katharévousa* (a term which he never used in his own writings). His ideas had much in common with those of the 'progressive' Moisiódax, and his insistence on the identity of language and nation reveals an outlook shared by many later proponents of the demoticist movement.

The following extract from the beginning of Koraís *Autobiography* gives an impression of the kind of 'corrected' style which he had in mind:

(2) Η μήτηρ μου έλαβεν ελευθερωτέραν ανατροφήν, διότι ευτύχησε να έχη πατέρα Αδαμάντιον τον Ρύσιον, τον σοφώτατον εκείνου του καιρού εις την ελληνικήν φιλολογίαν άνδρα, όστις απέθανεν εν έτος (1747) προ της γεννήσεως μου. Αυτός εχρημάτισεν, έτι νέος ων, διδάσκαλος της ελληνικής φιλολογίας εις Χίον· μετά ταύτα ήλθεν εις Σμύρνην, όπου ενυμφεύθη χήραν τινά Αγκυρανήν. Ούτος μη γεννήσας αρσενικόν, επαρηγόρησε την αποτυχίαν του, σπουδάσας να αναθρέψῃ ως υιούς τας τέσσαρας θυγατέρας του ... (Koraís (1964: A1))

[i 'mitir mu 'elaven elefθero'teran anatro'fin, ði'oti ef'tiçise
the mother of-me took free-er upbringing, because she-had-the-good-fortune
na 'eçi pa'tera aða'mandion ton 'rision, ton so'fotaton e'cinu tu ce'ru is
that she-have father Adamándios the Rysios, the wisest of-that the time in

tin elini'cin filolo'jian 'andra, ostis a'peθanen en 'etos (1747)
the Greek 'philology' man, who died one year (1747)
pro tiz je'niseoz mu. af'tos exri'matisen, 'eti 'neos on, ði'ðaskalos
before the birth of-me. He served, still young being, (as-a-)teacher
tis elini'cis filolo'jias is 'çion; meta 'tafta 'ilθen iz 'zmirnin, opou
of-the Greek 'philology' in Chios; after this he-came to Smyrna, where
enim'fefθi 'çiran dina anɟira'nin. 'utos mi je'nisas arseni'kon,
he-married widow a from-Ankara. He not having-fathered male(-child),
epari'ɣorise tin apoti'çian du, spu'ðasas na ana'θrepsi os i'jus
consoled the failure of-him, having-become-eager that he-bring-up as sons
tas 'tesaras θiɣa'teras tu ...]
the four daughters of-him ...

'My mother received a more liberal upbringing because she was lucky enough to have as her father Adamándios Rysios, the most learned man of that era in Greek language and literature, who died (1747) one year before I was born. While still a young man he served as a teacher of Greek language and literature on Chios; after that he came to Smyrna where he married a widow from Ankara. But when he did not father a male child he consoled himself in his failure by his eager resolve to bring up his four daughters as sons … '

With the probable exceptions of the lengthy hyperbaton (τον ... άνδρα [ton … 'andra]) and the inflected participles (γεννήσας [je'nisas] and σπουδάσας [spu'ðasas]), the syntactic structure mostly corresponds to that of the educated spoken Greek of its time, while the remaining discrepancies involve little more than item-for-item substitutions (e.g. διότι [ði'oti] for γιατί [ja'ti], όστις ['ostis] for που [pu], προ [pro] for πριν από [prin apo], έτι ['eti] for ακόμα [a'koma] etc.). Koraís avoids the reintroduction of archaisms like infinitives and datives, which had no place in the normal spoken language, and confined his 'corrections' to the reintroduction of ancient lexical items and the reinstatement of ancient orthography and morpho-syntax in forms and structures that were actually in use (e.g. his use of the 'correct' genitive plural possessive των [ton] 'their' instead of τους [tus] etc.). Thus noun and verb morphology is mostly ancient, but compound verbs still display their augment externally, because the relevant compositional process was not a part of the living language (cf. ε-παρηγόρησε [epari'ɣorise]). Similarly, learned prepositions are substituted for the popular counterparts, and these are used with their ancient cases (e.g. προ [pro] + genitive) except where this would involve an artificial revival (thus εις [is] + accusative is preferred to ancient εν [en] + dative, and με [me] + accusative is retained in preference to the bare dative to mark the instrumental).

Koraís' middle way provoked opposition both from traditionalists and from advocates of the spoken language, each of whom, for different reasons, found his proposals to be 'artificial'. Among the former, the name of Neófytos Doúkas has already been mentioned as one who objected in principle to any elements of spoken Greek that Koraís wished to retain. A less extreme case was made by the talented civil servant Panayótis Kodrikás (1762–1827), who, like Koraís himself, spent much of his life in Paris. Though he tacitly agreed with many of Koraís' objectives, he felt unable to

support what he saw as arbitrary prescriptive interference in matters of language use, arguing that a better middle way already existed, at least for official purposes, in the form of 'the style of the Great Church' (Daskalákis (1966: 503)), i.e. a 'higher' administrative style that continued its Byzantine predecessor (see 5.7, 5.9, 10.7). As an example of the often trivial differences involved, Browning (1983: 102) notes that where Koraís opted merely to 'correct' *ψάρι* ['psari] 'fish' to *οψάριον* [o'psarion], Kodrikás advocated the substitution of ancient *ιχθύς* [ix'θis]).

Obviously, this form of the language shared the artificiality of being neither Ancient nor Modern Greek, though Kodrikás could at least point in his defence to a body of existing writing that employed it. But it is again quite striking that, although Koraís and Kodrikás presented themselves as rivals, their natural styles, used when defending rather than exemplifying their respective positions, are all but indistinguishable (compare the similarly uniform use of the written language of educated discourse in the first linguistic disputes, 15.1). In reality, it seems that much of the hostility derived from the clash of political and cultural perspectives between the Orthodox/Ottoman establishment on the one hand and the liberal/republican diaspora on the other; see Beaton (1994: 330–1), from whom the extracts in (3) are taken, the first published in 1804, the second in 1818:

(3) (a) Η γλώσσα είναι το εργαλείον, με το οποίον η ψυχή πλάττει πρώτον ενδιαθέτως, έπειτα προφέρει τους λογισμούς της. Όταν το εργαλείον είναι ανακόνητον, ιωμένον, ή κακά κατασκευασμένον, ατελές εξ ανάγκης μένει και το έργον του τεχνίτου. (Koraís (1964: A850))

[i 'ɣlosa 'ine to erɣa'lion, me t(o) opion i psi'çi 'plati 'proton enðia'θetos,
the language is the tool, with the which the soul shapes first mentally
'epita pro'feri tus lojiz'mus tis. 'otan to erɣa'lion 'ine ana'koniton,
then utters the thoughts of-it. When the tool is blunt,
io'menon, i ka'ka katascevaz'menon, ate'les eks a'naŋgis 'meni ce
rusty, or badly made, imperfect from necessity remains also
to 'erɣon tu tex'nitu.]
the work of-the craftsman.

'Language is the tool with which the soul first shapes in the mind, and then utters its thoughts. When the tool is blunt, rusty, or badly made, the work of the craftsman also necessarily remains imperfect.'

(b) Η διάλεκτος προς τον άνθρωπον είναι το υλικόν όργανον, δι' ου η άϋλος δύναμις του ενδιαθέτου λόγου υπόστασιν, ως ειπείν, προσλαμβάνουσα υλικήν, και σχήμα, και μορφήν οργανικήν, συνθέτει τον προφορικόν λόγον, δι' ου ο άνθρωπος ... ενδιαθέτως εξηγεί τας εννοίας του ... (Daskalákis (1966: 485-6))

[i ði'alektos pros ton 'anθropon 'ine to ili'kon 'orɣanon, ði u i
the speech to the man is the material instrument through which the
'ailos 'ðinamis tu enðia'θetu 'loɣu i'postasin, os i'pin,
insubstantial force of-the in-the-mind utterance existence, so to-speak,
prozlam'vanusa ili'cin, ce 'sçima, ce mor'fin orɣani'cin, sin'θeti tom
assuming material, and shape, and form organic, composes the

brofori'kon 'loɣon, ði u o 'anθropos ... enðia'θetos eksi'ji
spoken utterance, through which the man ... internally explains
tas e'nias tu ...]
the ideas of-him ...

'Speech is to man the material instrument through which the insubstantial force of an utterance conceived in the mind composes a spoken utterance by assuming, as it were, a material existence, a shape and organic form; through this, man … internally elucidates his ideas … '

The most one can say is that the second is a little more conservative in its archaizing substitutions than the first (note, for example, the modern adverb κακά [ka'ka], or the relative ((με) το οποίον [(me) t(o) o'pion] '(with) which' in (3a), versus the traditional adverb ενδιαθέτως [enðia'θetos] and the ancient relative in (δι') ου [(ði) u] '(through) which' in (3b)). Note in particular both authors' fondness for hyperbaton (cf. τον ... άνδρα [ton .... 'andra] in (2) with υπόστασιν ... υλικήν [i'postasin … ili'cin] in (3b)), a sure sign of rhetorical elaboration from antiquity onwards, and a fixture of the style of academic exposition and debate.

It was unfortunate for Kodrikás' proposals that by the time of the revolution 'the style of the Great Church' was firmly identified with the reactionary political attitudes of the Constantinopolitan elite, many of whom were at best lukewarm about the prospect of Greek independence. In the context of the rampant nationalism and classical revivalism of the independent kingdom, therefore, his conservative compromise, and indeed the not radically distinct official written language actually used in the early 19th century, were soon overwhelmed by an upsurge of patriotic archaism that also engulfed the more progressive compromise proposed by Koraís (see 17.3).

17.2 The Roots of Demoticism: Solomós and the Ionian Islands

Koraís was also attacked from the other direction, and brief mention may be made here of the comedy *Korakístika*, published in Vienna in 1813 by Iákovos Rízos Neroulós (1778–1849). The title (literally 'Ravens' Language') originally denoted a children's argot involving the prefixing of [ce] to each syllable, but has now come to mean simply 'jargon' or 'gibberish'. In this particular context, however, it also puns on the name Koraís, and the work seeks to expose the supposedly preposterous results of taking his prescriptions for the written language (together with some fanciful extensions of the playwright's own invention), and applying them to spoken Greek. Accordingly, we find amongst the dramatis personae an enthusiastic 'correctionist' who is made to choke when he attempts to order a plate of coleslaw, ordinarily λαχανοσαλάτα [laxanosa'lata], by uttering the absurb compound noun ελαδιοξιδιολατολαχανοκαρύκευμα [elaðioksiðiolatolaxanoka'ricevma].

The principal 'popularizing' opposition to Koraís, however, came from poets working outside the Phanariot sphere of influence, who felt instinctively that artistic integrity and linguistic artificiality were incompatible. This point of view appealed to

the Romantic spirit of the age, though one has only to think of the works of Callimachus, Apollonius and Theocritus in the Hellenistic period (cf. 4.7.4) to see that the argument depends not on artificiality or archaism *per se*, but on the unsuitability for creative writing of language varieties otherwise used primarily for administrative and technical discourse.

Given that education rather than fiction was still seen as the central task of prose writers, it was the poetic revival of the early 19th century which first sought to give Greece an identity in terms of its contemporary history and culture, and the emphasis now began to shift away from the idea of a practical written language based on educated speech (a variety that was in any case soon swallowed up by the archaizing trend) towards that of a literary/poetic language based on popular speech. This crucial development, in the context of conservative determination to develop ever 'purer' forms of official Greek, marks the beginning of the polarization that quickly came to dominate the language debate.

An important pioneer in the demotic movement was the poet and writer Ioánnis Vilarás (1771–1823), whose grammar, entitled *The Romaic Tongue*, was based on the dialect of his native Epirus and published in 1814 in Kérkyra (Corfu). The outstanding contribution, however, came from Dionýsios Solomós, now regarded as Greece's national poet. Solomós was born in Zákynthos, the child of an affair between his aristocratic father and a servant girl whom he married on his deathbed, thus allowing his son to inherit the title of count. His father's family came originally from Crete and spoke Italian, the language in which Solomós himself was educated. He did, however, speak the local dialect of Greek with his mother, and later, when he had settled in Kérkyra, he was inspired by the Greek independence movement and became, with his compatriot Andréas Kálvos (1792–1869), one of the founding fathers of modern Greek poetry.

But where Kálvos used a form of Greek based on Koraís' prescriptions, and developed an idiosyncratic poetic medium that was remote from both ordinary speech and conventional writing, Solomós was a thoroughgoing demoticist. Because of his Italian cultural and educational background (which did, however, include the study of Ancient Greek), his knowledge of the modern language was initially confined to the Zakynthian dialect, but he later familiarized himself with a range of literature composed in popular styles, including the Byzantine verse romances, the poetry of the Cretan Renaissance, and the work of Vilarás. He was also greatly influenced by the tradition of folk song, a major focus of contemporary Romantic interest, in which he found much inspiration for his efforts to forge a modern perspective on the Greek world.

For the most part, Solomós carefully avoided local dialect forms and Italian loans in his more serious poetry, since he wished to be read by the Greek people as a whole. But in so far as the spoken Heptanesian dialects were close to those of the Peloponnese, the principal vernacular foundation for the modern standard (14.2.1, 14.2.2), any 'local' features which remain present few problems. The most notable involve verb morphology (Mackridge (1989: 57–59); see 11.8 for details of the development of the various forms):

(4) (a) Imperfects of contract verbs such as εκοίταα [e'citaa] (< earlier -α-γα [-aɣa]) for the -άω [-'ao] type, and άργεια ['arjia]/άργουνα ['arɣuna] for

the -έω [-'eo] class (the latter involving the addition of past-tense -α [-a] to the ancient form), alongside what are now the standard formations.

(b) 3sg imperfect middle/passive in -όταν(ε) ['otun(e)] (analogical to 1/2sg -όμουν/-όσουν ['omun/'osun]).

(c) Imperfective passive imperatives (rare in standard Modern Greek) in -ου [-u].

(d) 2pl middle/passive forms in -όστενε [-'ostene].

(e) Futures and conditionals formed with impersonal θέλει ['θeli]/ήθελε ['iθele] + subjunctive (alongside θε να [θe na] and θα [θa]).

There are also a few features which probably derive from earlier vernacular literature, such as the postposing of object clitics with simple finite verbs (not a feature of the dialects of the Ionian islands), and some elements of learned Greek, which occur principally in his earlier work, including the *Hymn to Liberty* (written in May 1823; Nikólaos Mántzaros later set the poem to music, and the first two verses were adopted as the Greek national anthem in 1865). Mackridge (1989: 58) suggests that these may reflect Solomós' knowledge of Ancient Greek, or have been picked up through reading newspapers, but since no Greek papers were published in the Ionian islands until 1850 (Beaton 1994: 332), the former explanation is to be preferred. In general, these variants offer some metrical advantage, though the learned forms and phrases may have wider import in compositions with a 'national' significance.

The following stanza from *O Lámbros* (worked on between 1824 and 1826, but never finished) is from a famous passage in which Solomós describes a beautiful Easter Day (η ημέρα της Λαμπρής [i 'mera tis lam'bris]) in terms that contrast sharply with the predicament of the brave but selfish warrior Lámbros, who, in his determination to be free, has steadfastly refused to marry María, the mother of his children. When Ali Pasha of Ioánnina executes María's brother, Lámbros sets off to take his revenge. On his way, however, he meets and seduces a girl who turns out to be his own daughter, placed long ago in an orphanage. The girl commits suicide, and when Lámbros returns to confess to María, he finds himself excluded from the Easter celebrations. The metre is *ottava rima*, eight eleven-syllable iambic lines rhymed ABABABCC:

(5) XXI: Η ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΗΣ

1

Καθαρώτατον ήλιο επρομηνούσε
της αυγής το δροσάτο ύστερο αστέρι,
σύγνεφο, καταχνιά, δεν απερνούσε
τ' ουρανού σε κανένα από τα μέρη·
και από 'κεί κινημένο αργοφυσούσε
τόσο γλυκά στο πρόσωπο τ' αέρι,
που λες και λέει μες της καρδιάς τα φύλλα·
γλυκειά η ζωή και ο θάνατος μαυρίλα

Polítis (1986[5]: 185)

[kaθa'rotaton 'iʎo epromi'nuse
Clearest sun was-heralding
tis av'jis to ðro'sato 'istero a'steri,
of-the dawn the cool last star,

'siɣnefo, kata'xɲa, den aper'nuse
cloud, mist not was-crossing
t ura'nu se ka'nen apo ta 'meri;
of-the heaven in any from the parts;
c apo 'ci cini'meno arɣofi'suse
and from there moved was-slowly blowing
'toso ɣli'ka sto 'prosopo t a'eri,
so sweetly in-the face the breeze,
pu les ce lei mes tis karð'jas ta 'fila;
that you-say and it-speaks within of-the heart the leaves:
ɣli'ca i zo'i c o 'θanatos mav'rila.]
sweet the life and the death blackness.

'The last cool star of dawn was heralding purest sun; in no quarter of the sky did cloud or mist pass over; and rising from there, the gentle breeze began to blow so sweetly in their faces that it was as if it were speaking into the leaves of their hearts: "life is sweet, and death is darkness".'

This is sophisticated writing of a high order, but almost wholly demotic in its language if we abstract away from the stylized/poetic word orders (note particularly the pre-head genitives and delayed subjects). A number of individual words also now have a specially poetic feel because of subsequent replacement by more traditional variants in standard Modern Greek: e.g. δροσάτος [ðro'satos] (δροσερός [ðrose'ros]), σύγνεφο ['siɣnefo] (σύννεφο ['sinefo]), απερνώ [aper'no] (περνώ [per'no], the prothesis arising from misanalysis of να περνώ [na per'no] etc.). Καθαρώτατον [kaθa'rotaton] may well be a learned form, but monolectic superlatives, though rare, were not wholly alien to the 19th-century vernacular (Thumb 1912: 73), and final -ν [-n] was still widely used in 2nd-declension adjectives when the following word began with a vowel.

In the present context, however, the most important of Solomós' works is his unfinished *Dialogue*, written in 1824–5 but not published till 1859 when the author had already been dead for two years. It constitutes one of the earliest defences of the use of the ordinary spoken language for writing and stands in sharp contrast to the views of both traditionalists and Koraís. The dialogue in question (there is a short draft as well as a full-length version) is between 'a poet', 'a friend' and 'a pedant'. The poet argues that 'the common dialect' of the Phanariots is the language of those who served the Turks, and has no place in an independent Greece. Koraís' proposals are also dismissed because the language they attempt to define is not anyone's native tongue, and never could be. The poet instead appeals to the literary prestige of written vernaculars in the west, and though he fully accepts the need for lexical development, suggests that new terminology must evolve by natural analogical processes rather than by arbitrary selection from a dead language.

17.3 The Rise of *Katharévousa*

In the short term, however, Solomós and his followers based in the Ionian islands remained outsiders. In the capital, the 'Old Athenian School', whose principal figures

were Aléxandros (1803–63) and Panayótis (1806–68) Soútsos and Aléxandros Rízos Rangavís (1809–92), sought to boost the prestige of standard written Greek by trying to adapt it, not entirely successfully, to the needs of verse composition. The earliest fictional prose was also widely composed in this style, though the Ionian islands, where Andréas Laskarátos wrote his satirical *Mysteries of Kefaloniá* (1856) in demotic, were again the exception.

Since demotic also failed to find a place in the official life of the country in the first sixty years of its existence, the principal disputes of the period were inevitably between different groups of archaizers. In 1853, Panayótis Soútsos published a book condemning the 'solecisms' in the work of other writers, and argued that the problems of laying down correct usage could only be resolved by making the written language conform more closely to the clearly established rules of Ancient Greek. In his view, the poor quality of much contemporary writing derived directly from the arbitrary mixtures of ancient and modern grammar that attempts to implement Koraís' 'inadequate compromise' entailed.

This marked the beginning of what soon developed into a rapidly accelerating flight from the living language. The poet Nikólaos Koneménos, as someone who spent time in both Kérkyra and Athens, was well placed to point out that the contemporary crystallization of rival positions would not provide a solution to the language issue, and argued that the successful forging of a modern Greek culture required the Greeks to 'come out from the tombs' (1873: 55). But the *Zeitgeist* was against him. Dissatisfaction with Koraís' proposals grew steadily, peaking first in the 1850s with Soútsos' proposals, and again in the 1880s, by which time the terms *demotic* and *katharévousa* were becoming established as the names for the 'uncorrected' spoken language (including its use in writing) and the 'embellished and corrected' written language respectively. Throughout this period progress towards resolving the perceived difficulties was almost universally equated with the need for greater archaism, and by the early 1880s there were once again people like Konstandínos Kóndos who were prepared to argue for the 'ideal' of ancient Greek perfection (cf. his *Linguistic Observations Concerning the Modern Greek Language* (1882)).

The core problem was clear enough; for as long as the product of the correction process remained a contrived compromise between Ancient and spoken Modern Greek, the objections levelled against Koraís' proposals could just as easily be levelled against any other proposals, however far they went. There could be no standard of correctness to which appeal might be made when the 'rules' conformed neither to the linguistic intuitions of Greeks as native speakers nor to the practice of writers in any earlier period. The works of Soútsos and Kóndos therefore provoked fresh criticisms (animated as much by personal rivalry as by serious scholarly intent), and these served only to exacerbate the very linguistic uncertainty they sought to eliminate.

17.4 Reaction: Psycháris and the Demoticist Programme

In 1884, Dimítrios Vernardákis, professor of history and philology at the University of Athens, proposed a return to the more realistic framework of Koraís, only to be forced to resign in the controversy that followed. Still more radically, the prose writer

and satirist Emanouíl Roídis (1836–1904), an accomplished stylist in *katharévousa*, now used his skills in the archaizing language to press the cause of spoken Greek (*The Idols* (1893)). In this context of incipient doubt about the viability of *katharévousa*, the publication in 1888 of *My Journey* by Jean Psycháris (1824–1929) proved to be of critical importance.[1]

The book is a novel-cum-travelogue recounting a journey made in 1886 from Paris to Constantinople, Chios and Athens, which exploits the author's horrified reaction to the prevailing linguistic climate of the Greek capital as a pretext for the inclusion of a passionate defence of the spoken language as a medium for writing Greek. The language used is a regularized demotic devised by Psycháris himself, and the text introduces a new political dimension to the language question by adapting conservative rhetoric to the demoticist cause, and explicitly linking the issue to the survival and future prosperity of Greece. Just as the army was fighting to extend the borders and free the Greeks still living under Ottoman domination, so demotic was to be the means of extending the intellectual frontiers of the nation by liberating its people from linguistic oppression.

Particularly offensive to Psycháris were the French-based calques (not only individual words like πραγματοποιώ [praɣmatopi'o] 'réaliser', and ψυχραιμία [psixre'mia] 'sang-froid', but also clichéd phraseology like εξασκώ επιρροήν [eksas'ko epiro'in] 'exercer une influence') and the new but ancient-looking words created by analogy with attested formations that had flooded into the purist language. Many such novel creations have survived, with some phonological and morphological adaptation, in standard Modern Greek: commonplace examples include εγκυκλοπαιδεία [enɟiklope'ðia] 'encyclopaedia', οξυγόνο [oksi'ɣono] 'oxygen', the names of new sciences and their practitioners (e.g. γλωσσολογία [ɣlosolo'jia]/γλωσσολόγος [ɣloso'loɣos] 'linguistics/linguist'), πανεπιστήμιο(ν) [panepi'stimio(n)] 'university', ενδιαφέρον [enðia'feron] 'interest' etc.

Psycháris' principal objection was not, of course, to neologism *per se*, since he followed much the same practice when words were lacking in demotic (though he naturally modified the loans to conform to his rules). His real target was the systematic replacement of day-to-day vocabulary with pompous compounds whenever the words in question, many of which were loans from foreign languages, especially Turkish, displayed formal properties incompatible with the structure of *katharévousa*. The more ludicrous of such items, satirized in Vyzándios' *Babel* by the example of νηφοκοκκόζυμον [nifo-ko'ko-zimon] 'sober+berry+brew' for καφές [ka'fes] 'coffee', have died a well-deserved death. Many others, however, have passed successfully into the standard modern language, sometimes with formal adaptation, and often as alternatives to the equivalent popular terminology, because they combine formal and semantic transparency, and have denotations compatible with their learned form. Examples include αδιέξοδον [a-ði'eks-oðon], lit. 'not+through-and-out+road', i.e. 'cul-de-sac/blind alley', for τυφλοσόκακο [tiflo-'sokako], lit. 'blind alley (a compound of Greek and Turkish elements, now obsolete), and χρηματοκιβώτιον [xrimato-ci'votion], lit. 'money + chest', i.e. 'safe', alongside κάσ(σ)α ['kasa], an Italian loanword. Where both terms survive, the element taken from *katharévousa* often belongs to a more formal register, though in some cases it has acquired the status of the neutral term, with the popular equivalent being thought old-fashioned, colloquial or substandard (e.g.

διαβατήριο(ν) [ðja-va-'tirio(n)], lit. 'through + go + instrument', i.e. 'passport', versus πασαπόρτι [pasa'porti]).

But Psycháris was first and foremost a linguist, and a novel perspective was now brought to bear on the language question through the application of the theoretical framework developed by the *Junggrammatiker* in Germany and taught in Paris, prior to his move to Geneva, by Ferdinand de Saussure (see Philippáki-Warburton (1988)). While the Neogrammarians are best known for formulating the principle that sound change is exceptionless, it is important to remember that this claim was put forward within a framework influenced by Darwinian evolutionary theory that treated languages as quasi-biological entities that underwent change like 'living' things and were governed in their development by discoverable 'scientific' principles (i.e. the sound laws and analogy). Such perspectives led to a growing understanding of synchronic structure and an emphasis on the internal coherence of languages, as reflected in Saussure's early work on Indo-European 'laryngeals' (see Clackson (2007)). By these criteria, *katharévousa* was not a 'real' language at all: its failure to change other than by arbitrary say-so was proof of its artificial status, while its manifest lack of internal coherence precluded scientific analysis. Psycháris therefore argued that the establishment of links with the ancient language could best be achieved by a demonstration that demotic was the natural descendant of classical Greek, the product of rule-governed change rather than decay, and the living embodiment of its ancient predecessor.

A further consequence of Psycháris' approach was that it forced him to acknowledge that the phonological system of Greek had changed dramatically since ancient times. Throughout history, Greeks have pronounced earlier forms of Greek as they pronounce the contemporary form of the language, and this was of great help to the proponents of *katharévousa*, since the issue of 'correct pronunciation' could simply be ignored. But it was often phonetic change that had induced the grammatical innovations the purists wished to eliminate, and Psycháris was able to expose the contradictions involved in adopting the grammar and vocabulary of Ancient Greek without the ancient pronunciation, though in practice the primary status of *katharévousa* as a written medium overcame many of the potential difficulties, since the orthography maintained distinctions long lost in pronunciation (cf. Mirambel (1964: 416–17)).

The theoretical emphasis on internal consistency also led Psycháris to 'systematize' demotic for the purpose of writing, and to adapt elements he took from Ancient Greek so as to conform to the 'rules'. Thus where the archaizers antiqued the modern, he modernized the antique, and many of his proposals were in reality as arbitrarily prescriptive and artificial as those of his opponents. It could therefore be fairly argued that written demotic employed forms that no one used, and this opening quickly spawned a whole new mythology of alleged hyperdemoticisms amongst the apologists of archaism.

The central plank of Psycháris' demoticism was that the written language had to be based on the spoken varieties of Athens and Constantinople, the principal centres of Greek culture, as they had evolved during the 19th century. All Greeks could understand these easily, and he had no doubt that it was for the Ionian islands, despite the major contribution of their writers to the demoticist cause, to compromise with the practice of the kingdom, and not vice versa. It is important to note, however, that changes were made between the first edition of *My Journey* in 1888 and the second

in 1905. Psycháris took great pride in his Constantinopolitan connections, and the language of his youth at first took precedence in his writing, leading to the use of many now non-standard features in the first edition. By the time of the second edition, however, his conception of demotic had changed in the face of criticism of his usage (see Mackridge (1988), on which the following discussion depends).

Among the syntactic Constantinopolitanisms of the first edition we may note the following:

(6) (a) The use of the accusative rather than the genitive for the indirect object.

(b) The use of που [pu] as a complementizer (= 'that') in contexts where the standard language would employ πως [pos] or ότι ['oti]; in standard Modern Greek που [pu] is used only for 'factive' complements (cf. Christídis (1985), Roússou (1994)).

(c) The use of σαν που [sam bu] where standard Greek has καθώς [kaθ'os] (= 'just as') to introduce clauses of comparison.

These characteristics alternate with standard usages and continue even in later works, though many examples of (a) and (b) were systematically removed from the second edition.

Constantinopolitanisms in the verb morphology of the first edition include:

(7) (a) Durative stems in -φτ- [-ft-] of verbs which in Ancient Greek had -πτ- [-pt-] but in standard Modern Greek have the remodelled -β- [-v-]: κόφτ-ω ['kofto] 'cut', κρύφτ-ω ['krifto] 'hide'.

(b) Durative stems in -χτ- [-xt-] of verbs which in standard Modern Greek have -χν- [-xn-]: δείχτ-ω ['ðixto] 'show', σπρώχτ-ω ['sproxto] 'push'.

(c) A wider use/retention of the ancient durative stem-forming suffix -(ί)σκω [-('i)sko] than in standard Modern Greek: μνή-σκω ['mnisko] 'remind' (cf. ancient μιμνήσκω [mi'mnisko]), πεθν-ίσκ-ω [peθ'nisko] 'die' (cf. ancient ἀποθνήσκω [apo'θnisko]).

(d) Aorist stems of contract verbs in -αω [-'ao] in -ηξ- [-iks] rather than standard -ης- [is]: ρωτήξ-ω [ro'tikso] 'ask', ζητήξ-ω [zi'tikso] 'seek'. This is probably an analogical extension of the model seen in verbs like φυλάω [fi'lao]/φύλαξα ['filaksa] 'guard', βαστάω [va'stao]/βάσταξα ['vastaksa] 'carry/support', πετάω [pe'tao]/πέταξα ['petaksa] 'fly/throw', where the -ξ- [ks] in the aorist is original but the ancient present stem has been remodelled to look like a contract verb in -άω [-'ao] (cf. 11.8.5 (c) (ii)).

(e) More widespread use of aorists in -ξ- [ks] to imperfectives in -ζ- [z] than in standard Modern Greek: e.g. μοιάξω [mi'akso] to μοιάζω [mi'azo] 'resemble', originating in confusion between dental-final and velar-final roots.

(f) The use of διω [ðjo] in place of δω [ðo] as the aorist subjunctive of βλέπω ['vlepo] 'see'. Psycháris justified this even in the second edition on the grounds that it was important to distinguish δέστε ['ðeste] 'bind!' from διέστε ['ðjeste] 'look!'.

The changes introduced in the second edition, however, chiefly involve terminations, with much of the motivation deriving from Psycháris' new commitment to the avoidance of final -ν [n] except in genitive plurals and masculine/feminine accusative singular articles and clitic pronouns (at least before vowels). The following points are worth noting:

(8) (a) In the first edition 3pl presents end in -ουνε [-une] if the next word begins with a continuant (which would require elision of final -ν [-n]), otherwise in -ουν [-un]. In the second edition -ουνε [-une] is used without exception; similarly 3pl past tenses in -αν [-an] > -ανε [-ane]. The endings with the final vowel are still a feature of the speech of many Greeks, and are often preferred when the following word begins with a consonant; they do, however, alternate quite freely with the shorter endings which are often felt to be more formal/correct. It seems then that the more natural usage of the first edition has been sacrificed in the interests of consistency.

(b) The endings of the imperfective middle/passive were particularly diverse in the dialects, and Psycháris' own usage chiefly reflects Constantinopolitan practice, with thematic -ου- [-u-] for -ο- [-o-] in 1sg and 1/3pl forms:

(i) Constantinopolitan 1sg present in -ουμαι [-ume] (less common in standard Greek than -ομαι [-ome] and regarded today as more 'colloquial') correlates with 1pl in -ούμαστε ['umaste] for standard -όμαστε ['omaste]; cf. his preference for the 1pl active in -ουμε [-ume] instead of the older variant -ομε [-ome], which he avoids.

(ii) Constantinopolitan -ιούμαι [-'jume] is selected in favour of the now normal -ιέμαι [-'jeme] in 1sg of contract verbs such as συλλογιούμαι [silo'jume] 'think about'.

(iii) Constantinopolitan 1sg imperfect -ουμουν [-umun] is used instead of the now regular -όμουν [-'omun], e.g. κάθουμουν ['kaθumun] 'I was sitting' (cf. the -ου- [u]-forms in the *Ptochoprodromiká*). This last, however, was replaced in the second edition by -όμουνε [-'omune], allegedly the Athenian norm at the time, which avoids final -ν [-n], but breaks the pattern.

(iv) as in most northern dialects, 3sg and 3pl imperfect in the first edition shared the same ending, in this case the Constantinopolitan -ούντανε [-'undane] before a word beginning with a continuant, and -ουνταν [undan] elsewhere. Standard Modern Greek has 3sg -όταν(ε) [-'otan(e)] and 3pl -ονταν/-όντανε [-ondan/-'ondane], and in the second edition the forms with accented thematic -ό- [-'o-] and final -e [-e] were standardized, with sg and pl distinguished.

(v) similarly, 1pl presents and imperfects in -ούμαστε [-'umaste] were subsequently distinguished by the substitution of -όμεστα [-'omesta] for the latter. The changes in (iii)–(v) thus created a consistent imperfect paradigm, but one which used a different thematic vowel from other paradigms.

While the basis for Psycháris' choices is often hard to determine because of our sketchy understanding of the developing dialectal situation in the late 19th/early 20th centuries, it does seem that he shifted his original bias in favour of Constantinople quite considerably in the direction of the developing standard of the new Greek capital. He was, however, happy to select from the available options to secure greater regularity of formation, and in the process undoubtedly created paradigms that were not based on the usage of any one speech community, though a subsidiary objective of this eclecticism was to facilitate language learning by children (cf. Mackridge (1988: 44)).

In conformity with this general approach, Psycháris adapted his loans from Ancient Greek/*katharévousa* to conform to the phonotactic and morphological rules of his demotic (though some 'uncorrected' forms slipped through the net: compare, for example, ευτυχία [eftiçia] 'happiness' with φτυχισμένος [ftiçiz'menos] 'happy'). It is perhaps in this area above all that charges of artificiality carried most weight, since the standard modern language has since proved to be extremely tolerant of archaic characteristics in elements drawn from the learned tradition. Indeed such tolerance is sometimes essential to distinguish items which would otherwise be homophonous (e.g. δουλεία [ðu'lia] 'slavery' beside δουλειά [ðu'ʎa] 'work', ακριβώς [akri'vos] 'accurately' beside ακριβά [akri'va] 'expensively' etc., cf. Browning (1983: 115)). Accordingly, 'corrected' words like συθήκες [si'θices] 'conditions', σκετικός [sceti'kos] 'relevant', αρφάβητο [ar'favito] 'alphabet', πομονή [pomo'ni] 'patience' and έχταση ['extasi] 'extension', adapted from συνθήκαι [sin'θice], σχετικός [sçeti'kos], αλφάβητον [al'faviton], υπομονή [ipomo'ni] and έκτασις ['ektasis], all seem rather odd today.

Similar remarks apply to many of Psycháris' neologisms, and to his use of demotic endings on otherwise learned compounds. The failure of these and other proposals to catch on reflects the fact that many otherwise sympathetic Greeks felt compelled to rebel at what constituted an affront to a well-developed *Sprachgefühl* that had been shaped in part by an education system committed to *katharévousa*. The ideal of a common language created by an act of individual will was clearly as unattainable for him as it was for the theorists of archaism, and what has finally emerged in the late 20th century has come about through more natural processes of compromise between the two traditions.

The following extract from the second edition of *My Journey* gives something of the flavour of Psycháris' demotic style:

(9) Κάποτες μου έρχεται να φωνάξω δυνατά, που όλος ο κόσμος να μ' ακούση - "Μη, μη, μη, μη χαλνάτε τη γλώσσα! Καταστρέφετε την αρχαία και τη νέα μαζί. θέλετε γλώσσα που να μοιάζη τόντις με την αρχαία, που να είναι η ίδια γλώσσα; Πάρτε τη γλώσσα του λαού. θέλετε ξένη γλώσσα; Πάρτε την καθαρέβουσα· θα δείξη σ' όλο τον κόσμο, πως τόντις χάθηκε η αρχαία. θέλετε να παίξετε; Θέλετε νοστιμάδες, χωρατάδες και κωμωδίες; Τότες να γράφετε την καθαρέβουσα. Θέλετε επιστήμη, κόπο και μάθηση; Θέλετε να πιάσετε σοβαρή δουλειά; Να γράφετε την εθνική μας γλώσσα. Από την απόφασή σας, θα φανή αν είστε η άντρες η παιδιά. (Psycháris *My Journey* (1905: 212))

['kapotes mu 'erçete na fo'nakso ðina'ta, pu 'olos o 'kozmos na m a'kusi -
Sometimes to-me it-comes that I-shout aloud, that all the world that me hear -
mi, mi, mi, mi xal'nate ti 'ɣlosa! kata'strefete tin ar'çea ce ti 'nea
Not, not, not, not ruin(imp) the language! You-destroy the ancient and the modern
ma'zi. 'θelete 'ɣlosa pu na 'mjazi 'tondis me tin ar'çea, pu na 'ine
together. You-want language that may resemble truly with the ancient, that may be
i 'iðja 'ɣlosa? 'parte ti 'ɣlosa tu la'u. 'θelete 'kseni 'ɣlosa?
the same language? Take(imp) the language of-the people. You-want foreign language?
'parte tiŋ gaθa'revusa; θa 'ðiksi s 'olo toŋ 'gozmo, pos 'tondis
Take(imp) the *katharévousa*; will it-show to all the world, that truly
'xaθice i ar'çea. 'θelete na 'peksete? 'θelete nosti'maðes, xora'taðes
has-been-lost the ancient. You-want that you-play? You-want funninesses, jokings
ce komo'ðies? 'totes na 'ɣrafete tiŋ gaθa'revusa! 'θelete epi'stimi, 'kopo
and comedies? Then should you-write the *katharévousa* ! You-want science, hard-work
ce 'maθisi? 'θelete na 'pjasete sova'ri ðu'ʎa? na 'ɣrafete tin eθni'ci maz
and learning? You-want that you-take-on serious work? Should you-write the national of-us
'ɣlosa. apo tin a'pofa'si sas, θa fa'ni an 'iste i 'andres i pe'ðja.]
language. From the decision of-you, will it-appear if you-are either men or children.

'Sometimes I have the urge to shout out loud for everyone to hear – do not, do not, do not, do not ruin the language! You are destroying the ancient and the modern tongue alike. Do you want a language to resemble the ancient one in reality, to be the same language? Take the language of the people. Do you want a foreign language? Take *katharévousa*; it will show everyone that the ancient tongue has been truly lost. Do you want to play games? Do you want some fun, a joke, a good laugh? Then write *katharévousa*. Do you want science, hard graft and learning? Do you want to take on some serious work? Then write our national language. Your decision will show whether you are men or children.'

Since this piece contains no examples of residual Constantinopolitanisms or radical innovations, a standard Modern Greek version would not look very different apart from some minor orthographical changes and the use of more traditional forms of certain adverbs (i.e. κάποτε ['kapote], τότε ['tote], τωόντι [to'ondi]).

To show how far written practice had become polarized in the latter part of the 19th century, it will be useful at this point to compare the contemporary *katharévousa*. The extract in (10) is taken from the introduction to K. Rangavís' *Julian the Transgressor*, a 'dramatic poem' published in 1877:

(10) Επείσθημεν ότι, της δοτικής ήδη γενικώς παραδεκτής γενομένης, ακολουθήσει αυτήν ο μέλλων, ο νυν παρά τοις κρείττοσιν εν χρήσει, τούτον το απαρέμφατον, το πολλαχού ανατέλλον, και τα αρνητικά μόρια, ότι δ' αφ' ετέρου ουδέποτε αναβιώσουσιν η ευκτική μετά του αποφωλίου αν, και ο παρακείμενος, πλην αυτού της μετοχής, και υπερσυντελικός ... Το εισαγαγείν πρώτον ήδη εν τη νέᾳ ελληνική ποιήσει το απαρέμφατον, και τόσα έτερα νεωτερίσαι, εστί τόλμημα, και τόλμημα μέγα, αλλ' εις το κοινόν ανατίθεμεν την κρίσιν εάν όλως επετύχομεν. (Rangavís (1877: 28ff))

[e'pisθimen oti, tiz ðoti'cis 'iði jeni'kos paraðek'tis
We-have been-persuaded that, the dative already generally accepted
jeno'menis, akolu'θisi aftin o 'melon, o ce nin para tis 'kritosin en
having-become, will-follow it the future, the even now among the better in
'xrisi, 'tuton to apa'remfaton, to pola'xu ana'telon, ce ta arniti'ka
use, this (will follow) the infinitive, the in-many-places rising-up, and the negative
'moria, oti ð af e'teru u'ðepote anavi'osusin i efkti'ci meta tu
particles, that but from other(-hand) never will-revive the optative with the
apofo'liu an, ce o para'cimenos, plin aftu tis meto'çis, ce ipersindeli'kos ...
empty 'an', and the perfect, except of-it the participle, and pluperfect ...
to isaɣa'jin 'proton 'iði en di nea ellini'ci 'piisi to apa'remfaton, ce
The introduction (of) first now in the modern Greek poetry the infinitive, and
'tosa 'etera neote'rise, esti 'tolmima, ce 'tolmima 'meɣa, al is to
so-many other-things to-have-innovated, is bold-act, and bold-act big, but to the
ci'non ana'tiθemen tiŋ 'grisin e'an 'olos epe'tixomen.]
public we-assign the judgement if altogether we-have-succeeded.

'We are convinced, now that the dative has become generally accepted, that the future, which is already in use among the better writers, will follow it, and that the infinitive, on the increase in many quarters, will follow this in turn, together with the negative particles, but that the optative on the other hand, with its meaningless (*particle*) *an*, will never be revived, and that the same applies to the perfect, apart from its participle, and the pluperfect ... The introduction now for the first time in modern Greek poetry of the infinitive alongside so many other innovations is a bold stroke, and a bold stroke of some magnitude, but we leave it to the public to decide whether we have been altogether successful.'

Apart from the technical terminology, someone trained in classical Greek would probably find this passage easier to read than the piece by Psycháris. The contrast could hardly be sharper, and one might conjecture that Koraís must by then have been turning in his grave. The sentiments expressed speak for themselves; all contact with the real world seems to have been lost. The author, of course, places himself among 'the best writers' by his own use of the dative (e.g. κρείττοσιν ['kritosin], which also revives an obsolete comparative), the monolectic classical future (e.g. ακολουθήσει [akolu'θisi], unfortunately homophonous with the aorist subjunctive, a major reason for its demise), and the full array of infinitives (e.g. εισαγαγείν [isaɣa'jin], an ancient 'strong' aorist), together with a host of other long-departed forms and structures, among which the participial genitive absolute (της δοτικής ... γενομένης [tiz ðoti'cis ... jeno'menis]) and the revival of the ancient class of athematic verbs in -μι [-mi] (e.g. 'classical' ανα-τίθε-μεν [ana'tiθemen]) stand out.

It should be emphasized, however, that while the literary vanguard was marching steadily backwards into the ancient world, less extreme versions of *katharévousa* continued to be taught in schools and to be used for more practical purposes. None the less, the general drift of the age had its impact even here, with the result that what was taught in school became increasingly remote from what was spoken at home, and so received little reinforcement from the majority of parents, themselves often poorly educated, who had no real understanding of, or interest in, this increasingly alien

written language. What was natural to the old elite, or even to the growing middle class, was much harder to sell to the population as a whole.

A good example of the official response to the collective apathy of the mass of schoolchildren is provided by the exhortations of an early 20th-century primer (written, it must be admitted, in a language that has more in common with the original proposals of Koraís than with the ambitions of Rangavís):

(11) Δεν σε βλέπω να πηγαίνης εις το σχολείον με εκείνην την αποφασιστικήν θέλησιν και το ακτινοβολούν πρόσωπον, τα οποία επεθύμουν ... Πάντες μανθάνουσι σήμερον γράμματα ... Συλλογίσου τα άπειρα παιδία, τα οποία την αυτήν ώραν εις πάντα τα μέρη του κόσμου πηγαίνουσιν εις το σχολείον ... Σκέφθητι, εάν έπαυεν η κίνησις, εις ποίαν βαρβαρότητα ήθελε πέσει η ανθρωπότης. (Triandafyllídis (1938: 404))

[ðen se 'vlepo a'komi na pi'jenis is to sxo'lion me e'cinin tin apofasisti'cin
Not you I-see still that you-go to the school with that the determined
'θelisin ce to aktinovo'lun 'prosopon, ta o'pia epe'θimun ... 'pandes
intent and the shining face, the which I-desired ... All
man'θanusi 'simeron 'ɣramata ... silo'jisu ta 'apira pe'ðia, ta o'pia
learn today letters ... Think-of the countless children, the who
tin af'tin 'oran is 'panda ta 'meri tu 'kozmu pi'jenusin is to
the same hour in all the parts of-the world go to the
sxo'lion ... 'scefθiti, e'an 'epaven i 'cinisis, is 'pian varva'rotita
school ... Reflect, if stopped the movement, into what barbarism
'iθele 'pesi i anθro'potis.]
would fall(inf) the mankind.

'I no longer see you going to school with the determined resolve and shining face that I wished for … Everyone learns to read and write these days … Think of the countless children who are going to school all over the world at this very time … Just think of the barbarism mankind would descend into if this movement were to stop.'

17.5 The Progress of Demoticism

In the circumstances, one can only marvel at even the limited success that the teaching of *katharévousa* managed to achieve, and admire the fortitude and determination of those who actually learned to use it. In practice, of course, the efforts of many remained abysmal. Such written styles could not be reconciled with the developing norms of the living language, and Psycháris' challenge seemed to many, especially in literary and educational circles, to be the harbinger of an inevitable shift in favour of demotic.

Interestingly, however, it was not the exclusiveness and elitism of the official language programme which initially provoked ideological opposition. Indeed, for the first offspring of peasant families to receive an education, *katharévousa* was a hard-won badge of upward mobility, while the earliest advocates of demoticism, long before it became identified with the causes of the political left (see 17.6 below), came from backgrounds just as privileged as those of their rivals, and objected to *katharévousa* principally on the grounds of its pretentiousness and vulgarity (Mackridge 1990:

41). Their primary objective was not to enfranchise the mass of the people through linguistic reform but to appropriate the authority to construct a modern language to express a modern identity based on a vision of Greece as a progressive, liberal, European nation, speaking and writing the 'natural' language that 'expressed its soul' (Tzióvas 1985: 272–5).

But change did not set in overnight, and Psycháris' powerful advocacy of demotic met with equally vociferous opposition. One of the more reasoned responses came from Yeóryios Chatzidákis (1848–1941), professor of linguistics at the university of Athens. Chatzidákis is widely regarded as the founder of the scientific study of the history of modern Greek, a reputation which rests on his demonstration that the varying proportion of old to new forms in the vernacular literature of the middle ages did not provide a straightforward basis for tracing the diachronic development of spoken Greek, as Psycháris had maintained, but actually represented a blend of spoken and traditional written Greek that depended less on the date of composition than the genre of the piece, the educational level of its author and the target audience. Applying what he saw as the dispassionate perspective of the linguist, Chatzidákis insisted that, since different forms of the Greek language had traditionally been felt to be appropriate for speaking and for writing, the demoticists' efforts to minimize this well-established difference were fundamentally misguided. For him *katharévousa* represented the contemporary manifestation of the written tradition. If in later times the written language came increasingly to resemble the spoken, that too would be a historical fact which he would accept, but in the meantime, it was not for expatriates like Psycháris to meddle with reality (Chatzidákis (1901: 296)).

The central problem, of course, was that no form of Greek existed to fulfil all the official, practical and literary functions of a written language in a modern state, but all theorists behaved as if this were a desirable objective. Ideally, the richness and diversity of the Greek tradition should have led to the emergence of an array of written registers, each stylistically adapted to its purpose, but all bound together by the developing spoken standard and a written norm linked to it. This, by and large, is what finally happened, but the increasingly artificial terms of the academic debate in the late 19th century demanded exclusive choices and internal consistency, attributes as unattainable as they were undesirable.

In the short term, therefore, as the ideology of archaism became more and more of a barrier for many writers and poets, Psycháris' support for demotic proved very timely. Already widely accepted as the natural language of poetry (despite the often lacklustre efforts of the Old Athenian School), demotic now came to be adopted even in Athenian literary circles by a new generation of poets whose leading figure was the prolific Kostís Palamás (1859–1943). In this same period serious research at last began into the popular literature of the middle ages and the tradition of Greek folk song, the latter associated especially with the name of Nikólaos Polítis (1852–1921), and these developments contributed further to the growth of an alternative, but equally patriotic and nationalistic, conception of the roots of the modern Greek nation. By the 1890s, even writers of prose fiction were turning their backs on the archaizing ideal and using demotic, just as the rhetorical posturing of the archaizing movement was approaching its climax. For the first time the establishment began to feel threatened by the progress of demoticism.

The obvious reason for the drift away from traditional written styles was that writers could not ignore the fundamental principle that communication is more important than the achievement of a 'perfect' (i.e. archaic) outward form. The idea that use of the ancient language would somehow bring about a rebirth of classical civilization was therefore rejected very early by the only groups who could even in principle have attempted to deliver such unrealistic cultural objectives, and in reality Psycháris' writing served to controversialize an issue that was already quietly being addressed in practice. It is significant that the best of the older writers had not been limited by the ideology of archaism, and often exploited the full range of Greek in their search for stylistic variety. Beaton (1994: 337–9) shows how Aléxandros Papadiamándis (1851–1911), for example, was able to insert set-piece *ekphráseis*, reminiscent of their counterparts in the Greek novels of antiquity and composed in a lushly rhetorical style replete with ancient syntax and vocabulary, into narratives written in a spare and polished *katharévousa*, while at the same time enlivening the whole through the use of natural dialogue reflecting spoken norms or even, when appropriate, local dialect. The result is artistically organic and satisfying, and reveals what could be made of the resources available in the late 19th century by a master craftsman.

For a time, then, the actual practice of Greek writers reveals the co-existence of a range of styles determined as much by precedent and individual choice as by the tenets of any prescriptive programme. True diglossia in its modern sense (referring not so much to the age-old split between spoken and written Greek as to two rival written varieties used for different purposes in the same community) began only with the dramatically polarizing effects of the advent of demoticism as a coherent movement, and the increasingly frantic and violent reactions of the traditionalists to its growing success. Thereafter, writers found themselves in a cultural and political context which offered them a near-exclusive choice between competing languages. The result in the first half of the 20th century was a kind of linguistic schizophrenia among authors who combined their literary activity in demotic with a professional career (e.g. Palamás, and the Nobel laureate Yórgos Seféris (real name Seferiádis, 1900–71)).

17.6 The 20th Century: Crisis and Resolution

In 1901 the businessman Aléxandros Pállis published in the Athens newspaper *Akrópolis* the first instalments of his translation of the Gospels into demotic. The capital's university was a major institutional backer of linguistic archaism and the academic community was outraged by this perceived assault on the sanctity of the divine text and the position of the Orthodox church. Several days of violent protest by students and professors followed, including attacks on newspaper offices. Eventually, on the night of 8 November, the police opened fire in an effort to restore order and a number of demonstrators were killed.

Similar troubles attended the production of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in demotic at the Iródio (or theatre of Iródis Attikós (Herodes Atticus)) in 1903, and advocates of demotic now began to be accused not only of atheism but also of treason; translations of ancient masterpieces, it was alleged, drove a wedge between ancient and modern Greek culture (though it is hard to understand the charge in so far as an extremely

difficult classical text had been rendered accessible to a mass audience for the first time), thereby achieving in the field of language what the Bulgarians at that time were trying to accomplish on the ground in Macedonia, namely 'the separation of Greece from its national heritage'. The campaign of denigration even descended to the level of name-calling, with demoticists often referred to as *malliarí* ('hairies') because of their supposedly bohemian appearance and allegedly subversive political views as supporters of a Slavic plot, backed by Russia, to divide the Greeks and render them easy prey to Bulgarian territorial ambition. Such charges gained ground rapidly with the later success of the Bolshevik revolution, which served further to identify the cause of demoticism in its opponents' eyes with treachery and the ambitions of the far left.

All of this ignored the fact that demoticism too had traditionally identified nation and language (cf. Psycháris' dictum 'language and country are the same' (1905: 23)). Its adherents could also point to the hugely unsuccessful attempts then being made to teach *katharévousa* and even Ancient Greek to the slavophone children of Macedonia who, having little or no competence in spoken Greek, had started to decamp to rival Bulgarian schools. The purists, it seems, would rather sacrifice the opportunity to make progress in the real world than abandon their view that the survival of the Greek state somehow depended on the preservation of its archaizing written language.

The increasing antagonism provided the background to the appearance of the periodical *Noumás* (first published in 1903), which was dedicated to the promotion of demotic and soon became the leading literary journal of its era. Shortly after, the National Language Society was founded (1905), which demanded the immediate introduction of demotic into the primary school curriculum in Greece and Macedonia (the only level of schooling then compulsory), and had as its ultimate objective the institution of the living language as the official written language of the nation.

It was in the pages of *Noumás* that cautious reformers, under the leadership of Palamás, first began to distance themselves from the over-schematic proposals of Psycháris and his followers, and to seek to defend themselves against charges of 'hairy-ism' (with all that that entailed). *Noumás* was also the locus of the debate which followed the appearance of G. Sklirós' book *Our Social Question* (1907), in which it was explicitly argued for the first time that language reform and social reform should go hand in hand, and that the demoticist movement should be appealing directly to the people rather than engaging in futile debate with the establishment.

The overt linking of demoticism with socialism by one of its own supporters shifted the ground on which the language question had hitherto been debated. Despite the sometimes extreme rhetoric and the fundamental disagreement about means, both purists and demoticists had previously shared the same objective of developing a national language for a resurgent Greece. Now the demotic camp began to split into those who saw the cause as part of a wider political programme of social reform on the one hand, and more traditional nationalists on the other. As time went on, the latter took an increasingly narrow view of the language question, and eventually came to identify it with establishing control over the content of the primary school curriculum.

As a reflection of the practical progress of demoticism, the first public secondary school for girls was founded in 1908 in the town of Vólos by Aléxandros Delmoúzos, who opted for demotic as the sole medium of instruction. The bishop of Vólos, raising

the spectre of the trial of Socrates in ancient Athens, immediately accused him of corrupting the children of the town, and in 1911 he was obliged to close his school and defend himself in court (where, incidentally, the bishop in his accusation equated hairyism, anarchism, socialism, atheism and freemasonry: see Dimarás (1974: 106) and Mackridge (1990: 33)). Happily, Delmoúzos was acquitted, but the fact that this preposterous trial took place at all was an ominous sign of the growing ferocity of establishment reaction.

Despite this initial setback, a plan to open an 'experimental school' in Athens led to the foundation of the Educational Society in 1910, with Delmoúzos as a leading member. The Society's central objective, as the organ of liberal demoticism, was the reform of primary education, but it sought to distance itself from Psycháris by lobbying for a 'practical' demotic which made concessions to normal educated usage as influenced by *katharévousa*. Furthermore, following the recent split in the demotic camp, the Society was careful in its publications to avoid overt association with left-wing politics, despite the presence of a number of leading socialists among the membership. Nevertheless, the links, once introduced, proved hard to shake off, and conservative opponents were not slow to exploit the situation to their advantage.

Meanwhile, in the wake of political demands from the military backed up by the threat of intervention, the so-called bourgeois revolution of 1909 had brought Venizélos to power for the first time and led to the framing of a new constitution in 1911. This now made explicit mention of an 'official language':

(12) Επίσημος γλώσσα του Κράτους είναι εκείνη, εις την οποίαν συντάσσονται το πολίτευμα και της ελληνικής νομοθεσίας τα κείμενα· πάσα προς παραφθοράν ταύτης επέμβασις απαγορεύεται. (Article 107; Dimarás (1974: II. 307))

[e'pisimos 'ɣlosa tu 'kratus ine e'cini, is tin o'pian sin'dasonde to
Official language of-the State is that, in the which are-drawn-up the
po'litevma ce tis elini'cis nomoθe'sias ta 'cimena; 'pasa pros
system-of-government and of-the Greek legislation the texts; all towards
parafθo'ran taftis ep'emvasis apaɣo'revete.]
corruption of-this interference is-forbidden.

'The official language of the State is that in which the polity and the statutes of Greek legislation are drawn up; any intervention directed towards the corruption of this language is forbidden.'

The language in which the constitution was written was, of course, *katharévousa*, and by implication this was the language referred to in Article 107. The institutionalization of diglossia represented a solid victory for the forces of reaction since, despite Venizélos' efforts to take credit for the 'sophistic' language which allegedly opened the way for demotic to become the official language as soon as it was first used in legislation, an amplified version of Article 107 remained in force as late as the Colonels' constitution of 1968, and no attempt was made by anyone to draft legislation in demotic until 1977.

Nevertheless, the attitude of the Venizélos government in practice was rather more liberal than Article 107 would suggest. Members of the Educational Society were

invited to write textbooks in demotic for use in primary schools, thus giving all children a grounding in their native language before having to deal with *katharévousa*. At the same time leading members of the Society were appointed to key posts; Dimítris Glínos became general secretary of the Ministry of Education, and Aléxandros Delmoúzos and Manólis Triandafyllídis, later professor of linguistics at the University of Thessaloníki and author of the 'standard' grammar of demotic (yet to be fully superseded), became chief supervisors of primary education, with the result that demotic finally became the language of instruction in the first four grades (ages 7–12).

Despite heated opposition not only from supporters of *katharévousa* but also from Psycháris himself, who denounced the compromises that had secured this limited success, the Educational Society's achievement in securing a place for demotic in the curriculum was never to be challenged seriously, despite periodic moves to reduce or increase its presence, until it finally superseded *katharévousa* as the official language in 1976. Having been introduced under Venizélos, however, it was inevitable that the Society's reforms should come under pressure when he was voted out of power in 1920 by an electorate growing increasingly pessimistic about the country's involvement in Asia Minor. And when, in the chaotic aftermath of the eventual disaster of 1922, a fascist dictatorship under the leadership of General Pángalos was established (1925–6), and a national conference of religious and other conservative pressure groups called for action against the corrupters of 'religion, language, family, property, morals, national consciousness and the fatherland' (Dimarás (1974: 143–4); Mackridge (1990: 34)), it was all too clear who was going to be blamed for the nation's misfortune.

Triandafyllídis and Delmoúzos were therefore hard pressed to show that these groups were not to be identified in principle or in practice, and their difficulties were greatly exacerbated by Glínos' overt adoption of Marxism and subsequent takeover of the Educational Society, and by the formal adoption of demotic by the Communist Party of Greece in 1927. Although it might seem natural for the party of the people to address its constituency in the popular language, demoticism in the first quarter of the 20th century was regarded on the left as a bourgeois/liberal movement. Accordingly, between its foundation in 1918 (as the Socialist Labour Party) and the reform of 1927, the Communist Party followed the general practice of using *katharévousa* as the only serious language available for political discourse.

The shift at this time was an almost inevitable response to the intensified politicization of the language issue by the right, though one can also discern here the growing importance of the socialist wing of the demotic movement, reflected in Glínos' conversion to the cause. In an age when mass education was becoming a reality, and writing was needed to meet a vast array of different needs as the country made its transition from a predominantly oral to a literate culture, the written styles of the early 20th century were just too remote from ordinary speech to be learned effectively by the majority. Yet knowledge of *katharévousa* remained indispensable to economic advancement, and it was the social divisiveness of diglossia which lay at the heart of the new attitude to the language question on the part of the left at this time.

Henceforth, until the final abolition of the official status of *katharévousa* in 1976, the written use of demotic was interpreted as a signal of left-wing sympathies, while the use of traditional styles was seen as a mark of conservatism, and even of support

for the hard right. This unfortunate development was accelerated after the appointment of Triandafyllídis and Delmoúzos to chairs at the University of Thessaloníki (opened in 1926, with demotic used by many as the medium of instruction), when the liberal wing of the Educational Society, apparently believing its objectives to have been achieved, stopped campaigning. In the wake of the more ambitious political objectives of its new left-wing leadership the Society itself was wound up in 1929 and *Noumás* ceased publication two years later.

An indication of the growing strength of the links between demoticism and the left is provided by the efforts of the populist Metaxás dictatorship to break them, as reflected in the commissioning of Triandafyllídis, who was equally anxious for quite different reasons to distance demotic from communism, to produce a 'state' grammar of demotic as part of a programme of educational reform designed to 'instil discipline', including linguistic discipline, into the Greek people. It seemed logical that this could best be achieved through the use of spoken Greek, which was at last to be invested with the status of a 'real' language through the publication of its own properly codified and officially backed rule book. Unfortunately the work was not completed until 1941, when the dictator was dead and the Greek population was otherwise preoccupied with the business of survival under the harsh conditions of German occupation.

It should be noted, however, that this work too was as much a normalization as a description of usage, involving the reduction of morphological variety (πολυτυπία [politi'pia]) and the minimization of the learned features which had infiltrated educated speech. Where it appealed to precedent, it was to the usage of the folk songs (themselves dialectally homogenized in standard editions such as that of Polítis) and earlier demotic literature which preserved an already rustic-seeming 'purity' that was fast becoming a thing of the past in the speech of ordinary urban Greeks. Nevertheless, as the work of the finest Greek linguist of his generation, it represents a landmark achievement which served a vital purpose in promoting the demoticist cause.

In the short term, however, the traditionalists of the University of Athens seized their opportunity to reassert their traditional authority in matters of language. In the spring of 1942, when large numbers of Athenians were dying daily of starvation, Professor Ioánnis Kakridís was suspended from his duties for republishing in demotic (and employing a simplified system of accentuation) a lecture which he had originally delivered in Thessaloníki in 1936. This apparently bizarre and irrelevant move becomes a little more comprehensible when one recalls that attempts to undermine the pre-eminence of *katharévousa* had always been seen in establishment circles as attempts to undermine the will to achieve and sustain national sovereignty. The use of demotic under the occupation was therefore interpreted as treachery by people who now linked demoticism not only with the internationalism of the left but also with fascist dictatorship (cf. Metaxás' reforms) and Nazi oppression.

Even though both resistance organizations, the liberal EDES and the communist EAM/ELAS, declared their support for demotic (with EAM announcing in 1944 that demotic was already in use in the areas under its control), it was therefore almost inevitable that the civil war should usher in a reversal into the entrenched positions of the previous generation. But adherence to these positions was fast becoming a largely ideological issue, with the old dichotomy looking increasingly anachronistic in the context of the linguistic situation that had begun to emerge in the pre-war

years and now continued to develop in the period of post-war reconstruction and economic revival.

Although for a time there was little academic interest in redefining what was meant by demotic and *katharévousa*, the debate eventually resumed in earnest. In 1963 the Liberal prime minister Yeóryios Papandréou declared a policy of equal rights for the two written varieties in the education system, while retaining official status for *katharévousa* as the language of the state. This reform led at last to the introduction of an abridged version of Triandafyllídis' grammar into schools. But since this work failed to take into account the cumulative long-term impact of *katharévousa* on the ordinary speech and writing of the educated classes, it inevitably prompted a fresh reaction, this time from the educationalist A.G. Tsopanákis, who proposed a 'compromise' between Triandafyllídis' demotic and actual educated usage (yet another framework based neither on practice nor on precedent).

But in the context of this revived debate, the view at last began to be propounded that the language question was actually resolving itself (cf. L. Polítis (1966), Vláchos (1967), and the grammar of 'Common Modern Greek' by Babiniótis and Kóndos (1967)); all that was required, it was suggested, was enough time for the developing standardization already manifest in the speech of the educated classes to come to maturity in its own natural way. This solution had in fact already been quietly accepted by a number of literary figures in the inter-war years, whose written practice had begun again to break down the supposed boundaries set up by the officially sanctioned diglossia. The artificial prescriptions of Psycháris had been quickly abandoned even by enthusiastic demoticists like Palamás and the prose writers Andréas Karkavítsas (1866–1921) and Grigórios Xenópoulos (1867–1951), who felt the need to acknowledge existing usage and literary precedent. By the 1930s, major writers of poetry and fiction had moved away from rural realism and country idioms (favoured by earlier demoticists in their pursuit of the 'honest simplicity' that 'urban artifice' was felt to have destroyed) in favour of a style which better reflected the evolving urban standard, with elements taken from educated spoken usage and even non-demotic literature. At the extreme, the deliberately anarchic language mix of the Surrealists (Andréas Embiríkos (1901–75) and Níkos Engonópoulos (1910–85)) represented an attempt to break down all the barriers and retrieve the full range of Greek for literary purposes. Thus the 'pure' demotic de/prescribed in Triandafyllídis' grammar and later in Tzártzanos' complementary *Syntax* (1946, 1963) already had a rather dated feel by the time these works appeared (though Triandafyllídis himself was well aware that normal usage was often distinct from the literary practice on which his description was primarily based, cf. Triandafyllídis (1938: 155–8, 607)).

Unfortunately, official recognition of the way things had been developing both before and after the war was delayed for a decade by the military dictatorship of 1967–74. In this unpleasant interlude even the language of primary school textbooks was given a *katharévousa* gloss, and a pamphlet entitled *National Language*, published in 1973 by the Armed Forces Headquarters, revived all the old arguments against demotic, linking it with communism, and reasserting the view that it was a debased and anarchic version of the true national language which alone enjoyed the backing of ancient Greek precedent. The poverty of the argument was as apparent as the bankruptcy of the regime, and after its fall in 1974 Karamanlís' conservative government

began to use demotic from the start. At the same time, the political dimension of the language question was finally defused by the legalization of the Communist Party, while the education act of 1976 determined that the language of instruction in all classes should be 'Modern Greek', the latter being defined as 'the Demotic language shaped by the Greek people and classic national writers as a Panhellenic instrument of expression, codified, without local peculiarities and extremes' (cited in Landsman (1989: 171), Beaton (1994: 326)). Interestingly, however, legal texts, including this very act, continued to be formulated in *katharévousa* until 1985, and it was only in 1986 that a 'demotic' translation of the Constitution was ratified, and even then the original was deemed to retain precedence for purposes of interpretation (Mackridge (1990: 38)).

The trends of the post-war period were epitomized in Kóstas Tachtsís' comic novel *The Third Wedding* (1962), in which the speech of the principal characters, two middle-class women, is heavily larded with the clichés and jargon of written officialdom in overt recognition of the extent to which these had passed into everyday spoken usage (Beaton (1994: 346–7)). The practice of such writers overtly reflected the process of compromise that was taking place willy-nilly in the real world in sharp contrast with the binary opposition of the formal language debate. The acceptance of 'Demotic' as the language of education and official business was in reality not much more than a belated acceptance of the linguistic status quo, but the form of language involved was something rather different from Psycháris' concept of demotic and even from the language of Triandafyllídis' official grammar.

Contemporary writers now exploit the potential of the language quite widely, with styles ranging from a traditional rural demotic (e.g. in Chrónis Míssios' evocations of the oral tradition (1985)) to something not far removed from late 19th-century *katharévousa* (e.g. in Embiríkos' posthumous *The Great Eastern* (1990–2)). But the language spoken by the averagely well-educated population of the major cities is now accepted as standard, and versions of this are employed for virtually all official and practical purposes. It is, of course, a compromise, the product in part of natural developments in a social and educational context where elements of *katharévousa* long found a natural place in both speech and writing, in part of the conscious efforts of creative writers to circumvent the inhibiting constraints of official diglossia (see Mackridge (1990, 2009), Beaton (1994)).

17.7 Standard Modern Greek

The term 'standard Modern Greek' (SMG) has now replaced the earlier 'common Modern Greek' as the name of this variety (see Mackridge (1985) for a clear and comprehensive description). Unlike 'pure' demotic, SMG readily allows the use of features previously thought of as 'learned'. In nominal morphology, for example, we may note:

(13) (a) The reappearance of 2nd-declension feminines in -ος [-os]: e.g. η οδ-ός [i oðos] 'the street/road' (a subclass previously replaced in demotic by alternative words or eliminated by reassignment to different

declensions, cf. especially island names like η Σάμο [i 'samo] 'Samos', genitive της Σάμο-ς [tis 'samos] etc.).

(b) The restoration of the ancient paradigm of 3rd-declension s-stem and u-stem adjectives in -ής ['is] and -ύς [-'is] (adapted in demotic to more regular 1st/2nd-declension paradigms); e.g. συνεχής [sine'çis] 'continuous', ευρύς [e'vris] 'broad'.

(c) The restoration of the gen sg and plural paradigm of i-stem nouns, e.g. δυνάμ-εως/-εις/-εων [ði'nameos/-is/-eon] 'power(s)'.

(d) The reintroduction of 3rd-declension neuters in -ον/gen -οντος [-on/-ondos], -εν/gen -εντος [-en/-endos], and -ός/-ότος (or -ώς/-ώτος) [-'os/-'otos] from ancient participles: e.g. παρόν [pa'ron] 'present (time)', προϊόν [proi'on] 'product', ενδιαφέρον [enðia'feron] 'interest', φωνήεν [fo'nien] 'vowel', γεγονός [jeɣo'nos] 'fact', καθεστώς [kaθe'stos] 'regime, status quo'.

(e) The introduction of 3rd-declension neuters in -αν/-αντος [-an/-andos]: e.g. σύμπαν ['simban] 'universe'.

(f) The full revival of the genitive plural in contrast to its previously more marginal status in earlier demotic (see, for example, the observations in Thumb (1912: 31, 33).

In the verb system, the following should be mentioned:

(14) (a) The reintroduction of many contract verbs of the -έω [-'eo] type, together with large parts of their ancient paradigm (the majority of the survivors in demotic having merged with the -άω [-'ao] type); e.g. θεωρώ [θeo'ro]/θεωρούμαι [θeo'rume] 'I consider/I am supposed'.

(b) The use of learned verbs of the -άω [-'ao] type, again with partial restoration of the ancient paradigm; e.g διασπώ [ðia'spo] 'I split', εξαρτώμαι [eksar'tome] 'I depend'.

(c) The use of the middle/passive of certain verbs belonging to the ancient athematic paradigm; e.g. τίθεμαι ['tiθemai] 'I am put' and its compounds, or compounds of ίσταμαι ['istame] like συνίσταμαι [sin'istame] 'I consist (in/of)'.

(d) The use in compound verbs of more ancient stem forms than in the corresponding simple verbs: e.g. μιλώ [mi'lo] 'I talk' (2sg μιλάς [mi'las]), beside συν-ομιλώ [sinomi'lo] 'discuss' (2sg συνομιλείς [sinomi'lis]); διώχνω [ðj'oxno] 'kick out', beside επι-διώκω [epiði'oko] 'aim to get' etc.

(e) The reintroduction of such verbs from the learned tradition entails the reappearance of much learned morphology: e.g. the use of aorist -ευσα [-efsa] rather than -εψα [-epsa], as in συσσώρευσα [si'sorefsa] 'I accumulated'; internal augments, as in aorist εισ-έ-πραξα [i'sepraksa] from εισπράττω [is'prato] 'I collect, levy'; aorist passives in -θην/-θης/-θη [-θin/-θis/-θi] in place of -θηκα [-θika] etc., as in συν-ε-λήφ-θην [sine'lifθin] 'I was arrested' from συλλαμβάνω [silam'vano]; reduplicated perfect passive participles, as in εκ-τε-ταμένος [ekteta'menos] 'extended', from εκτείνω [ek'tino], and so on.

(f) The use of inflected present active (-ων/-ουσα/-ον [-on/-usa/-on]) and passive participles (-όμενος/-η/-ον [-'omenos/-i/-on]), and of aorist passive participles (-θεις [-θis]/-θεισα [-θisa]/-θεν [-θen]), mainly in adjectival functions: e.g. ο προκύπτων τόκος [o pro'cipton 'tokos] 'the resulting interest', οι εργαζόμενες γυναίκες [i erɣa'zomenes ji'neces] 'working women', οι πληγείσες περιοχές [i pl'ijises perio'çes] 'the devastated regions', απολεσθέντα [apoles'θenda] 'lost property'.

(g) Use of certain adverbs in -ως [-os] alongside the demotic type in -α [-a], e.g. ευ-/δυσ-τυχώς [ef-/ðis-ti'xos] 'fortunately/unfortunately', especially useful in the case of potential homonyms, e.g. ακριβώς [akri'vos] 'exactly' (from ακριβής [akri'vis]), beside ακριβά [akri'va] 'expensively' (from ακριβός [akri'vos]).

There is also a large number of phrases, often involving genitive absolutes, datives and ancient prepositions, that express an idea neatly and have no 'true' demotic equivalent: e.g. θεού θέλοντος [θe'u 'θelondos] 'God willing'; προκειμένου (να/για) [proci'menou [na/ja]] 'if it's a question of'; συμπεριλαμβανομένου [simberilamvano'menu] (+ gen noun) 'including X'; τοις εκατόν [tis eka'ton] 'per cent'; υπόψη [i'popsi] 'in mind/view, for the attention of'; κατευθείαν [katef'θian] 'straight (on)'; εν αντιθέσει προς [enandi'θesi pros] 'as opposed to'; and so on. A few may well represent fossilized survivals in the spoken tradition, but the great majority are clearly taken from *katharévousa.*

Such widespread borrowing from the learned language has naturally introduced elements of learned phonology into SMG, and many of the phonotactic constraints of traditional demotic no longer apply systematically, producing some uncertainty in the pronunciation of particular words (the *katharévousa* rules, it should be noted, are also often alien even to Ancient Greek, since a modern pronunciation is used for the ancient written forms).[2] All the following words, quite regular in SMG, violate demotic rules in one way or another: ποιητής [pii'tis] 'poet'; εκδρομή [ekðro'mi] 'excursion'; στοιχείο [sti'çio] 'element'; έκταση ['ektasi] 'extension'; εχθρός [ex'θros] 'enemy'; παύση ['pafsi] 'cessation'; συμφωνώ [simfo'no] 'I agree'; ρεύμα ['revma] 'current'. Cf. 11.2 and 11.6, and see Mackridge (1985: 28–31)).

Just before the Second World War, the great French linguist André Mirambel analysed the language situation then obtaining in Greece (Mirambel (1937), cf. Browning (1983: 111ff)). Although at that time there was in theory a state of diglossia, he naturally found that actual practice was more subtly differentiated. At one extreme of the spectrum stood *katharévousa*, and at the other, the more or less artificial standardizations of demotic ('hairy' language) advocated by hard-core ideologists. Between these poles stood:

(15) (a) The normal language of scientific discourse, political debate and serious news reporting, the so-called 'mixed' variety (μικτή [mi'kti]), which retained much of the basic structure of *katharévousa* but borrowed key modern terms from demotic in unmodified form and avoided the extreme archaism, formulaic phraseology and more complex grammatical structures of pure *katharévousa.*

(b) The everyday language of the urban middle class (καθομιλουμένη [kaθomilu'meni] 'colloquial (language)'), used also for journalism and much non-fictional writing; it was based on demotic structures supplemented with elements from the learned language, and, as the more or less natural product of institutionalized diglossia, retained popular and learned forms side by side according to context (e.g. συκώτι [si'koti] = 'liver' in a recipe, but ήπαρ ['ipar] = 'liver' in a medical context etc.).

(c) The language of the mass of the population (δημοτική [ðimoti'ci]), still little influenced by *katharévousa* and differentiated by region; this was also, with some adaptation, the normal language of creative literature, though many authors were already moving towards (b) and beyond.

Today's SMG in essence represents a continuation of (15b), with the spoken varieties of (15c) becoming increasingly assimilated to it. In its written form, it is the natural product of the extension of (15b) into areas previously dominated by (15a) and *katharévousa* proper, and the resulting incorporation of elements from those sources has had its impact on speech as well (Koraís would be pleased, even though the results are fairly random). A more or less homogeneous demotic, based on forms of the traditional spoken language unaffected by *katharévousa*, has therefore become more of an ideal construct than ever, and it survives today chiefly as the written language of creative writers with a traditional cast of mind. As such, it may perhaps best be seen as a specialized register of SMG.

By contrast, *katharévousa* as a distinct written variety is now virtually extinct, though until very recently it retained a toe-hold in the most conservative quarters, particularly the law, the church and the armed forces (e.g. 'demotic' was sanctioned as the language of the courts and legal documents only in 1985, and resistance is still in evidence among the older generation of lawyers). A passive ability to read it is still widespread among those exposed to it at school, but there is a real barrier between younger readers and worthwhile older texts (e.g. Papadiamándis' work). Its spirit, none the less, survives in the continued calquing of words and expressions for new inventions and ideas, while those who know enough of its stylistic traits can still exploit its resources to deflate pomposity or silence a bore (though use of *katharévousa* otherwise is likely to be seen as evidence that the speaker is himself irredeemably pompous and boring). More generally, for as long as there are people with the necessary background, it remains a source of stylistic variation within SMG.

This is not to say, however, that debate about the state of the language is over, or that all the problems created by diglossia have yet been fully overcome. Generations of training are not forgotten overnight, and the clichéd corpulence of *katharévousa*, with its in-built emphasis on form at the expense of content, often resurfaces in official forms of SMG. There are, furthermore, those who still lament the absence of a fully stable and standardized written form of Greek, and criticize writers for 'demoticizing' learned forms or creating 'neo-purist' varieties by using elements alien to the spirit of demotic (see, for example, Kriarás (1987)); the old impatience for immediate, definitive and consistent solutions lives on, hand in hand with a reluctance to accept any specific solution that presents itself. Most recently there has been renewed concern about the detrimental effects of indeclinable foreign loans (chiefly now from English), and a revival of the debate about the integrity of the language which has led on to fresh

consideration of the relationship between Ancient and Modern Greek and the place of the ancient language in the school curriculum.

All of this notwithstanding, the crucial fact remains that there is for the first time since the Hellenistic period a near-universal acceptance of one superordinate form of Greek, a variety that is coherent within well-defined parameters (see Mackridge (1985), Holton et al. (1997)), and offers a choice of registers appropriate to all spoken and written purposes. People can use this language without political implications or personal risk, and the old embarrassment stemming from uncertainty about correct written usage is very largely a thing of the past.

Freed from the old ideologies, writers too can enjoy the freedom and pleasure of experimenting with their uniquely rich and diverse traditions. Any dissatisfaction in literary circles with the blander forms of the new Koine is as natural as that of the creative writers of Ptolemaic Alexandria with its ancient equivalent, and one looks forward optimistically to the day when there will be an equally universal acceptance of the fact that the only fully standardized languages are dead ones, and that experimentation, diversity and change are a cause for celebration rather than concern. See Georgakopoúlou and Silk (2009) for up-to-date discussion, from several perspectives, of different standardizing ideologies in the development of Greek.

17.8 A Range of Styles

In written Greek a considerable gap between literary and non-literary composition still remains, though both the former, with its links to earlier demotic, and the latter, with its roots in the learned tradition of *katharévousa*, have in their different ways moved towards the spoken educated norm, as noted. Official and technical writing, for example, tends to have an impersonal, literal-minded and rather stodgy character, while creative fiction and poetry allow in principle for a crisper, more personal and inventive use of the resources of the language. News reporting tends to go more with the former, comment etc. more with the latter. Spoken Greek is equally varied according to context, but colloquial speech has its own characteristic vocabulary (including slang, fillers, exclamations, ritualized greetings etc.) and a style distinguished by high levels of idiomaticity and large numbers of set phrases and expressions.

We may conclude this chapter with some short examples (see also Mackridge (1985: 338ff)). The passages in (16) below are: (a) a famous poem, (b) an extract from a literary novel, (c) an extract from a crime novel, (d) a piece taken from the online news pages of a 'serious' newspaper, and (e) some clauses from a piece of draft legislation. The language of the first is a model of refined literary demotic, with no learned features (note especially the traditional demotic αγέρας [a'jeras] 'air/wind', with intrusive glide, for standard αέρας [a'eras]). The selections from the two novels illustrate, respectively, a straightforward narrative style (albeit with idiosyncracies) and the colloquial language of an exchange between a detective and his superior; the former is mainly demotic but naturally allows learned features in routine expressions (e.g. the present middle participle in επικείμενες εκλογές [epi'cimenes eklo'jes] 'imminent elections'), the latter pure urban vernacular. The fourth extract is a typical piece of factual journalism, a style in which a range of learned components is naturally embedded

(note, for example, the many abstract nouns with genitive dependents, the adverbs in -ως [-os], the consistent use of ο οποίος [o o'pios] rather than που [pu] in relative clauses, and once again the present middle participles). Finally, the draft legislation almost gives the impression of having been translated from *katharévousa*, with telltale features and structures carried over; note in particular the hyperbaton, including an aorist passive participle, in τις κατ' εξουσιοδότηση νόμου εκδοθείσες πράξεις [tis kat eksusio'ðotisi 'nomu ekðo'θises 'praksis], lit. 'the in-accordance-with authority of-law issued enactments'. No further commentary is provided, and there are no transcriptions. If this book has done its job, none will be needed.

(16) (a) Λυπούμαι γιατί άφησα να περάσει ένα πλατύ ποτάμι μέσα
I-regret because I-let that pass a broad river within
από τα δαχτυλά μου
from the fingers of-me
χωρίς να πιω ούτε μια στάλα.
without that I-drink even a drop.
Τῶρα βυθίζομαι στην πέτρα.
Now I-sink into-the stone.
Ενα μικρό πεύκο στο κόκκινο χώμα,
A small pine in- the red soil,
δεν έχω άλλη συντροφιά.
not I-have other company.
Ο,τι αγάπησα χάθηκε μαζί με τα σπίτια
Whatever I-loved was-lost together with the houses
που είταν καινούργια το περασμένο καλοκαίρι
that were new the last summer
και γκρέμισαν με τον αγέρα του φθινοπώρου.
and collapsed with the wind of-the autumn.
Yórgos Seféris, *Mythistorema*, 18

'I am sorry for having let a broad river pass through my fingers
without drinking a single drop.
Now I'm sinking into the stone.
A small pine-tree in the red soil
is all the company I have.
Whatever I loved vanished with the houses
that were new last summer
and collapsed in the autumn wind.'
Keeley and Sherrard (1967: 47)

(b) Οπως κάθε Πέμπτη βράδυ, είχαν βεγγέρα. Προσπάθησα
As every Thursday evening, they-had party. I-tried
να τους αποφύγω, δεν άντεχα ούτε για ένα καλησπέρα, και
that them I-avoid, not I-tolerated even for a good-evening, and
κλειδώθηκα στο δωμάτιό μου. ΄Ακουα χλιαρό το κέφι τους, αισιόδοξοι
I-locked-myself in-the room of-me. I heard lukewarm the high-spirits of-them, optimistic
με τις επικείμενες εκλογές. Αλλά δε μ' άφηνε το κλάμα του
with the imminent elections. But not me left the cry of-the

Παύλου. Αισθανόμουν ότι ποτέ πια δε θα ξεχάσω εκείνη τη
Pavlos. I-felt that never again not will I-forget that the
χειρονομία του τη στιγμή που χωρίζαμε, λες και χωρίζαμε για
gesture of-him the moment that we-were-parting, you-say and we-were-parting for
πάντα. Πίεζα το προσωπό μου στο μαξιλάρι και βασανιζόμουν
ever. I-pressed the face of me into-the pillow and I-tortured-myself
να την αναλύσω σ' όσες γίνεται μικρότερες κινήσεις, να την
that it I analyse in as-many-as happens smaller movements, that it
προσδιορίσω με την κάθε σημασία που ίσως έκρυβε.
I-define with the every meaning that perhaps it-was-hiding.

Máro Doúka, *Fool's Gold* (*Η Αρχαία Σκουριά*), ch. 3

'Like every Thursday evening, they had a party. I tried to avoid them, I couldn't stand even a "good evening", and I shut myself in my room. Their high spirits came across as half-hearted, though they were optimistic about the imminent election. But I couldn't let go of Pavlos' weeping. I felt that I would never forget that gesture of his when we were parting, as if we were parting for ever. I pressed my face into the pillow and gave myself a hard time analysing it into ever smaller movements, defining it with every meaning that it might conceal.'

(c) Σηκώνει το βλέμμα και με κοιτάζει. 'Νέα απ' τον
He-lifts the gaze and me looks-at. 'News from the
Αλβανό;' με ρωτάει. 'Τίποτα νεότερο, κ. διευθυντά. Τον ανακρίνουμε
Albanian?', me he-asks. 'Nothing newer, mister director. Him we-interrogate
ακόμα.' 'Επιβαρυντικά στοιχεία;' Κοφτές ερωτήσεις, κοφτές απαντήσεις,
still.' 'Incriminating evidence?' Short questions, short answers,
μόνο τα απαραίτητα για να δείξει ότι είναι άλφα πνιγμένος,
only the indispensable for that he-show that he-is (a) choked,
βήτα αποδοτικός και γάμμα ουσιώδης και συγκεκριμένος. Αμερικάνικα
(b) efficient and (c) material and specific. American
κόλπα, τό 'παμε. ''Οχι, αλλά έχουμε αυτόπτη μάρτυρα, που τον
tricks, it we-called. No, but we-have eye witness, that him
αναγνώρισε, όπως σας είπα.' 'Αυτό δεν είναι κατανάγκη
recognized, as to-you I said.' 'This not is necessarily
επιβαρυντικό στοιχείο. Τον είδε να τριγυρνάει γύρω από το σπίτι.
incriminating evidence. Him he-saw that he-prowl around from the house.
Δεν τον είδε ούτε να μπαίνει, ούτε να βγαίνει. Δακτυλικά
Not him he-saw neither that he-enter, nor that he -go-out. Finger
αποτυπώματα;' 'Πολλά. Τα περισσότερα του ζευγαριού. 'Οχι
prints?' 'Many. The more of-the couple. Not
όμως του ύποπτου. Φονικό όπλο δε βρέθηκε.' Με παρέσυρε και
however of-the suspect. Murder weapon not was-found.' Me he-leads-astray and
μιλάω κι εγώ τηλεγραφικά, ο κόπανος.
I-speak also I telegraphese, the prick.

Pétros Márkaris, *Night News* (*Νυχτερινό Δελτίο*), ch. 2

'He looks up and stares at me. "News about the Albanian?", he asks. "Nothing since we last spoke, sir. We're still questioning him." "Incriminating evidence?" Short questions, short answers, just what's needed to show that he's (a) up to his ears, (b) efficient and (c)

to the point and specific. American ploys, we called this. "No, but we have an eye-witness who recognized him, as I told you." "That's not necessarily incriminating evidence. He saw him hanging around the house. He didn't see him going in or out. Fingerprints?" "Lots. Mainly the couple's. But not the suspect's. No murder weapon." He's got me talking telegraphese too, the prick.'

(d) Η παγκόσμια οικονομία έδωσε το τελευταίο διάστημα
The global economy gave (in-)the last interval
κάποια σημάδια επιβράδυνσης της πτώσης και επέτρεψε
some signs of-slowing of- the fall and allowed
στις χρηματιστηριακές αγορές να ανακάμψουν σχετικώς,
to-the money markets that they-recover accordingly,
ουσιαστικά να ανασηκωθούν λίγο απο τα βάθη της μαύρης
essentially that they-rise a-little from the depths of-the black
τρύπας στην οποία είχαν καταπέσει μετα τις πολλές καταρρεύσεις
hole in-the which they-had fallen-down after the many collapses
τραπεζών το περασμένο φθινόπωρο. Παρ' όλα αυτά οι εκτιμήσεις
of-banks the last autumn. Despite all this the estimates
για την οικονομική δραστηριότητα στους πρώτους τρεις μήνες του
for the economic activity in-the first three months of-the
2009 είναι εντελώς αντίθετες. Ούτε το Διεθνές Νομισματικό Ταμείο
2009 are entirely contrary. Neither the I M F
ούτε ο ΟΟΣΑ μπόρεσαν να μεταδώσουν θέτικα μηνύματα για το
nor the OECD could that they-report positive messages about the
βάρος της ύφεσης ή για τον χρόνο και την ένταση της
weight of-the recession or about the time and the intensity of-the
ανάκαμψης. Αντιθέτως, οι συνεχείς αναθεωρήσεις δειχνουν ότι η
recovery. On-the-contrary, the continual revisions show that the
επερχόμενη ύφεση θα είναι πολύ βαθύτερη απο την αναμενόμενη.
on-coming recession will be much deeper than the being-expected(-one).
Antónis Karakoúsis, *To Vima* (*Το Βήμα*), Sunday 26 April 2009

'The global economy in the last period has given some signs of a slowing rate of fall and has allowed the money markets to recover accordingly, in effect to rise a little from the depths of the black hole into which they had fallen with the collapse of so many banks last autumn. None the less, estimates of economic activity in the first three months of 2009 are entirely contrary. Neither the IMF nor the OECD was able to report positive messages about the severity of the recession or the time and strength of the recovery. On the contrary, continual revisions indicate that the oncoming recession will be much deeper than expected.'

(e) Σχέδιο Νόμου: Ειδική Αγωγή και Εκπαίδευση για τη
Draft of-law. Special Education and Learning for the
διασφάλιση ίσων ευκαριών σε άτομα με αναπηρία και
assurance of-equal opportunities to individuals with disability and
ειδικές εκπαιδευτικές ανάγκες.
special educational needs.
Αρθρο 1: Έννοια και Σκοπός
Article 1: Meaning and Purpose

1. Η αναπηρία αποτελεί φυσικό μέρος της ανθρώπινης ύπαρξης
1. The disability comprises natural part of-the human existence
και σε καμία περίπτωση δεν υποβιβάζει το δικαίωμα του ατόμου
and in no circumstance not it-diminishes the right of-the individual
στη συμμετοχή ή στη συνεισφορά του στην κοινωνία.
to-the participation or the contribution of-him to-the society.
2. Ειδική Αγωγή και Εκπαίδευση (ΕΑΕ) είναι το σύνολο των
2. Special Education and Learning (SEL) is the total of-the
παρεχομένων ειδικών εκπαιδευτικών υπηρεσιών στους μαθητές με
being-provided special educational services to-the pupils with
αναπηρία και διαπιστωμένες ειδικές εκπαιδευτικές ανάγκες, που
disability and acknowledged special educational needs, that
διασφαλίζουν σε αυτούς ολοκληρωμένη εκπαίδευση, ίσες ευκαιρίες
ensure to them integrated education, equal opportunities
για πλήρη συμμετοχή και συνεισφορά στην κοινωνία, ανεξάρτητη
for full participation and contribution to-the society, independent
διαβίωση, οικονομική αυτάρκεια και αυτονομία.
living, economic self-sufficiency and autonomy.
3. Ο όρος ΕΑΕ αντικαθιστά τον όρο 'Ειδική Αγωγή' στη
The term SEL replaces the term 'Special Education' in-the
νομοθεσία και στις κατ' εξουσιοδότηση νόμου εκδοθείσες πράξεις.
legislation and in-the according-to authority of-law issued enactments.

Draft Legislation (website of the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, April 2009)

'Green Paper: Special Education and Learning to secure equal opportunities for individuals with disabilities and special educational needs.
Article 1: Meaning and Purpose.

1. Disability forms a natural part of human existence and in no circumstance does it reduce the right of the individual to participate in or contribute to society.
2. Special Education and Learning (SEL) constitutes the totality of special educational services provided for students with disabilities and certified special educational needs, that secure for them integrated education, equal opportunities fully to participate in and contribute to society, an independent lifestyle, economic self-sufficiency and personal autonomy.
3. The term SEL replaces the term "Special Education" in legislation and in enactments issued with the authority of law.'

Notes

1 Though born in Odessa and educated in Constantinople, Psycháris settled in Paris to pursue an academic career and claimed to feel comfortable only with the French version of his Christian name.

2 E.g. a word like πράγμα was pronounced in Ancient Greek as [prâŋma], but in Modern as ['praɣma] 'thing' (beside demotic πράμα ['prama]).

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Index

Ancient Greek personal names are given in their familiar Anglo-Latin forms, Byzantine names, even the most familiar, as transliterations of their Greek spellings (using *ch/ph* for *chi/phi*), and modern Greek names in a largely phonetic spelling (using *ch* for *chi*, and *f* for *phi* except where *ph-* is so well established word-initially that *f-* spellings might hinder effective use of the index; so *Philippídis* not *Filippídis* etc.). No system is entirely adequate, and none will ever satisfy all bodies of opinion; no further justification is therefore attempted.